

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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From its Commencement until the Days of Calvin.

BY

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PREFACE.

It is not the history of a party which I propose to write; my present task is, in truth, the narrative of one of the greatest revolutions that has ever affected the condition of mankind, and of a powerful impulse imparted, three centuries ago, to the whole world, and whose influences are, even in our own time, everywhere apparent. The history of the Reformation is not synonymous with the history of Protestantism. When we consider the former subject, everything bears the impression of a regenerated state and of a social and religious transformation emanating from the power of God. But in contemplating the latter we too often find a palpable degeneration from first principles, the schism of parties, the spirit of sects, and the ideas of petty peculiarities. The history of Protestantism can only prove interesting to Protestants. The history of the Reformation, on the other hand, is calculated to engage the thoughts of every Christian, or rather of every member of the human race.

The historian can choose a path for himself in the wide field open to his labours. He may either describe those great events which alter the condition of a people or change the aspect of the universe, or he may delineate the ways of that tranquil and progressive course regarding the affairs of a nation, or of the church; or of human nature, which usually follows the occurrence of striking mutations in the social system. These two walks of history are each of infinite importance; but more concern has been, generally, shewn in the description of those epochs which, under the title of revolutions, have regenerated a nation or the whole being of society with a fresh era or a new state of existence.

It is such a transformation as that last alluded to which I now propose to describe, and I do hope the sublime interest of the subject shall be found a sufficient excuse for any failures in my attempt to record these grand truths. The name of Revolution which I have given to these events has been, in our day, repudiated by many who confound the meaning of this term with the signification of rebellion. This interpretation, however, is wrong. A revolution implies an alteration in the affairs of the world. It is something new proceeding from the womb of human nature; and this very word revolution has oftener been used, before the end of the last century, in a good than in a bad sense; a happy, has it not been called a wonderful revolution? The Reformation being, then, the re-establishment of the principles of primitive Christianity, must be regarded as the very opposite of rebellion. It proved itself the regenerator of whatever ought

to be invested with a new life, as well as the proserver of all that should for ever exist. Christianity and the Reformation, whether establishing the grand principle of the equality of souls in the sight of God, or in overthrowing the usurpations of a proud priesthood that strove to place itself between the Creator and his creature, assert, as the first principle of social order, the fact that there is no power which does not come from God ; and they cry to all men alike—"Love your brethren, fear God, honour the king."

The Reformation has eminently distinguished itself from the previous revolutions of antiquity, as well as from the most part of modern insurrections. The question at issue during these turmoils was indeed a change in the political creed, or the propriety of confirming or destroying the dominion of a single person, or of many individuals. The love of truth, of holiness, and of eternity, was the simple yet powerful motive that animated the desire of change we have undertaken to describe. And this longing after something new betokens a progressive advance in the condition of human nature; for, in truth, if man, in place of searching after nothing more than his material, temporal, and earthly interests, were to propose to himself the attainment of higher objects, and endeavour to acquire immaterial and immortal wealth, he must be regarded as in a forward and progressive state. The Reformation has, in reality, formed one of the most delightful stages in a journey as glorious as the one we have here imagined. It has given a pledge that the new struggle, at present in active operation, will yet be terminated, by means of the truth, with a triumph equally pure and spiritual and magnificent.

Christianity and the Reformation are the two greatest revolutions belonging to history. They do not merely relate to the movements made among a single people, like the various political commotions referred to in the pages of common history, but have a regard to the circumstances of many nations, and their consequences must be felt over the whole surface of the globe.

Christianity and the Reformation form parts of the same revolution, although acting at different periods and under different conditions of society. They are unlike each other in their secondary causes ; but they are the same in their original and principal deriva-

1. The one is just a repetition of the other. The one may be said to compose the termination of the old world, the other to fix the commencement of the new ; between them is found the epoch of the middle ages. The one is, as it were, the mother of the other, and if the daughter, in some respects, exhibits traits of an inferior character, she displays, nevertheless, some properties that are peculiar to herself.

The promptitude of action evinced is one of the special characteristics referred to. Those grand revolutions which have accomplished the overthrow of a monarchy, and completely changed the political system, or have even directed the minds of men into a new sphere of intellectual developement, have been slow in their progress and gradual in their operations ; the ancient power had for a long time been subject to decay, and its principal supports are seen one by one to fall away. Nay, the introduction of Christianity was distinguished by an advancement of this cautious nature. But the Reformation appears, at the very first glance, to present us with a new order of

things. The Church of Rome stood forth, under Leo the Tenth, in all its strength and glory. A monk essays to speak, and throughout one-half of Europe all that power and all that glory are cast to the ground. This instant revolution calls to remembrance the words by which the Son of God announces his second coming. "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and sheweth itself even unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of man be."

Such momentary effects are inexplicable to those who behold in this grand event nothing more than an act of *reform*, who regard it in the simple light of a deed of criticism, wherein a choice is made of certain doctrines, from among a heap, many of which are discarded, while others are retained, and as the mere re-organization of those reserved principles into a more connected form of words.

How could a single nation in its united strength, or how could many nations, have accomplished, in a manner so prompt, a work of such vast exertion? How could the supposed critical investigation have kindled a spirit of enthusiasm sufficient for the completion of a great and, above all, of a speedy revolution? But the Reformation was wholly different from the idea of it thus hastily assumed, and that difference its faithful history will clearly demonstrate. It was, in fact, a new effusion of that life which Christianity has brought into the world. It marked the triumph of the most profound of all doctrines, of that principle which animates those who embrace it, of an enthusiasm the most powerful and pure, to wit, the doctrine of faith, the doctrine of grace. If the Reformation had realized the notion entertained of it by many Catholics and Protestants of our own times; if it had been proved to be that negative system of false reasoning which childishly rejects what is displeasing to its fancy, and contemns the noble ideas and grand truths of universal Christianity, it would never have escaped beyond the narrow boundaries of a school-house, or of a cloister, or of some sequestered cell. But the Reformation has a very small resemblance to the picture which many have imagined as the representative of Protestantism. Far from exhibiting a body wan and weary, the Reformation holds itself up like a man full of life and vigour.

Two considerations enter into the explanation of the extent and promptitude of this grand revolution. The one is to be found with God and the other among men. The first impulse to action was given by an all-powerful and invisible hand, and the change thereby accomplished was undoubtedly the work of God. Such is the conclusion to which an inquirer, not satisfied with superficial proof, but anxious to judge impartially and attentively, must of necessity arrive. Still there remains a work for the historian to complete; because God acts by means of secondary causes. Many and varied, and often unperceived, were the circumstances which, by degrees, prepared the minds of men for the grand transformation fulfilled during the course of the sixteenth century, so that the human understanding was ready to listen when the hour of its emancipation was audibly announced.

The task of the historian is properly to blend these two grand elements in the picture he undertakes to delineate. And such is the purpose of the present work. We shall, no doubt, be easily understood when we apply ourselves to the elucidation of those secondary

causes which have contributed to bring about the revolution it is our duty to explain. Many persons, however, may be less inclined to believe our descriptions, and may be even tempted to accuse us with superstition, when we come to attribute to God the final accomplishment of this great work. Nevertheless the latter exposition is the one most dear to our own heart. This history, as manifested in the inscription placed on the title page, acknowledges the supremacy and grandeur of this simple yet profound principle, *God in History*. Still this leading principle is very generally overlooked, and sometimes even called in question. It, therefore, appears becoming in us to offer here an exposition of our manner of thinking on this important subject, and thus to justify the method we have resolved to adopt.

In the present day, history must no longer be confined to the same inanimate detail of passing events which the greater part of ancient histories have been content to lay before our notice. The fact of there being in history, as well as in man, two distinct elements, is fully recognised, and both the matter and the spirit are eagerly sought after. Our great authors, being unable to resign themselves to a mere recital of material affairs, that would prove no more than a sterile enumeration of objects, have diligently studied the living principle of their subject, in order to impart a true colouring to the description of the ages that have passed away.

Some writers have imparted to this principle the fascinations of art. They have striven to depict closely the simplicity, the truth, and the picturesque qualities of description, and have tried to invest with life their common rehearsal of ordinary events.

Others have had recourse to philosophy as the ruling spirit of their labours. They have added to the relation of events various opinions, precepts, and political and philosophical truths, and have enlivened their passages with sentiments the offsprings of their own imaginations, and with ideas they have known how to accommodate to their individual views.

No doubt these two methods of treating history are perfectly legitimate, and ought to be practised to a certain extent; but there is another source from which the spirit and life of bygone days must more particularly be drawn by an intelligent mind, and that source is religion. It is necessary that history should breathe the air congenial to its real existence, and the life of history is from God. God ought to be acknowledged, God ought to be declared in the pages of history; for, in truth, the history of the world must ever be regarded as the open annals of the government of the King of kings.

Let us, however, for a moment enter into the lists wherein the works of our historians are displayed. And there we behold the actions of men and of nations vividly portrayed, as they, with energy, develope their nature, even amidst the violence of passion: we hear the awful clangour of inexplicable war; but nowhere are we presented with the majestic figure of the Judge who presides over the fate of battle.

And yet there is a principle of life emanating from God which operates in every movement of the masses of mankind. God is present on that vast scene whereon the various generations of men successively meet to act their fleeting parts. He is present, it is true,

as an invisible God ; but if the profane multitude walk before him, without suspecting his immediate station, because he hides his face, the anxious souls, those spirits which long to possess the first principle of their existence, seek the Lord with the more ardent wish, and are only satisfied when they can throw themselves at the feet of his power. And such unwearied search is amply rewarded ; for from the heights to which the thoughtful have ascended in their inquiries after God, the history of the world, instead of appearing to them, as to the ignorant crowd, a confused chaos, is truly represented as a majestic temple built even by the invisible hand of God, and which he has raised to his own glory on the rock of humanity.

Shall we not see God in these grand apparitions, in these great personages, or mighty people, which, springing up, rise, as it were, in an instant out of the dust of the earth, and give to human nature a fresh impulse, a better form, a new destiny ? Shall we not see him in the character of those heroes who dash forward to the foremost ranks of society, at certain periods, and who display an activity and a power which exceed the ordinary faculties of men, and thus gather round them, as around some superior and mysterious being, the confidence alike of individuals and of nations ? Who, we ask, has placed in the revolutions of space those comets whose gigantic appearance and fiery tails, which are only seen at intervals of many years' duration, spread over the superstitious multitude of mortals the hopes of abundance and joy or the dread of want and pestilence ? Who, if it be not God ? Alexander the Great looks for his origin among the archives of Divinity. And in the course of the most irreligious ages, there are no glorious events found that do not lay claim to some affinity with heaven.

And do not these vast revolutions on earth, which have precipitated to the ground whole races of kings, or even of entire nations—these immense wastes discovered in the midst of deserts, or these majestic ruins scattered over the face of the universe—do they not with a loud voice proclaim that *God is in history* ? Gibbon brought to view the fragments of the capitol ; acknowledges, while contemplating that fearful ravage, the intervention of a superior fate. He sees this agency, he feels its force ; in vain would he turn away his eyes from beholding its influence ; this shadow of a mysterious power reappears behind each individual ruin, and he conceives the notion of describing its might, in the details of a history of the disorganization, of the decay, and of the corruption, of that Roman authority which had subjected to its dominion the destiny of so many nations. Still this All-powerful hand which is descried through the scattered heap of the monuments of Romulus, of the sculptured works of Marc-Aurèle, of the busts of Cicero and of Virgil, of the statues of Cesar and of Augustus, of the trophies of Trajan, and of the horses of Pompey, by a man of admirable genius, but who had not bent the knee before Jesus Christ, shall we not discover this same palm amidst the rubbish of every ruin, and acknowledge it to belong to the arm of our God ?

Is it not an astonishing fact that men, reared in the bosom of a Christian community, should regard as superstitious this idea of the intervention of God in the affairs of the human race, whilst the same notion is freely admitted as true among authors of Pagan nations ?

The name which Grecian antiquity has given to the supreme God shews us that there was at that time enjoyed primitive revelations of this great truth of a God, the first principle of history and of the existence of a people. God is in these traditions known under the appellation of Zeus,* that is to say, he who gives *life* to all that lives, to individuals as well as to nations. And it is to the altars of this Being both kings and people come to make their vows, whilst from his mysterious inspirations Minos and other legislators pretend to have received the substance of their laws. But, moreover, the great truth we speak of is demonstrated in one of the most beautiful conceits of Pagan antiquity. Mythology herself might here become the instructress of the wise men of our own times; a fact which it appears to us could be proved beyond a doubt; and wherein prejudices will be found to have less influence in the instructions of Paganism than in the schools of Christianity. The Zeus we have alluded to, this sovereign God, this eternal Spirit, this principle of Life, is called the father of Clio, the muse of history, whose mother was Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory. History thus combines together, according to the notions of antiquity, a celestial and terrestrial nature. She is the daughter of God and man. But, unhappily, the short-sighted wisdom of our own proud age is far from comprehending such flights of Pagan prudence. The divine parentage of history has been disbelieved, and, like some illegitimate child or hardy adventurer, she has been left to wander here and there throughout the wide world, without well knowing either from whence she comes or how she ought to proceed.

Still the divinity of Pagan antiquity is nothing more than a faint reflection, an unsubstantial shadow, of the spirit of the Eternal, of Jehovah. The only true God, whom the Hebrews worshipped of old, desires to imprint upon the minds of every people that he reigns perpetually upon the earth; and for this purpose he gave, if I may so speak, an open manifestation to that reign in the midst of the people of Israel. A visible theocracy was for once permitted to exist upon the earth, in order to fix the attention unceasingly upon that invisible theocracy which shall for ever govern the affairs of this world.

And how magnificent is the splendour which this great truth, God in history, has received from the realization of the Christian economy! What else can be said of Jesus Christ than that he is God in history? It was the discovery of the life of Jesus Christ which opened the meaning of history to the prince of modern historians, John Müller. "The gospel," says he, "is the fulfilment of every hope, the height of perfection to all philosophy, the interpretation of every revolution, the key wherewith all the apparent contradictions in the moral and physical world are completely reconciled, whereby life and immortality are brought to light. Since I have become acquainted with the Saviour, everything is clear to my sight; with him there is nothing which I cannot determine."†

In this manner the great historian expresses himself; and, in reality, is not the truth that God has appeared in the likeness of human nature the key of the firmament, the mysterious knot which binds everything

* Of Zeus—I live.

† Letter to Charles Bonnet.

on earth together, and attaches them to the realities of heaven? There is in history a recorded birth of God, and yet God should not appear in history! Jesus Christ is the true God of the history of men. The very meagreness of his appearance demonstrates the fact. If man desires to raise on earth a covering or shelter, look to the preparations necessary for the accomplishment of his object—the heap of materials, the scaffolds, the workmen, the ditches, the rubbish, and the toil. . . . But God, should he wish to finish such a work, takes one of the smallest seeds that can be held in the weak hand of a new-born babe, and throws it into the bosom of the earth, and by means of this grain, not to be seen at the commencement of its progress, there is produced a tree so immense that the families of men are able to find shelter under its branches. Thus, to accomplish the greatest ends with the smallest means is the acknowledged law of God.

The law we speak of assuredly finds in Jesus Christ its most magnificent accomplishment. Christianity, which has already taken possession of the havens of many people, which now reigns, or, at this hour, hovers over all the tribes of men upon earth, from the rising to the going down of the sun, and which incredulous philosophy herself is obliged to acknowledge as the social and spiritual law of this universe—Christianity, the most amazing object underneath the vaults of heaven—what do I say?—nay, the most miraculous in the infinite immensity of creation—what has been her beginning? An infant, born in the least considerable town of the most despised nation upon earth—an infant whose mother had not even what was possessed by the most indigent of her race, the most miserable of women among our cities, namely, a room wherein she might be delivered of her first-born—an infant born in a stable and nursed in a manger. . . . O God! I acknowledge thee here, and I adore thy name.

The Reformation has fully recognised this singular law of God, and was conscious that in herself she was a manifestation thereof. The idea that God is in history was often set forth by different reformers. We find this notion particularly expressed on one occasion by Luther, couched in one of those familiar and strange phrases, yet not wanting in grandeur, in which he delighted to speak, in order to ensure the recognition of the people. "The world," said he, one day while conversing with some friends at his table, "The world is like a great and splendid game at cards, composed of emperors, kings, princes, &c. The Pope, during a term of many ages, has taken the emperors, the princes, and the kings. They have played, and have fallen to his tricks. At last our Lord God has appeared, he has made the cards; he has taken into his own hand the smallest of them, [Luther,] and with it he has beaten the Pope, that conqueror of the kings of the earth. . . . This is the ace of God. 'He has cast down the mighty from their seats, and has exalted the lowly,' says Mary."*

The period whose history I am anxious to detail is full of instruction for the present times; for man, when he finds his own weakness, is usually led to seek for succour from the agency of those institutions he sees established around him, or from the realization of some

* "Colloquies, or Conversations at Table."

hazardous inventions of his own fancy. The history of the Reformation determines the fact that nothing new can be made out of old materials; and that, if, in conformity with the words of the Saviour, it is necessary to have new bottles for new wine, it is also requisite to gather new wine for the new bottles. The Reformation refers man to God, who effects all the changes of history; to that divine Word, always old in consequence of the eternity of truths it comprises, and always new by force of that regenerating influence it constantly exercises, and which has now, for three centuries, been purging away the distempers of society; which equally infuses faith in God into the souls that had become weakened by superstition, and which, throughout all the ages of humanity, has been, and shall ever be, the alone fountain out of which salvation flows.

It is curious to behold a vast number of men at the present hour exhibiting an earnest desire to believe in something fixed and well defined, and thus addressing themselves to the practices of ancient Catholicism. In one sense, such apprehensions are natural; because religion is so little known, that the common opinion supposes it can nowhere else be found save at the foot of those standards on whose banners, rendered venerable by age, it is emblazoned in large letters. We do not pretend to say that all Catholicism must be incapable of affording to man the knowledge he most stands in need of. We believe it very essential to draw a distinction between Catholicism and Popery. Popery is, in our opinion, an erroneous and destructive system; but we are far from confounding Catholicism with such a system! How many respectable men, how many true Christians, have been included within the pale of the Catholic Church! How immense have been the services rendered by Catholicism to distant nations at the time of their organization, whilst that faith was yet strongly impregnated with the spirit of the gospel, and before Popery had overshadowed the true light as with a dark cloud! These times have, however, passed away. In our day, exertions are made to bind Catholicism with the cords of Popery, and if any really Catholic Christian truths are presented to the sight, it is to serve as a bait for entangling believers in the net of a cunning hierarchy; nothing wholesome, therefore, can be expected to proceed from such practices. Has Popery, in reality, been found to renounce any one example of her artifices, her doctrines, or her pretensions? And shall not that religion which has been unable to find any sufficient support in former ages be yet less encouraged in our own? What symptoms of regeneration have ever been seen to emanate from Rome? Is the priestly hierarchy a mark of renovation, filled as it is with the filth of earthly passions, out of which can issue the spirit of faith, hope, and charity, which is alone able to save the soul? Can a system so exhausted as to have lost the vital spark in itself, continually struggling against death, and subsisting solely upon resources alien to its nature—can such a principle infuse life into other bodies, or animate Christian society with the celestial air necessary to ensure her actual existence?

Must the coldness of heart and spirit which has taken hold upon many of our contemporaries be left to draw others towards that new Protestantism which, in many places, has superseded the powerful

doctrines upheld by the apostles and reformers of old? A great lapse in doctrine, no doubt, affected many of these reformed churches, whose primitive members were found to seal with their blood their adherence to the precise and ardent faith that animated their souls. Many men, remarkable for the strength of their understandings, and deeply sensible of every good this world inherits, were yet hurried away by feelings peculiarly fatuous. One general belief in the divinity of the gospel is the single faith to be ardently pleaded for. But what is the true meaning of this gospel? Such is the question paramount to every other inquiry; and yet on this point silence has been often maintained, or rather every one has been found to speak in his own way. Of what avail can it be to know that there is in the midst of nations a fountain which God has placed there for their recovery, if care be not taken to become acquainted with its contents, if endeavours are not made to appropriate particularly the healing waters? Nor can the system we have spoken of prove sufficient to fill the empty desires of the present day. Whilst that the faith of the apostles and reformers displays itself in active and powerful operation in every quarter, for the conversion of the world, the vague system referred to does nothing, illustrates no doctrines, nor renovates any practice.

But let us not remain without hope. For does not Roman Catholicism still confess the grand doctrines of Christianity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God—the Creator, the Saviour, and the Sanctifier?—and this is the truth. At the same time, does not the lukewarm Protestantism also possess the book of life which is able to guide, to conquer, and to instruct in the ways of justice? And will not the pure in soul, noble in the eyes of men, amiable in the sight of God, desire that the true path may be found by many among the directions given to these two systems? Must we not love these searchers after the truth, must we not earnestly desire that they may be freed from the false elements of human nature? Charity is unbounded; she embraces opinions the farthest removed from each other, in order to bring them all before the footstool of Jesus Christ.

Already symptoms are apparent which give a lively hope of the approach of the two extreme opinions above noticed towards Jesus Christ, the very centre of the truth. Are there not now some Roman Catholic churches wherein the reading of the Bible is both recommended and practised, while with regard to Protestant rationalism, how many steps has she not made in such a course? This latter creed cannot claim affinity with the Reformation; because the history of that grand revolution will prove that it was alone an offspring of faith: but may we not hope that the light which shines in darkness shall yet enjoy the favour of an unclouded sun? Must not the force of the truth drawn from the Word of God enlighten the obscurity and hasten the clear perception of what is right? Even now some sparks of religious feelings are visible, feeble no doubt, but still indicative of a glimmering representation of a sound doctrine, which encourages the good hope of a far brighter manifestation of gospel truths.

Still, the question of the new Protestantism, as well as of the old Catholicism, are both beyond our field of inquiry, and excluded from our notice. Something else is required, in our day, to confer upon

men the knowledge and power which are necessary for salvation. Something is wanted that does not belong to man, but which proceeds from God: "Let any one give me," said Archimedes, "a standing beyond the world, and I will raise it off its poles!" True Christianity may be considered the point established outside the globe, which lifts the heart of man up from its two pivots of sensuality and selfishness, and which shall one day remove the whole world from its pernicious centre, and cause it to revolve upon a new axis of justice and peace.

In every instance where questions of religion have been agitated, three objects have arrested the attention of the disputants; namely, God, man, and the priest. In this view there can only exist upon earth three descriptions of religion, as distinguished by the authority and government of God, or of man, or of the priest. I designate the religion of the priest that which is invented by the priest for the glory of the priest, and over which rule is held by a priestly combination. I call the religion of man, those systems, or heaps of diverse opinions, accumulated by human reason, and which, being formed by a fallen creature, are consequently devoid of all power to heal his infirmities. I affirm the religion of God to be the truth in the words in which God himself has given it, and which has for its purpose and end the glory of God and the salvation of man.

The hierarchy, or the religion of the priest—Christianity, or the religion of God—rationalism, or the religion of man, are, then, the three doctrines into which the faith of Christendom may, in our day, be severally divided. There can be no salvation found either for individuals or for society, whether we apply to the maxims of the hierarchy or to the dogmas of rationalism. Christianity alone is able to give life to the world; and yet, unhappily, among these three dominant systems, it is not Christianity that possesses the greatest number of followers.

Nevertheless we know of many such followers. Christianity carries on her constant work of regeneration in the homes of many Catholics throughout Germany, as well, no doubt, as in several other countries. In our opinion, she accomplishes her divine errand with yet more purity and strength among the evangelical Christians of Switzerland, France, Great Britain, the United States, &c. God be praised that the instances of social and particular regeneration produced by the gospel are not, in our days, of such rare occurrence that we must go back to seek for their existence in the annals of antiquity.

It is a history of the Reformation in general which I feel desirous of composing. I intend to follow its movements in the abodes of different nations, so as to shew that the same truths have everywhere produced the same effects, while care is also taken to mark the varieties occasioned by the special character of each distinct people. And, in the first place, it is observable that, before other districts, the primitive types of the Reformation are to be found in Germany. It is in that country the most organic developements of the change are most clearly seen; it is there chiefly the movement assumes the character of a revolution, not confined to the concerns of any definite people, but regarding the universal interests of the world. The Reformation in Germany comprehends the fundamental history of the grand reform;

she forms, as it were, the brightest star. The other reformations are only secondary planets, occupying the same firmament, enlightened by the same sun, parts of the same system, but having their own proper spheres, shining with a different lustre, and possessing a beauty always peculiar to each other. The words of St Paul may, with propriety, be applied to the reformations accomplished during the course of the sixteenth century. "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars, and one star differs from another star in glory." (1 Cor. iv. 41.) The Swiss Reformation took place about the same time as the German Reform, but independent of it, and presents, especially in the latter stages, some of the splendid traits exhibited in the history of the Germanic Reformation. The Reform in England attracts our notice in a degree altogether distinct, in consequence of the powerful influence now exercised by the church of that kingdom over the whole world. But in the pathos of the reminiscences of families and refugees, in the recollection of battles, of sufferings, and of exile borne for the cause of the Reformation in France, there is a charm for me in studying the details of the French Reformation quite fascinating; besides, the consideration of the reform in that country affords many instances of particular importance, while in its origin it presents us with features expressive of a singular character.

I believe the Reformation to be the work of God, and as such most clearly defined. Nevertheless I trust I shall be impartial in tracing the events of this important history. I experience for the principal Roman Catholic actors in this great drama, for Leo the Tenth, Albert of Magdebourg, Charles the Fifth, and Dr Eck, for example, a sentiment much more favourable than the feelings displayed towards them by the greater number of historians. And, on the other hand, I have no wish to conceal the imperfections and errors of the reformers.

Since the winter of 1831-32, I have given public lectures on the period of the Reformation. I, at the time, published my opening discourse.* These courses have furnished me with preparative labours for the history I now prepare for the inspection of the public.

Moreover, this history is supported by such resources as have become familiar to me in the course of a long sojourn in Germany, in the Low Countries, and in Switzerland, as well as by a careful study, in the original languages, of the documents relative to the religious history of Great Britain and of other countries; and as these resources will be referred to in notes during the progress of this work, it is not required that I should advert to them more particularly at this stage of my labours.

I could have wished to have established, by an ample reference to many original notes, the fairness of the various parts of my narrative. I have felt afraid, however, that too long and frequent explanations must interrupt the thread of the story in a manner very harassing to the reader. I have, therefore, limited myself to the exposure of

* "Lecture on the Study of the History of Christianity, and its utility for the Present Times." Paris. 1832. J. J. Risler.

such passages as appeared to me the most essential in guarding from abuse the real object of the history I have undertaken to record.

I address this history to those who desire to review the occurrences of former years simply in the manner in which they appeared, and not as represented by those magical glasses of genius which impart to past events a fresh colouring, an unjust enlargement, although also the same art is found at times to diminish as well as to alter the semblance of particular circumstances. Neither the philosophy of the eighteenth nor the romance of the nineteenth century shall be consulted as guides to regulate my descriptions and conclusions. I will write the history of the Reformation in the exact spirit of that great work. Principles, it has been said, are not modest. Their nature is to domineer, and they will imperiously claim the benefit of their privilege. If other principles are found to offer in the way any shew of resistance, a fierce combat is at once commenced. A principle can only rest tranquil after it has gained the victory; and it cannot do otherwise. To reign is its sole existence: if it does not reign, it dies. Thus, while equally declaring that I am neither able nor willing to form a rivalry with the other historians of the Reformation, I take my ground upon the principles whereon this history rests, and I will resolutely maintain their superiority.

Up to the present hour we do not possess, as it appears to me, in French, a history of the memorable epoch I am about to describe. Nor when I began my work was there any visible signs of this want being supplied. This circumstance alone is of sufficient importunity to encourage such an undertaking as the present, and I offer the statement as a justification of my endeavour to fulfil this task. The want still remains unsupplied; and I pray of him from whom all good works proceed, to grant that my feeble exertions may not prove destitute of fruit to every one that reads these artless pages.

EAUX-VIVES, NEAR GENEVA, *August 1835.*

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THINGS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

Christianity—Two distinct Principles—Formation of Popery—First Invasions—Influence of Rome—Co-operation of Bishops and of Parties—Exterior Unity of the Church—Interior Unity of the Church—Precedence of St Peter—Patriarchs—Co-operation of Princes—Influence of Barbarians—Rome invokes the Franks—Secular Power—Pepin and Charlemagne—Decretals—Disorders of Rome—The Emperor paramount over the Pope—Hildebrand—Celibacy—Hildebrand—Struggle with the Empire—Emanicipation of the Pope—The Crusades—The Church—Corruption of the Doctrine.

THE world, grown weak, reeled upon its foundations at the time Christianity made her appearance. Those national religions which were found equal to the wants of the fathers no longer satisfied the desires of their children. The new generation could not farther endure the restraints of ancient forms. The gods of every nation, having been carried to Rome, had there lost the power of their oracles, as the people had in the same place lost their liberty. These gods, ranged face to face in the capitol, were mutually cast into oblivion, and their divinity had shrunk into nothing. A great vacuum had been formed in the religion of the world.

A certain Deism, deprived of all spirit and life, floated, for some time, over the surface of that dark abyss into which were to be plunged the vigorous superstitions of the ancients. But, like every other negative belief, this false faith had no ability to edify. The confined notions of the several nations fell into neglect with their gods. The people themselves became confounded in their races. And in Europe, Asia, and Africa, there was finally known no more than one empire, and mankind began to perceive the impress of their own unity and universality.

Then was the Word made flesh.

God appeared among men, and like a man, in order to save that which was lost. In Jesus of Nazareth dwelt bodily all the fulness of the Godhead.

Now is seen the greatest event recorded in the annals of the world. The times that were gone past had prepared the accomplishment of this design, the times that were to follow received from it their purpose.

Here was formed the centre of human affairs, the cord that bound the ends of the world together.

Henceforth the various superstitions of the people were rendered void of meaning, and the feeble glimmerings which had not been quenched in the ravages of the conquests of incredulity were absorbed in the light of the majestic Sun of eternal truth.

The Son of man lived on earth for the space of thirty-three years, healing the sick, instructing sinners, yet not having a place whereon to lay his head, and from the depth of such debasement, making to shine forth a grandeur, a holiness, a power, and a divine influence, the world had never known. He suffered, died, and rose again, and ascended up into heaven. His disciples, beginning at Jerusalem, traversed the empire and the world, proclaiming everywhere their Master "as the Author of eternal salvation." From the bosom of a people that were rejected by all the other nations appeared the mercy which came to call them to repentance, and to include within its clemency the whole body of the human race. A vast number of the inhabitants of Asia, of Greece, and of Rome, until then led by the priests to prostrate themselves at the feet of dumb idols, now believed in the Word. That Word, says Eusebius,* enlightened suddenly the earth like the rays of a sunbeam. The breath of life began to move the deadened spirits of this great charnel house. A new people, a holy nation, was raised up among men; and the astonished world beheld in the followers of the Galilean a purity of manners, a self-denial, a charity, and a heroism, of which the very idea had been lost.

Two principles more particularly distinguished this new religion from all the human systems which vanished at her appearance. The first of these elements held a reference to the ministers of worship, the other to the doctrines of faith.

The ministers of Paganism were almost the same as the gods on whom depended those religions of human invention. The Egyptian priests, the Gallican, the German, the Briton, the Hindoo, and many like, controlled the wills of the people too long, while their eyes were shut to the truth. Jesus Christ, without doubt, established a class of ministers, but he did not constitute a particular priesthood; he cast down from their seats those living idols of nations, and destroyed a splendid hierarchy; he took from man what man had taken from God, and reinstated the soul in its immediate connexion with the Divine source of all truth, by declaring himself to be the only Master and Mediator. "Christ alone is your Master," said he; "for you, you are all brethren."†

With regard to their doctrines, the religions invented by men had declared that salvation came from man. These religions of the earth had constructed a terrestrial salvation. They had promised man that heaven would be given to him as a recompense. They had even fixed a stated and regulated price for this reward. The religion of God, on the other hand, exhibited salvation as coming from God, represented it as a gift from heaven, an act of pardon, a deed of sovereign grace. "God," says his religion, "has given eternal life."‡

* *Ὁς τις ἦν ὁ λόγος.* (Hist. Ecol. ii. 3.)

† Matt. xxiii. 8.

‡ John, v. 2.

Christianity, indeed, cannot be understood to concentrate all its meaning within the terms of these two propositions, but they appear to regulate the subject, especially when brought into contact with history. And aware of the impossibility of tracing the contradiction between truth and error through all its conceits, we are constrained to fix upon the most conspicuous conceptions abroad.

Such were, then, two of the constituent principles of that religion which, at the time we speak of, took possession of the empire and of the world. Under their influence the real idea of Christianity is realized; beyond their sphere Christianity is lost. On their preservation or abandonment depends the rise or fall of the true faith. They are, indeed, intimately connected therewith, because we cannot exalt the priests of the church or the works of the faithful without abasing Jesus Christ in his double capacity of Mediator and Redeemer. The one of these principles ought to direct the history of religion, the other ought to determine its doctrines. At the beginning of the Christian era both ruled in the hearts of believers. Let us consider how these principles fell into oblivion; and, in the first place, let us follow the fate of the former.

The Church, at its commencement, was a fraternity of brethren, conducted by brethren. The whole body was equally instructed by God, and each member had the right to come and receive for himself knowledge at the source of Divine light.* The Epistles, which at that time decided the great questions of doctrine, did not bear the ostentatious signature of a single man, of a chief. The Holy Scriptures inform us that in these documents were simply found the following words: "The apostles, the elders, and the brethren, to our brethren."†

But soon the very writings of the same apostles tell us that, from among these brethren, a power will arise which will overthrow this simple and primitive order.‡

Let us contemplate the formation and follow the developement of this power, foreign to the first principles of the church.

Paul of Tarsus, one of the greatest apostles of the new religion, had arrived at Rome, the capital of the empire and of the world, preaching the salvation which comes from God. A church was quickly formed close by the side of the throne of the Cæsars. Founded by said apostle, this church was at first composed of some converted Jews, with a few Greeks, and other citizens of Rome. For long the sacred pile shone forth like a pure light placed upon the top of a mountain. Its faith was everywhere well spoken of; but at last it deviated from its original condition. It was by small beginnings that double Rome wended her way to the usurped dominion of the world.

The first pastors or bishops of Rome occupied themselves happily with the conversion of the boroughs and towns that surrounded the great city. The necessity experienced by the bishops and pastors belonging to the country of Rome, of having recourse, in cases of difficulty, to a certain guide, as well as the gratitude due to the church of the metropolis, induced them to live in a close union with her. But the usual fate of all analogous conditions was faithfully realized in the present instance; the natural union we have described

* John, vi. 45.

† Acts, xv. 23.

‡ 2 Thess. ii.

soon degenerated into a state of dependance. The bishops of Rome regarded as a privilege of right the superiority shewn of free will by the churches in the neighbourhood. The encroachments of power are, in verity, the subject that engrosses the larger portion of history, as the resistance displayed by those whose rights are invaded forms the opposite relation. Nor could ecclesiastical power escape the envious longings which urge on all those who are elevated to seek for farther aggrandizement. That power became subject to this universal law of human nature.

Nevertheless the supremacy of the Roman bishop was then limited to the inspection of the churches placed within the territories subject to the civil superintendence of the prefect of Rome.* But the station which this city of emperors occupied in the world offered to the ambition of its head pastor destinies yet more extended. The consideration bestowed during the second century upon the various bishops of the Christian religion was proportioned to the rank held by the city in which they resided. Now Rome was the greatest, the richest, and the most powerful city in the world. She was the seat of empire, and the mother of nations. "All the inhabitants of the earth belonged to her," said Julien;† and Claudian proclaimed her to be "the source of all law."‡

If Rome were, then, the queen of all the cities of the universe, wherefore should not her pastor be the king of bishops? Wherefore should not the Roman Church be called the Mother of Christianity? Why should not the people be recognised as her children, and her authority become their sovereign law? It was easy for the ambitious heart of man to draw such conclusions. Ambitious Rome followed the dictates of humanity.

Thus Pagan Rome, in falling, conferred upon the humble minister of the God of peace, seated in midst of her ruins, those splendid titles which her invincible sword had gained for herself from all the nations of the earth.

The bishops of the various districts of the empire, fascinated by the charm which Rome had for ages exercised over every people, followed the example of the country of Rome, and gave a helping hand to the work of usurpation. They were pleased to render to the bishop of Rome a share of the honour due to the queen city of the world. There was not at first, in this accorded homage, any acknowledgment of dependance. The provincial bishops treated the Roman pastor as an equal among equals;§ but usurped powers increase in strength like the water-fall. Advices, at first simply fraternal, become very soon, in the mouth of a priest, obligatory commandments. The first place among equals in a short time assumes, in such eyes, the appearance of a throne.

The bishops of the western districts favoured the views of the pastors of Rome, either in consequence of a jealous spirit entertained

* *Suburbicaria loca*. See the 6th canon of the Council of Nice, which Rufinus (Hist. Eccl. x. 6) quotes thus: "Et ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum soliditudinem gerat," &c.

† Julien, Or. 1.

‡ Claud., in Paneg. Stilic., lib. v.

§ Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. v., c. 24; Socrates, Hist. Eccl. c. 21; Cyprian, Ep. 59, 72, 75.

against the bishops of the eastern counties, or because the former preferred seeing themselves subjected to the control of a pope rather than reduced to the submission of a power wholly temporal.

On the other hand, the theological parties that disturbed the churches of the east, endeavoured, each on their own behalf, to interest the powers of Rome in their favour. They looked for a triumph to be decided, however, by the support afforded by the principal church in the west.

Rome advanced with anxiety her requests and her intercessions, and smiled when she saw the people willingly throwing themselves into her arms. She lost no opportunity offered for increasing or extending her power. Praises, flattery, exaggerated compliments, and consultations with the other churches, all became, in the sight and in the management of Rome, the proofs and the documents of her authority. Such is the character of man when placed upon a throne. Whatever he possesses is readily made the motive, in his own eyes, for urging him on to acquire still greater means.

The doctrine of the church and the necessity of upholding an exterior concord, which, so soon as the era of the third century, had been partially established, favoured the pretensions of Rome. The church is before all things the assembly of the sanctified, (1 Cor. 1, 2,) the assembly of the first born, whose names are written in heaven, (Heb. xii. 23 ;) nevertheless the church of the Lord is not merely inward and invisible, it must also have an outward manifestation, and it is with regard to this outward manifestation that the Lord has instituted the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The church, thus invested with exterior qualities, assumes characters different to those which distinguished it as an invisible church. The inward church, which is the body of Christ, is necessarily and perpetually one. The visible church has, no doubt, at same time, a share in this unity of the first ; but, considered in herself, multiplicity is a character already attached to the visible church in the Scriptures of the New Testament ; for while these Scriptures speak to us of the one church of God,* they mention, when question is made of that church manifested from without, "the churches of Galatia, the churches of Macedonia, the churches of Judea, and all the churches of the saints."† These various churches could, no doubt, boast, to a certain degree, of an exterior union ; but although this connexion were not in existence, they would not on that account have failed to possess the essential qualifications of the church of Christ. The grand alliance which primarily bound together the members of the church was a living faith in the heart, through whose influence all were joined to Christ as their common head. manifold circumstances very soon gave rise to the adoption and development of the idea of the necessity there was to uphold an exterior unity. Some men, accustomed to the properties of political ties and forms recognised among the partisans of the world, infused some of their views and usages into the spiritual and eternal kingdom of Jesus Christ. And persecution striving in vain to destroy or even to shake this new society, she

* 1 Cor. xv. 9—1 Tim. iii. 15.

† 1 Cor. xvi. 1—2 Cor. viii. 1—Gal. i. 22—1 Cor. xiv. 33.

became yet more confident in herself, and felt the desire of rendering her corporation a well-compacted body. To the error thus introduced into the schools of theory or the sectarian assemblies was opposed the single and universal truth received by the apostles and preserved by the church. Such at least was the case so long as the invisible and spiritual church continued to be one with the outward and visible church. But too soon an unhappy divorce took place: the form and the life of religion become separated. The appearance of an identical and exterior organization was by degrees substituted in the place of that inward and spiritual union which forms the essence of the religion of God. The precious perfume of the true faith was emptied out, and people prostrated themselves before the drained vessel wherein it once was found. The faith of the heart no longer uniting the members of the church, another cord of union was sought after, and a conjunction was obtained with the aid of bishops, archbishops, popes, mitres, ceremonies, and canons. The living church having gradually retired within the dispersed sanctuary of a few solitary souls, its place was occupied by the exterior church, which was declared, with all its forms, to be an institution of Divine appointment. Salvation, proceeding no more from the word, henceforth to be hid from view, was ordained to be communicated by the method of invented forms, and was declared to be unattainable by any one save through the channel of these rites. No person, it was said, could possibly arrive, in the strength of his own faith, at the possession of eternal life. Christ, it was assumed, has communicated that saving faith to the care of the apostles, who have conferred upon the bishops the unction of the Holy Spirit; and this spirit is only found to flow in the order now prescribed. Originally, whoever was imbued with the Spirit of Jesus Christ was in reality a member of the church; but now the meaning of such terms was inverted, and it was presumed that he only who was a member of the church had received the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

These notions, at the same time that they were calculated to establish a distinction between the clergy and the people, led to yet deeper error; for the salvation of souls was no longer held to depend entirely upon faith in Jesus Christ, but likewise to rest, in a particular manner, upon a union with the church, the representatives and heads of the church receiving a share of the trust which is alone due to Jesus Christ, and becoming for the flock real mediators. The salutary idea of a universal priesthood among Christians thus gradually disappeared—the servants of the church of Christ were compared to the priests of the ancient ritual, and those who separated themselves from the bishop were entered in the same class with Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. From a particular priesthood, like the one now described as adopted by the church, to a sovereign priesthood, similar to that afterwards claimed by Rome, the step is alike easy and natural.

In truth, from the moment that the error for confirming,* as of necessity, a visible unity in the church was fully recognised, another error was speedily seen to arise, that, namely, of the necessity of

* "Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei. Ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia." (Irenæus.)

forming an exterior representation of said unity. Although in no part of the gospel any mention is made of a precedence due to St. Peter over the other apostles; although the unique idea of pre-eminence is contrary to the fraternal affinity which united the disciples, and to the very spirit of an evangelical dispensation, which, in a very opposite temper admonishes all the children of the Father to be helpful one to another, acknowledging but one teacher and one head; although Jesus Christ has been found firmly to rebuke his disciples whenever ambitious thoughts of precedency escaped their mouths, as the dictates of their fleshly hearts, still a pre-eminence has been, on the strength of passages ill understood, invented, and conferred upon St Peter, still has this apostle, and his pretended successors in Rome, been revered as the visible representatives of the visible unity, or as the heads of the church.

The patriarchal constitution was likewise found to advance the exaltation of Roman Popery. As early as the three first centuries, the churches of the metropolis had enjoyed the privileges of a particular consideration. The Council of Nice, in its sixteenth canon, distinguishes three cities whose churches possessed, according to its statutes, an ancient authority over those of the neighbouring provinces. These cities were Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch. The political origin of this distinction is, at same time, easily recognised from the very name which was at first given to the bishop of these cities. He was called *Exarch*, as well as the political governor.* At a later date, the bishop received the more ecclesiastical appellation of *Patriarch*. It is in the Council of Constantinople that we find this latter denomination first made use of; although it is there employed in a different sense to what the same term was applied at an after period. It was only a little before the meeting of the Council of Chalcedonia that this appellation was exclusively attributed to the high dignitaries of the metropolis. The second general council created a new patriarchship, that even of Constantinople, of the new Rome, of the second capital of the empire. The church of Byzantium, although long left in obscurity, now enjoyed the *same privileges* and was raised to the same rank as the Church of Rome, by the Council of Chalcedonia. The Church of Rome, therefore, shared with these three other churches the patriarchal supremacy. But when the invasion of Mahomet made the tribunals of Alexandria and Antioch to vanish; when the See of Constantinople was depressed; and, later still, was even removed from the west, Rome remained single, and, circumstances conspiring to make her prosperous, her steadfast tribunal continued henceforth without a rival.

Many new accomplices, possessed of yet greater strength than all the others, also came to the assistance of Rome. Ignorance and superstition laid hold upon the church and delivered her over to Rome, with her eyes blindfolded and her hands bound in iron fetters.

Nevertheless this captivity was not enforced without a struggle. Often did the authority of the churches proclaim their independence.

* See Canon, Sardic. VI., and also the Council of Chalcedonia—Canons 8 and 18, & *the distinction*.

And this courageous declaration was most distinctly heard in the districts of proconsular Africa and in the east.*

But Rome availed herself of new allies, in order to stifle the voice of the churches. A number of princes who, in consequence of these stormy times, felt their thrones to shake beneath them, offered to give assistance to Rome, should she, in return, be willing to support their dynasties. They secured for her a spiritual authority upon the condition that she would retain for them their secular dominion. These princes afforded Rome a good bargain in souls, in the hope that she would help them to make a good bargain with their enemies. In such a manner as we have here described did the ascending hierarchical power and the descending imperial sway mutually support each other, and hurry on, by such an alliance, their double destiny.

Rome could not, however, suffer loss from such agreements. And an edict of Theodosius II., confirmed by Valentinian III., proclaimed the bishop of Rome rector of the whole church.† Justinian likewise published an ordinance of the same tendency. These decrees did not comprise, however, the full influence attributed to them by the popes. But while ignorance so widely prevailed, it was easy for these dignitaries to assume the interpretation most suitable to their own purposes. The domination of the emperors of Italy becoming always more precarious, the bishops of Rome knew how to profit by such opportunities for relieving themselves from every mark of uneasy dependance.

But from the forests of the north energetic promoters of the Papal superiority had already issued forth. Those barbarians who had invaded the west, and had there fixed their dwelling-place, after having made themselves drunk with the excesses of rapine and murder, were willing to sheath their marauding swords before the intellectual power which now opposed their progress. Wholly unacquainted with the temper of Christianity, ignorant of the spiritual nature of the church, yet recognising the need of some outward appearances of religion, these uncivilized beings, half in the species of savages, half in the fervour of Paganism, prostrated themselves in the presence of the grand priest of Rome. With supporters thus compromised, the west was at the disposal of the Romish priest. In the first place, the Vandals, then the Ostrogoths, soon afterwards the Burgundians and the Alains, latterly the Visigoths, and finally the people of Lombardy and the Anglo-Saxons, all consented to bend the knee before the Roman pontiff. It was upon the shoulders of the robust children of the idolatrous north that one of the pastors was carried

* Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, says of Etienne, bishop of Rome, . . . "Magis ac magis ejus errorem denotabis, qui haereticorum causam contra Christianos et contra *Ecclesiam Dei* asserere conatur . . . qui unitatem et veritatem de divina lege venientem non tenens. . . . Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est." (Epist. 74.) Firmilian, bishop of Cesarea, in Cappadocia, also says, in the second half of the third century: "Eos autem qui Romae sunt, non ea in omnibus observare quae sunt ab origine tradita, et frustra auctoritatem apostolorum praetendere. . . . Caeterum nos (the bishops of the churches of Asia, more ancient than those of Rome) veritati et consuetudinem sed *veritates* opponimus; ab initio hoc tenentes quod a Christo et ab apostolo traditum est." (Cypr. Ep. 75.) These testimonies are of mighty force.

† Rector totius Ecclesiae.

from the shores of the Tiber and placed upon the supreme throne of the Christian hierarchy.

These events took place in the west at the beginning of the seventh century, exactly at the same time that the power of Mahomet appeared in the east, equally desirous of subjugating a large portion of the earth's inhabitants.

From this moment, the power of evil increased without the least symptoms of mitigation, and, in the course of the eighth century, we behold the bishops of Rome repulsing with one hand the Greek emperors, their own legitimate sovereigns, whom they strove to drive beyond the bounds of Italy, whilst with the other hand the same diocesans were seen to invite the attention of the majordomos of France, and to ask from this new power, lately sprung up in the west, the possession of some of the ruins of the great empire. Rome in this manner established her usurped authority between the east which she repelled and the west which she took under her protection. She raised her throne in the heart of two insurrections. Terrified by the cries of the Arabs, who, masters of Spain, were threatening very soon to invade Italy through the passages of the Pyrenees and the Alps, and to cause the name of Mahomet to be proclaimed upon the top of the seven hills; equally alarmed at the boldness of Astolphus, who, at the head of his men of Lombardy, imitated the fierce challenges of the lion, and brandished his sword in front of the gates of the eternal city, menacing the destruction of every Roman citizen,* Rome, near her fall, in the tremour of dismay, cast her eyes about her, and implored the protection of the Franks. The usurper, Pepin, demanded of Rome a pretended sanction of his new royalty; Popery granted the request, and received in return permission to declare herself the defender of the "Republic of God." Pepin took from the hardy sons of Lombardy what they had taken from the emperor; but instead of returning this booty to the ruined prince, he placed upon the altar of St Peter the keys of the cities he had conquered, and swore, with his hand uplifted, that it was not in the cause of a man he had taken up arms, but in order to obtain from God the remission of his sins, and to offer to St Peter the homage of his conquests. Thus it was that France established the temporal power of the popes.

Charlemagne succeeds to the throne. He, for a first time, mounts the entrance to the great Church of St Peter and devoutly kisses the steps of the staircase. He presents himself a second time before the same basilisk, as master of all the people who formed the empire of the west, and even of Rome herself. Leo III. considered it his duty to bestow the title upon him who had already obtained the power, and in the year 800, at the time of the Christmas Feast, he placed upon the head of the son of Pepin the crown formerly worn by the emperors of Rome.† From this time the pope belonged to the empire of the Franks; his connexions with the east were at an end. He detached himself from a rotten trunk that was about to fall, in

* "Fremens ut leo . . . asserens omnes uno gladio jugulari."—(Anastasius, Bib. Vit. Pontif, p. 83.)

† "Visum est et ipsi Apostolico Leoni, . . . Ut ipsam Carolum, imperatorem nominare debuisset, qui ipsam Romam tenebat, ubi semper Cesares sedere soliti erant et reliquas sedes." . . . (Annalista Lambecianus; ad an. 801.)

order to engraft himself upon the branches of a vigorous wild stock. Among these German races to whom Charlemagne adhered, there awaited him a fortune to which he could never have believed himself entitled.

This emperor, however, did not bequeath to his feeble successors more than the ruins of his power. During the ninth century, disunion everywhere weakened the civil authority; and Rome understood this to be the time for her to advance her renovated claims: for at what period could the church more easily render herself independent of the state than at the epoch of a decline, wherein the crown worn by Charles was dashed to pieces, and its fragments were scattered over the surface of his ancient empire?

It was at the date we now speak of the false edicts of Isidorus appeared. In this collection of pretended decrees issued by the popes, the oldest bishops, the contemporaries of Tacitus and Quintilian, are made to speak the barbarous Latin of the ninth century. The customs and institutions of the Franks are gravely attributed to the Romans at the time of their emperors. Popes are therein made to quote the Bible in the words of the Latin translation written by St Jerome, who lived one, two, or three centuries after them. And Victor, the bishop of Rome, in the year 192, is found writing to Theophilus, who was archbishop of Alexandria in 385. The impostor who fabricated the collection now referred to was obliged to prove that every bishop held his authority from the bishop of Rome, who, in his turn, received his own powers directly from Jesus Christ. Not only are the successive conquests of the pontiffs carefully registered, but these achievements are carried down to the beginning of history. Still the popes were not ashamed to take advantage of such a contemptible deception. As early as the year 865, Nicolas I. chose to seek therein for weapons* to carry on the battle against princes and bishops. This impudent fable formed indeed for many centuries the whole armoury of Rome.

Nevertheless the vices and crimes of the pontiffs ought to have suspended for a season the effects of these decrees. Popery, in reality, signalized its admission to the table of kings by profuse libations. It became shamefully intoxicated, and its head was turned by the force of deep debauch. It was about this time tradition places upon the papal throne a girl named Joan, a person who had eloped to Rome with her lover, and whose pains of labour were the means of discovering her sex in the middle of some solemn procession. But we need not uselessly exaggerate the disgrace of the court of the Roman pontiffs. Dissolute women reigned at that period in the city of Rome. The same throne that pretended to set itself above the majesty of kings revelled in the debasement of obscene vice. Theodora and Marozia installed and removed at their pleasure the pretended masters of the church of Christ, and placed upon the throne of Peter their lovers, or sons, or grandsons. Scandal like this, undoubtedly too true, may have given rise to the tradition respecting the Popess Joan.

Rome, at last, became a wide scene of perpetual confusion, whereon the most powerful families of Italy contended for superiority. The

* See Ep. ad. univ. Episc. Gall. (Mansi xv.)

counts of Tuscany were in general the gainers of victory. In 1033 that house dared to place upon the pontifical throne, under the name of Benedict IX., a young boy bred up among the earliest practices of intemperance. This child of twelve years old continued, in the character of pope, his horrid excesses.* A number of partisans elected in his place Sylvester III.; and Pope Benedict, his conscience stained with the sin of adultery, and his hands spotted with the blood of his murdered victims,† at last sold his property in Popery to an ecclesiastic of Rome.

The emperors of Germany, enraged at the sight of such fearful disorder, cleansed Rome from these abhorrent reproaches by the dispersion of the sword. This empire, holding in estimation its paramount rights, drew from the mire the triple crown, and saved degraded Popery from ruin, by placing at its head men of decent character. Henry III. dismissed, in 1046, the three popes; and his finger, ornamented with the ring of Roman nobility, appointed the bishop to whom the keys of the confession of St Peter should be entrusted. Four popes, each from Germany, and named by the emperor, succeeded to one another. When the pontiff of Rome died, the deputies of that church appeared at the imperial court, as the representatives of the other dioceses, to request the appointment of a new bishop. The emperor beheld, even with satisfaction, the reform of abuses completed by these popes, who thus strengthened the cause of the church, and also called together councils, and elected or removed prelates, independent of the authority of foreign monarchs; for Popery, in thus acting, served mainly to increase the power of the emperor, its sovereign lord. Still it was at a great risk the game now described was played, with reference to the interests of the German ruler. The force which the popes in this manner gradually acquired, they might, it was evident, turn quickly against the influences of the emperor. When the animal has grown strong, it will tear open the bosom in which it has been nursed; and circumstances really occurred after this fashion.

Here we behold a new epoch to begin in the concerns of Popery. She springs up out of her deep humiliation, and very soon encompasses the overthrow of the princes of the earth. To raise up Popery is to elevate the church; it is to enlarge religion; it is to ensure for the spirit the victory over the flesh, to give God the triumph over the world. Such are the maxims professed by Popery; ambition finds therein a source of profit, fanaticism a firm excuse.

The whole strength of this new tendency is vigorously personified in the character of one man—in Hildebrand.

Hildebrand, by turns, indiscriminately exalted or unjustly degraded, may indeed be counted as the personification of the Roman pontificate in all its strength and glory. He cannot but be regarded as one of those normal apparitions of history which comprise within their

* "Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium, vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre." (Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, afterwards Pope Victor III. De Miraculis a S. Benedicto, etc. lib. III., init.)

† "Theophylactus, . . . cum post multa adulteria et homicidia manibus suis perpetrata," etc. (Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, afterwards of Plaisance.—Liber ad amicum.)

own existence a perfectly new order of things, like to the distinctions acquired in other spheres by Charlemagne, Luther, and Napoleon.

Leo IX. casually met with this monk at Clugny, and conducted him to Rome. From the moment of his arrival in that great city, Hildebrand became the soul of Papacy, until it may be said that Papacy became incorporated with him, as it were in one body. He governed the church under the name of several pontiffs before he assumed in his own person, under the title of Gregory VII., the sovereign rule. One grand idea was seized upon by this great genius. He desired to lay the foundation of a visible theocracy, of which the pope, as vicar of Jesus Christ, should be the head. The vision of the ancient and universal dominion of Pagan Rome closely haunted his imagination and animated his zeal. He longed to give back to Papal Rome what Rome under her emperors had for ever lost. "That which Marius and Cesar," say the flatterers of Gregory, "have not been able to accomplish at the expense of torrents of blood, you have finished by the pronouncement of a single word."

Gregory VII., however, was not under the guidance of the Spirit of the Lord—that spirit of truth, of humility, and of mercy was a stranger to his bosom. He forsook that which he knew to be the truth, when he considered it incompatible with the success of his designs. A memorable proof of which unprincipled conduct was clearly evinced in the case of Berenger; but a spirit much superior to the mind of the common herd of pontiffs, an inward conviction of the justice of his cause, still animated the breast of this Gregory. Bold, ambitious, and inflexible in his purpose, he was at same time clever and subtle in the employment of those means which seemed to ensure the success of his enterprise.

His first work was to construct the military force of the church; for it was necessary to make this prop of his power sufficient before any attacks were made upon the empire. A council held at Rome caused all the pastors to desert their families, and obliged them to live solely for the behoof of the hierarchy. The law of celibacy, conceived and executed under the auspices of popes, monks themselves, changed the body of the clergy into a description of monastic order. Gregory VII. pretended to exercise over all the bishops and priests of Christianity a power similar to that practised by an abbot of Clugny over the order of which he was the president. The pope's legates of Hildebrand, who compared themselves to the proconsuls of ancient Rome, scoured the provinces in every direction, in order to carry off the legitimate wives of all the pastors; and where these efforts were unavailing, the pope himself stirred up the populace against the married ministers.*

But the grand object contemplated by Gregory was to emancipate Rome from the thralldom of the German empire. Such a design could never have been entertained by the pope, had not the confusion raging in the time of Henry IV.'s minority, and the consequent revolt of the German princes against the same young emperor,

* "*Hi quocumque prodeunt, clamores insultantium, digitos ostendentium, colaphos pulsantium, perferunt. Alii membris mutilati, alii per longos cruciatus superbe necati,*" etc. (Martene et Durand, *Thesaurus*, Nov. Anecd. i., 231.)

encouraged the hope of successfully terminating an enterprise of this most daring character. The pope now resembled one of the magnates of the empire; and, by uniting his cause to that of some other grand vassals, he secured a part in the concerns of the aristocratic interest, whilst he forbade every denomination of ecclesiastics, under pain of excommunication, to receive from the emperor the investiture of their charge. The pope thus cut asunder the ancient cord which bound the churches and their pastors to the authority of the prince; but the separation was made with the intention of binding yet more closely the affairs of all to the state of the pontifical throne—a measure which might suffice to restrain with potent shackles the movements of the priests, the kings, and the people, and to secure for the pope the sway of a universal monarch. It was of Rome alone that every priest should stand in awe; it was in Rome alone he ought to encourage hope. The kingdoms and principalities of the earth were made subject to its dominion. Every king must have trembled at the noise of the thunder raised by the Jupiter of modern Rome. Unhappy the prince who despised this fearful warning! For subjects were loosened from their oaths of allegiance; the whole country was threatened with interdicts; all worship ceased; the temples were closed; the bells were rendered mute; the sacraments were not administered; and the sentence of malediction extended even to the unoffending bodies of the dead, to whom the earth, at the command of a supreme pontiff, refused the repose of the silent grave.

The pope, a subject, even from the first days of his existence, first to the authority of the Roman emperors, then of the Franks, and, lastly, of the German emperors, was now freed from submission, and for the first time assumed an equal rank with these same monarchs, if, indeed, he did not take the station of their master. Nevertheless Gregory was doomed in his turn to suffer humiliation. Rome was taken, and Hildebrand was forced to flee for safety and for succour. He died at Salerno, declaring, with his last breath, “I have loved justice and have hated iniquity; and, therefore, I have been left to die in exile.”* Who can dare to condemn these words as hypocritical, seeing that they were uttered at the porch of the grave?

The successors of Gregory, in imitation of those soldiers who arrive after the completion of some great victory, threw themselves as conquerors upon the subjected churches. Spain, drawn out of the meshes of Ishlamism, and Prussia, carried away from her idols, fell into the arms of the crowned priest. The crusades, which were undertaken at his command, spread and increased his authority in every direction: those pious pilgrims, who feigned to believe they beheld saints and angels guiding their armed followers, entering meekly with naked feet into the gates of Jerusalem, burned the Jews in the synagogues, and deluged with the blood of many thousand Saracens the place where they came to seek the sacred traces of the Prince of Peace, and made known in the east the name of the pope, which was no longer remembered in that quarter, since, for the supremacy of the Franks, the inhabitants had forsaken the authority of the Greeks.

Moreover, that which the arms of the Roman republic and of the

* *Dilexi justitiam, et odivi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio.*

empire had both failed to accomplish, the power of the church completed. The Germans brought and laid down at the feet of a bishop those tributes which their ancestors had refused to yield to the forces of the most heroic generals. The princes of that country, in becoming emperors, had imagined that they would receive from the popes a settled crown, but the popes had in reality placed a yoke upon their shoulders. The kingdoms of Christendom, already subjected to the spiritual dominion of Rome, now became her tributaries and slaves.

And thus all things were changed in the condition of the church.

At the outset of her career, the church was composed of a people of brethren; and now we behold in the stead of such a body the gigantic form of an absolute monarchy. All Christians were the priests of the living God,* having humble pastors to guide their steps. But a monstrous head has been seen to rise in the midst of these lowly pastors; a strange mouth has been heard to utter sentences full of pride; an iron hand has been stretched forth to constrain the actions of all men, small and great, rich and poor, free and in bonds, and to compel them to acknowledge the mark of its power. The holy and primitive equality of souls in the sight of God has been lost. Christendom, at the order of a man, has been divided into two unequal camps; on the one side composed of a class of priests who have dared to usurp the name of the church, and who lay claim, in the eyes of the Lord, to many great privileges; and on the other hand a crowd of servile followers, reduced to a state of blind and passive submission, a people to whom the use of their speech is denied, and who are treated after the manner of suckling infants delivered over to the care of a splendid priestly sect. Every tribe, and language, and nation in Christendom are found subjugated to the dominion of a spiritual king who boasts of having received the power to conquer.

CHAPTER II.

Grace—Dead Faith—Works—Unity and Duality—Pelagianism—Salvation in the hands of the Priests—Penance—Flagellations—Indulgences—Supererogatory Merits—Purgatory—Taxes—Jubilees—Popery and Christianity—State of Christendom.

But in close connexion with that principle which ought to regulate the history of Christianity must be placed the principle which equally ought to govern the doctrines of the same faith. The leading idea of Christianity was the idea of grace, of pardon, of reconciliation, and of the gift of eternal life. This idea supposes man to be in a state of estrangement from God, and under an impossibility to enter again, by any means of his own, into communion with that infinitely holy Being. The difference between the one true faith and that which is false could not certainly be wholly summed up in the question of salvation by faith or of salvation by works. Nevertheless the doctrine of salvation by faith is the most wholesome of all doctrines.

Nay, it may be farther asserted that salvation, considered as coming from man, has been the chief source of every error and abuse which have stained the annals of Christianity. The excesses produced by this fundamental error were the main promoters of the Reformation; and that work itself was accomplished by the steadfast profession of the contrary principle. It is, therefore, of importance to insert this fact, in a most conspicuous manner, into an introduction of the history of the great Reform.

Salvation by grace—such was, then, the second characteristic which essentially distinguished the religion of God from all the religions of human invention. And what has become of this significant mark? Has the church preserved it as a primary object of her care? Let us look into the history of this stamp of true religion.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem, of Asia, of Greece, and of Rome, at the time of the first emperors, heard these glad tidings: "You are saved by grace, by faith; it is the gift of God."* And at the sound of this message of peace, of this gospel, at the utterance of this powerful word, many guilty souls believed, and were brought near to him who is the source of peace; and numerous Christian churches were formed in the very heart of the degenerated generations of that darkened age.

But very soon a grand mistake was made in the conceptions formed of the nature of that faith which saves the soul. Faith, according to St Paul, is the means by which the whole body of the believer—his mind, his heart, his will—are become the objects of salvation, which the incarnation and the death of the Son of God have acquired for him. Jesus Christ is laid hold on by faith; and, from the moment he is thus received, he becomes everything for man and in man. He communicates to human nature the essence of a divine life; and man, thus renewed, freed from the power of selfishness and of sin, has given him new affections, and is actuated thereby to the performance of new works. Faith, says theology, in order to express these ideas, is the subjective appropriation of the objective work of Christ. If faith be not an appropriation of salvation, it is nothing; the whole of the Christian economy is overcast, the sources of the new life are dried up, and Christianity is moved from her foundation.

And so it unfortunately happened. The practical view we have given of faith was gradually forgotten. She soon became no more than what she still remains in the minds of many, an act of the intellect, a simple submission to a superior authority.

From this first error there naturally flows a second; for faith being thus despoiled of her practical character, it was impossible to assert that she could be the only means of salvation. Works were no longer associated with her as a consequence, and, therefore, it was necessary to set them aside; so that the doctrine of man being justified by faith and by works was received into the church. To the Christian unity, which combines under the same principle justification and works, grace and the law, the precept and the practice, succeeded the hapless double meaning which construes the words religion and morality as significant of two distinct objects, that miser-

* Ephesians, ii.

able error which, by separating what, in order to live, must be united, by placing the soul in one place and the body in another, causes certain death. The words of the apostle, resounding through every age, have proclaimed—"You have begun with the Spirit, and you now finish with the flesh!"

Another grand error was yet farther added to the doctrine of grace, namely, the heresy of Pelagianism. Pelagius pretended to believe that human nature had suffered no fall, that there was no such thing as hereditary corruption, and that having received the power to do well, man had only to wish to do so in order to ensure a perfectly correct method of acting.* If to do right consisted merely in the performance of some outward actions, Pelagius was sound enough in this view of our nature. But if what is right be brought to the test of those principles under whose influence the outward act was performed, then there will be discovered universally in the heart of man the disposition of selfishness, forgetfulness of God, impurity of thought, and abounding weakness. The Pelagian doctrine, driven out of the church by Augustin, when it dared to intrude therein unmasked, soon sought its way back, in a hidden manner, as amended Pelagianism, and under the guise of some Augustinian formulas. This error, thus clothed, found a ready access in its most rapid course throughout the whole boundaries of Christendom. The great danger of the system we allude to was most particularly manifested in this, that, supposing good to proceed from without and not from within, it caused an exorbitant value to be placed upon exterior works, on legal observances, and upon acts of penitence. The more such actions were performed, the more holy the performers of them became; with the performance of that kind of deeds heaven was purchased, and very soon it was imagined of men, (a most astonishing idea really,) that they could exceed in holy works the limits necessary for their salvation.

At the same time that Pelagianism corrupted the sound doctrine it equally strengthened the hands of the hierarchy; with the same instrument which it used in overthrowing grace it proudly raised the church: for grace may be called God, and the church man.

The more we acknowledge the whole world to be culpable in the sight of God, the more firmly will we attach ourselves, without hesitation, to Jesus Christ as the sole source of grace. How could we possibly place the church on the same level with him, seeing that she is no more than the representative of all those who find themselves immersed in the same natural misery? But from the moment that we attribute to man a holiness belonging to himself, a personal merit, everything becomes changed. Ecclesiastical functionaries and monks are then considered as the most natural means through which to receive the graces of God. This was the notion adopted in the sequel of the doctrine of Pelagius. Salvation, taken out of the hands of God, was transferred to the hands of the priests. These dignitaries assumed the station of our Lord; and the souls, eager to obtain pardon, need no longer turn their views towards Heaven, but towards the church, and especially towards its pretended head. The pontiff of Rome

* "Velle et esse ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de arbitrii fonte descendunt." (Pelagius in Aug. de *Gratia Dei*, cap. 4.)

was set up in place of God before the eyes of blinded spirits. Hence arose the grandeur of the popes and the commission of inexpressible abuse. The evil reached a limit altogether marvellous, so that Pelagianism, in asserting that man was able to attain to a state of perfect sanctification, also pretended that the merits of saints and martyrs might be applied for the benefit of the church. A particular virtue was even attached to their intercession. Prayers were addressed to them individually; their help was implored in all the distresses of life, and a positive form of idolatry was thus introduced in lieu of the humble adoration of the only living and true God.

• At the same time Pelagianism multiplied the number of rites and ceremonies; for man, supposing that he could, and that he ought, by his good works, to render himself worthy of grace, saw nothing more proper for the accomplishment of this object than constant acts of worship. The ceremonial law was complicated beyond measure, and was very soon held as at least equal in efficacy to the moral law. And in this manner the ceremonies of Christians were anew burdened with a yoke which had been declared insupportable at the time of the apostles.*

But the system of penitence, naturally flowing out of the scheme of Pelagianism, was found most grievously to injure the pure spirit of Christianity. In the first instance, penitence was made to consist in certain public signs of repentance, which the church had imposed on those whom she had excluded from her privileges on account of certain acts of scandal, but who were desirous of being again received within the walls of the sanctuary.

By degrees, however, penitence was extended to the recognisance of every possible sin, even to the most secret faults, and it was regarded as a kind of chastisement to which one must of necessity submit in order to acquire, through the absolution of the priests, the pardon of God.

Ecclesiastical penitence was in this manner confounded with Christian repentance, without which neither justification nor sanctification could, in this world, be obtained.

Instead of expecting pardon solely from Christ by means of faith in him, remission of sin was mainly looked for in the direction of the church, and in virtue of those works of penance to which we have referred.

Much importance was attached to outward symptoms of repentance, to the shedding of tears, to fastings, and to mortifications, whilst the inward regeneration of the heart was entirely forgotten, although therein is constituted the only signs of a true conversion.

As confession and the works of penance were more easily fulfilled than the rooting out of sin or the forsaking of vice, many persons ceased their struggle against the lusts of the flesh, and preferred the gratification of these desires at the understood expense of certain mortifications.

These works of penance, substituted instead of salvation from God, were multiplied in the church from the time of Tertullian on to the period of the thirteenth century. Fastings were rendered imperative,

* Acts of the Apostles, xv., 10.

as well as at times to go barefooted, or to leave off wearing linen, and the like, whilst it was farther made obligatory, on occasions, to depart from one's home and country, and to wander towards some distant land; or even to renounce the world altogether, and to enter into compact with the monastic state.

During the eleventh century, there had been joined to all these evidences of penitence a system of voluntary scourgings, and this system at a later period assumed in Italy, at the time violently agitated, the appearance of actual madness. Nobles and bondmen, young and old, and even children who had only reached the age of five years, went about in couples, by hundreds, by thousands, and by tens of thousands, traversing the villages, towns, and cities, without any other clothing over them save an apron tied round the middle of the body, and paying visits in procession to several churches at the most inclement period of the winter season; and, armed with a whip, they flogged themselves unmercifully, so that the streets resounded with the noise of cries and groans which drew tears from the eyes of those who heard their lamentations.

Nevertheless, even before the evil had reached this summit of folly, men, oppressed by the tyranny of the priest, had long sighed for deliverance. The priests themselves, indeed, had foreseen the necessity of providing some remedy for such excess, if they desired to retain the influences of their usurped dominion. They, therefore, invented the novel system of exchange, distinguished by the name of indulgences. They said, "You are unable, 'O penitent sinner!' to accomplish the tasks which are imposed upon you. Well, then, we, the priests of God, and your pastors, we will take upon ourselves these heavy burdens." "For the benefit of a fast of seven weeks," said Regino, the abbot of Prüm, "there shall be paid, if the applicant be rich, the sum of twenty sous; if he be less rich, ten sous; and if he be poor, three sous; and in the same ratio 'for other things.'"^{*} Some bold remonstrances were undoubtedly raised against this method of carrying on commercial dealings, but in vain.

The pope very soon discovered the many advantages it was possible for him to obtain in the encouragement of this scheme of indulgences. The irrefragable doctor, Alexander de Hales, contrived, during the thirteenth century, a kind of doctrine well calculated to render permanent this last resource of wealth on behalf of Popery. A bull of Clement VII. declared a belief in these indulgences an article of faith. Jesus Christ, it was said, had done much more than was necessary to reconcile men to God. One single drop of his blood had proved sufficient for that purpose. But he had shed large quantities of his blood, in order to ensure a sinking fund for the treasury of his church, which eternity itself could not suffice to expend. The supererogatory merits of the saints, the price of the works which they had finished beyond what was requisite for their own salvation, have still farther increased this holy treasure. The administration and care of all this sacred wealth have been entrusted to the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth. He consequently applies to each sinner, for the faults committed after baptism, these merits of Jesus Christ and of

^{*} *Libri Duo de Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis.*

the saints, with reference to the measure and quantity the sins committed by each sinner shall have rendered necessary. Who could dare to call in question a usage which could thus claim for itself an origin so holy?

With rapid movements, the unheard-of occupation mentioned above exhibited its transactions, until these became in a singular degré complicated. The philosophers of Alexandria have told us of a fire wherein men should be cast to ensure the purification of their nature. Many ancient teachers have also admitted the fairness of this idea. Rome made a still greater advance in favour of such philosophical opinion, and declared it to be a doctrine of her church. The pope, by a bull, connected the state of purgatory with the rest of his dominions. He resolved that man should, in that state, expiate the crimes he had not made atonement for here below, but at the same time provided that guilty souls might, by means of indulgences, be delivered from the pains of that intermediate state, in which their sins must otherwise detain them. Thomas d'Aquin fully exposes this absurd notion in his famous "Summary of Theology." No art was spared to fill the alarmed mind with terror, and horrid descriptions were drawn of the torments inflicted by the purifying fire upon those who were exposed to its fury. Even in our own day there are still to be seen, in many Catholic countries, numerous pictures, hung up in churches or public places, wherein poor creatures are depicted in the midst of ardent flames, beseeching, with agonized looks, the offer of assistance. Who could refuse the redeeming coin, which, cast into the treasury of Rome, was able to purchase the deliverance of a soul from so much suffering?

A short time after the period we speak of, (most probably by John XXII.,) there was invented, in order to regulate the transactions of this ghostly traffic, the renowned and scandalous rate-table of indulgences, of which there have been known more than forty editions. The least delicate ears would be shocked to listen, were we to repeat all the horrors included within the diabolical list.

The crime of incest was registered, if not known, at the price of five drachms, and if it was known, at the cost of six of the same pieces. Murder was rated at a certain equivalent, as well as infanticide, adultery, perjury, robbery, and house-breaking, &c. "Oh, shame upon Rome!" cries out Cladius d'Esperse, a Roman theologian; and we re-echo, Oh, shame upon humanity! for it is impossible to cast any reproach upon Rome which does not fall back upon man himself. Rome is but a representation of humanity drawn out in some of its evil passions. We say so for the sake of truth; we repeat it for the sake of justice.

Boniface VIII., the most bold and ambitious pope after the days of Gregory VII., knew how to better the deeds of his predecessors.

He published a bull, in the year 1300, by which he announced to the church that, at the commencement of every century, all those who came to Rome should there obtain the privilege of a plenary indulgence. From Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, France, Spain, Germany, and Hungary, nay, from every country, Christians flocked to Rome. Old people, advanced to the age of sixty and seventy years

performed the journey, and there were assembled, within the city of Rome, in the course of a month, two hundred thousand pilgrims. Every one of these strangers brought with them large offerings of money. And the pope and the Romans beheld their coffers filled with treasure.

Very soon Roman avidity reckoned each jubilee to begin at the term of fifty, then at the date of thirty-three, and, lastly, at the limits of every twenty-five years; and afterwards, for the greater convenience of purchasers, and the larger profits of the treasury, the advantages, alike of the jubilee and of its indulgences, were transferred from Rome to every other place in Christendom. There was no longer any need for individuals to leave their homes. The benefits which others had to seek by crossing the Alps could now be procured at the door of every house.

Evil could no farther magnify her hideous form.

Then the Reformer arose.

We have seen the fate which attended the principle that ought to regulate the history of Christianity. We have, moreover, just witnessed the destiny of the principle which equally ought to determine the doctrines of that faith: both these principles have, then, suffered shipwreck.

To establish the existence of a mediatorial class between man and God, and to cause to be purchased at the cost of works, penance, or the price of money, the salvation freely bestowed by God, is the design of Popery.

To open up to all, through Jesus Christ alone, without the intervention of any human mediator, without help from that authority calling itself the church, a free access to the grand gift of eternal life granted by God to man is the purpose of Christianity and the Reformation.

Popery is a high wall, raised up by the work of ages, between man and God. Should any one desire to overcome the summit of this partition; let him pay, or let him suffer, still he shall not have got beyond the vast inclosure.

The Reformation is the power that has cast down this huge mound—that has anew exhibited Christ to man—and that has thus made for him a plain path by which he can have access to his Creator.

Popery strives to place the church between God and man.

Christianity and the Reformation are destined to bring God and man face to face.

Popery separates them; the gospel draws them together.

After having thus traced the history of the fall and annihilation of the two grand principles which must ever distinguish the religion of God from all the religions of human invention, let us inquire into some of the results of this enormous transformation.

But let us first ascribe a certain degree of honour to the name of that church which, during the middle ages, followed the steps of the apostles and of the fathers, and which formed the church which was predecessor to that of the reformers. The church continued to be the church, although in a fallen condition, and, moreover, captive. In every circumstance she must be recognised as the best friend of man. Her hands were able, although bound, to offer a blessing.

Many servants of Jesus Christ, who held fast the essential doctrines of real Protestants, spread abroad, during these ages, a benevolent light; and, in the most humble monastery or the most obscure parish, there were found poor monks and priests able and willing to solace the afflictions of the mourners. The Catholic Church was not identified with Popery. The latter acted the part of an oppressor—the former suffered as the oppressed. The Reformation, in declaring war against the one, became the deliverer of the other; and yet, it must be said, Popery was herself at times—in the hands of God, who causes good to come out of evil—a useful and necessary check upon the ruthless power and heedless ambition of many princes.

CHAPTER III.

Religion—Relics—Laughters of the Passover—Manners—Corruption—Disorders of the Priests—Disorders of the Bishops—Disorders of the Popes—A Family of the Pope—Instruction—Ignorance—Clericisms.

We must now consider the state of the church before the Reformation.

The people of Christendom no longer expected from a living and holy God the gratuitous gift of eternal life. It was therefore necessary, in order to obtain this blessing, to have recourse to every means that could be invented by an imagination as superstitious as it was cowardly and terrified. Heaven was crowded with saints and mediators, who were commissioned to seek this grace. The earth was filled with pious works, sacrifices, and practices, and ceremonies that were sufficient to merit the godly favour. The following is the picture given us of religion at the period we speak of, by a man who was long himself a monk, but afterwards became a fellow-labourer with Luther, by Myconius.

“The sufferings and the merits of Christ were regarded as some silly history, or like the fables written by Homer. No question was made of the faith by which we can ensure for ourselves the justification of the Saviour and the inheritance of eternal life. Christ was represented as a severe judge, ready to condemn all those who would not have recourse to the intercession of saints or to the indulgences of the popes. In his stead there were wont to be exhibited as intercessors, firstly, the Virgin Mary, in imitation of Diana in Pagan worship, and afterwards a list of saints whose number the popes continued to increase without interruption. These mediators only granted the assistance of their prayers upon condition of a full observance of many orders instituted by them. In this manner it was requisite to do, not what God commands in his word, but a great quantity of works invented by monks and priests, and which produced a large sum of money, such as the repeating of Ave-Marias, and the prayers of St Ursula and St Bridget. It was, moreover, necessary to sing and to cry aloud both day and night. There were as many places to which to make pilgrimages as there were mountains, valleys, or forests. But it was possible to compensate for these troubles by the payment of money. Thus there were carried to the monasteries and to the priests sums of money and every other article possessing actual

value, such as common fowls, geese, ducks, eggs, gum, straw, butter, and cheese. Then chants were heard to pierce the air, the bells were rung, perfumes filled the vaults of the sanctuary, sacrifices were offered, the kitchens were overstocked, the glasses were lit, and the masses terminated and renewed again all these pious uses. The bishops did not preach, but they consecrated the priests, the bells, the monks, the churches, the chapels, the images, the books, the burying-grounds; and all such employment brought great revenues into the common fund. Bones, arms, and feet were preserved in gold and silver boxes: they were given to be kissed during the performance of mass; and this practice also secured a handsome profit.

"All these people maintained that the pope, being in the place of God,* could not deceive himself, and they would allow of no contradiction."†

In the church of All Saints, at Wittemberg, there were shewn a piece of Noah's ark, a little soot proceeding from the furnace of the three young men, a bit of wood belonging to the manger in which Christ lay, hair taken from the beard of the great Christopher, and 19,000 other relics of more or less value. At Schaffhausen, there was exhibited the mark of the breath of St Joseph, which Nicodemus had received upon his glove. In Wurtemberg there was not a disposer of indulgences retailing his goods, and having his head ornamented with a large feather drawn from the wing of the archangel Michael.‡ But we need not go to a distance in order to find such precious treasures. Many retailers of relics went about the country. They distributed their merchandise in the various districts, in the manner, in which at a later period the holy Scriptures have been dealt abroad, and brought them to the very houses of the faithful, to save them the expenses and labour of a pilgrimage. These relics were exposed ostentatiously in the churches, whilst the retailers spoken of were wont to pay a certain sum to the proprietors of relics, and to give them, moreover, so much per cent. upon their profits. . . . The kingdom in the heavens had been lost sight of, and in its stead men had established upon earth a shameful bazar.

So it was a profane spirit laid hold of the genius of religion, and the most sacred reminiscences of the church, the times that recalled the most faithful to meditation and to love, were dishonoured by acts of buffoonery and profanation whose origin was entirely Pagan. The "laughters of the passover" were fondly cherished in the deeds of the church. The festival observed on account of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, deserving to be celebrated with joy, every attempt was made in the discourses delivered to raise the laughter of the people. Such preachers were quaint enough to sing like the cuckoo and others to pant like a goose. One would bring to the altar a layman dressed in the habit of a monk; a second would recite the most indecent stories; a third would tell the tricks of the apostle St Peter, and, among others, the stupid fancy of his having cheated his landlord in

* 2 Thess. xi. 4.

† Myconius' History of the Reformation, and Seckendorf's History of Lutheranism.

‡ Muller's Relics, vol. iii. p. 22.

a public-house, by leaving the reckoning unpaid.* The clergymen of inferior rank took the opportunity of turning their superiors into ridicule. The temples were, in fact, converted into low places of amusement, and the priests were changed into mountebanks.

If such be a true definition of the religious practices, what must the manners of the times have been?

No doubt the corruption was not even then universal. Nor must this fact be forgotten; justice demands, on the contrary, that it should be borne in mind. There is seen, indeed, an abundance of piety, of justice, and of strength, to spring up out of the heart of the Reformation. The spontaneous action of the power of God was undoubtedly the cause of such a fortunate display. But can it be denied that he must have, beforehand, sown the seeds of that new life in the bosom of the church? Were we, in the present day, to gather together all the instances of immorality, and all the turpitude which are now being committed in a single country, the hideous apparition would still, no doubt, excite our disgust. Nevertheless, it is admitted, the evils of that day had a character particularly their own, a generality which has not been witnessed since, and especially in the abominations which were then found to disgrace the meetings in holy places, such as have never been heard of since the days of the Reformation.

Life had become extinct with the loss of the faith. The good news of the gift of eternal life is the power of God proper to regenerate the nature of man. Take away the salvation which God has given, and you equally extinguish the light of sanctification and of works. This was the result accomplished.

The doctrine and the sale of indulgences were well calculated to provoke the commission of evil among the members of an ignorant people. It is true that, according to the laws of the church, indulgences could only be useful to those who gave promises of self-correction, and who fulfilled their declarations. But what good can be expected from a doctrine invented for the purpose of securing ample profits? The disposers of indulgences were naturally tempted, in order to ensure a better custom for the commodity they offered for sale, to represent matters in the most favourable light, and in the way best fitted to persuade, or even to seduce, the persons anxious to receive the coveted privileges. The wise men themselves were diffculted to explain this doctrine of indulgences. And all that the multitude comprehended thereof, was the permission granted to indulge in sin; whilst the merchants of the license, thus openly sold, did not seek too closely to rectify an error so highly advantageous to their own interests.

What disorders must have followed, in a darkened age, the impunity purchased by a sum of money? What was not to be feared when a small contribution towards the building of a church was thought sufficient to guard one against the vengeance of the world to come? What hope could be entertained of any amendment in life when there was no longer any communication between God and man, seeing that man, estranged from God, who is the alone fountain of life, in such a state contents himself to move about in the midst of

* *Œcolompæ. De Risu Paschali.*

indifferent ceremonies and gross practices, surrounded by an atmosphere laden with the contagion of death?

The priests were the first subjects of this corruptive influence. From a desire to raise themselves too high, they were exposed to the more terrific fall. They had entertained a wish to wrest from God one ray of his glory, and to hide it in their own bosoms; but their attempt was made in vain, and they only fostered within their breasts a lump of the leaven of corruption covered with the power of evil. The annals of the times are oppressed with scandal. In many places pleasure was afforded by the open concubinage practised by many of the priests, as married women were thus saved from the wiles of clerical seducers.* How humiliating were the scenes discovered, under such circumstances, in the house of a pastor.† The unhappy being supported the mother and the children which she bore him out of the revenues of the tithes and alms. His conscience was sorely agitated: he blushed before the people, before his domestics, and before God. The mother, fearing lest, in consequence of the death of the priest, she might be left completely destitute, was wont to make application for payments in advance; nay, she often committed robbery in her own house. Her virtue was lost. Her children continued in her sight a living accusation of her guilt. Thus despised by all, she fell into constant broils and dissipation. And such was the domestic discomfort exhibited in the house of the priest. . . . These melancholy displays acted as a warning by which the people were wise enough to be instructed.‡

The country districts were equally the theatre of numerous excesses. The places in which the members of the ecclesiastical body resided were often converted into dens of deep debauchery. Cornelius Adrien at Bruges,§ and the abbot Trinkler at Cappel,|| imitated the manners of the east: they had in like manner their well-filled harems. Many of the priests associated with dissolute characters, frequenting their low resorts, playing with them at dice, and crowning such frantic revels with acts of violence and blasphemy.¶

The Council of Schaffhausen forbade the clergy to attend the occasions of public dancing, save in cases of a nuptial feast, and also enforced the relinquishment on their part of two kinds of arms; the same council likewise determining that those clergy who were found frequenting houses of bad fame should be stripped of their clerical garments.** At the archbishop's palace of Mayence, persons belonging to the clerical community were found to climb over the walls during the night, to create noise and every sort of disturbance in the hotels and public houses, and to break open lockfast places and outer doors.†† In several places the priest paid a certain sum to the bishop as a license for cohabiting with a woman, as well as for each child born in this state of cohabitation. A German bishop, seated one day at some grand feast, publicly declared that, in the course of one year, eleven thousand

* Nicol de Clemangis, *De Praesulibus Simoniacis*.

† Words of Seb. Stor. pastor of Leichstall in 1524.

‡ Fusslin *Beytraege*, ii. 224.

§ Metern. *Nederl. Hist.* viii.

|| Hottinger, *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 305.

¶ Mand. of 3d March 1517, of Hugo, bishop of Constance.

** Muller's *Reliq.* iii. 251.

†† Steubing, *Gesch der Nass, Oran Lande*,

priests had applied to him for a grant of permission to live in this state of illicit intercourse. Erasmus reports the circumstance here referred to.*

And if we ascend still higher in the scale of the hierarchical order, we shall espy instances of corruption not less offensive. The dignitaries of the church shewed a distinct preference to the tumults of the camp over the chantings at the altar; that is to say, it was considered one of the chief qualifications of a bishop to be able, sword in hand, to enforce the obedience of all around him. Baldwin, the archbishop of Tours, as a specimen of this kind of heroism, was seen continually at war with his neighbours and dependants, besieging their castles, whilst he raised up fortifications of self-defence, and seemed wholly engrossed with the desire of enlarging his own dominions. A certain bishop of Eichstadt, when he executed justice, was in the habit of wearing under his garments a coat of mail at the same time that he held in his hand a sword of monstrous size. He was, moreover, accustomed to boast that he defied the assaults of five Bavarians, provided they were content to attack him without any false advantage.† Everywhere the bishops were engaged in perpetual wars with the cities under their control. The burgesses of these towns demanded freedom in their operations, whilst the bishops were anxious to compel them to an observance of absolute obedience. When the bishops were fortunate enough to carry the day, they punished these instances of insurrection by sacrificing numerous victims to their revenge; still the flame of revolt burned vividly at the very moment when it was supposed to have been choked. And what was the spectacle exhibited by the pontifical throne to the times which immediately preceded the appearance of the Reformation. Rome, it must be acknowledged, has seldom displayed a scene so full of shame.

Roderigo Borgia, after having lived for some time with a Roman lady, had continued successively a similar illegitimate connexion with a daughter of his former paramour, Roza Vanozza, by whom he had five children. Borgia was cardinal at Rome, and an archbishop, living publicly with Vanozza, and even maintaining correspondence with other females frequenting the churches and hospitals, when the death of Innocent VIII. rendered the pontifical chair vacant. This crafty cardinal knew how to obtain possession of the empty seat, by bribing each one of his own fraternity at their respective prices. Four mules loaded with money were seen in broad day to enter within the palace gates of the most influential of all, namely Cardinal Sforza. Borgia was elected pope under the title of Alexander VI., and was rejoiced inwardly at the leap he had so dexterously made to the summit of earthly pleasures.

The very day he was crowned, the new pope chose his son Cesar, a young man of rude and dissipated manners, to the sees of the archbishop of Valencia and bishop of Pampeluna. He afterwards caused the marriage of his daughter Lucretia to be celebrated in the Vatican, amidst a profusion of entertainments at which his mistress, Julia Bella, assisted, and wherein were mingled the performances of lively comedies and indecent songs. "All persons dedicated to the ministry,"

* "Uno anno ad se delata, undecim millia sacerdotum palam concubinariorum." (Erasm. Opp. tom. ix. p. 401.)

† Schmidt. Gesch. der Deutschen, tom. ix.

says an historian,* "had divers mistresses, and every monastery in the capital was made use of as a brothel." Cesar Borgia espoused the side of the Guelphs; and when, with their aid, he had annihilated the Ghibelins, he turned himself against these same Guelphs, and swept them from off the face of the earth in their turn. Nor was he content to share with any one the fruits of so much spoil. In the year 1497, Alexander VI. gave to his eldest son the dukedom of Benevento. This newly created duke suddenly disappeared. A wood-merchant, resident on the banks of the Tiber, George Schiavoni, had seen, during the night, the body of a man thrown into the river; but no report was made of the circumstance, as it was one of frequent occurrence. The corpse of the duke was, however, recovered; and his brother, Cesar, was ascertained to have been the author of his death.† Still this act of atrocity did not suffice; for a brother-in-law having been likewise found to intercept certain ambitious views, Cesar caused him to be struck down on the very stairs of the pontifical palace. The wounded man was carried to his apartments streaming with blood. In this seclusion, his wife and sister never left him, and, fearing poison at the hands of Cesar, they prepared, with individual diligence, the food necessary for his sustenance. Alexander placed a guard before the door of his son-in-law's room; but Cesar made a jest of these precautions, and as the pope went to visit his kinsman, Cesar said to him, "What is not done at dinner time will be done at supper." In truth, Cesar one day forced his way into the chamber of the convalescent patient, drove his wife and sister out of the room, and culling for the common hangman, Michilotto, the only person who enjoyed the confidence of this monster, he obliged his brother-in-law to be strangled before his face.‡ Alexander encouraged about his person a favourite of the name of Peroto, whose preference was matter of offence to the young duke. The latter, therefore, sought to injure the former, and in a chase Peroto strove to hide himself under the pontifical mantle by clasping the pope in his arms. Cesar, nevertheless, stabbed the victim of his fury, and the blood was thrown over the face of the pontiff.§ "The pope," adds the contemporary witness of these scenes, "loves his son the duke, and stands in great awe of him." Cesar was the most handsome and strongest man of his age. Six wild bulls were with ease knocked down by the blows of his hand during the course of a bull-fight. Every morning there were found in the streets of Rome the bodies of the people who had been assassinated in the darkness of the previous night. Poison was, moreover, destined to complete the destruction of those whom the sword was unable to reach. No person dared to move about, or scarcely even to breathe in Rome, under an apprehension that their turn to suffer was next in order. Cesar Borgia was, indeed, the hero of crime. The place whereunto iniquity had reached to such a height was the throne of the Roman pontiffs. When man has delivered himself over to the power of evil, the more he pretends to exalt himself before

* Infessura.

† Amazzo il fratello Duca di Gandia et lo fa butar nel Tevere. (Manuscript of Capello, ambassador at Rome in 1500, extracted by Ranke.)

‡ Intro in camera . . . fe ussir la moglie e sorella . . . estrangolo dito zovente. (Ibid.)

§ Adeo il sangue il salto in la faza del papa. (Ibid.)

God, the more he thrusts himself down towards the abyss of hell. The debauched feasts prepared by the pope, his son Cesar, and his daughter Lucretia, within the precincts of the pontifical palace, it is impossible to describe, and we cannot think of them without shuddering at the recollection of their enormity. The impure groves of antiquity did not, perhaps, reflect such obscene transgressions. Some historians have, in fact, accused Alexander and Lucretia with the crime of incest; but this charge has not been supported by sufficient evidence. The pope having, on a particular occasion, prepared some poison to be given to a rich cardinal in a small box of preserves, which came to be presented at the conclusion of a sumptuous repast, the said cardinal received intimation of the design, and hastened to persuade the steward to alter the position of the box, which was in consequence placed before Alexander himself, who eat of its envenomed contents and died.* "The whole inhabitants of the town hurried to the scene of death, and could not be satisfied enough in contemplating the carcass of this dead viper."†

Behold the picture of the man who occupied the pontifical chair at the commencement of the century in which the Reformation burst forth.

In such a manner had the clergy forgotten all the respect due alike to religion and to themselves. And a strong voice was constrained to cry out in audible terms: "The ecclesiastical state is set in opposition to God and to his glory. The people are well aware of this truth, and their persuasion thereof is but too often shown in the vast number of songs, of proverbs, and of jests, made upon the priests, which are in circulation among the common people, as well as the accumulation of caricatures of monks and of priests, that are seen everywhere traced upon the walls and even upon the faces of playing-cards. Every one experiences a feeling of disgust when he perceives, or when he hears at a distance, a member of the ecclesiastical order." It is Luther who has thus spoken.‡ Evil had wended its way into the intricacies of every rank; a power of error had descended upon men; the corruption of manners kept pace with the corruption of the faith; and a mystery of iniquity had weighed upon the church originally subject to the headship of Jesus Christ.

Another consequence necessarily followed the oblivion into which had been cast the fundamental doctrine of the gospel. Ignorance of mind was the close companion of the corruption of the heart. The priests having taken into their hands the distribution of a salvation which belonged alone to God, had, as it were, secured for themselves the respect of the people. What need was there for them to study the holy book? There was no longer any anxiety to hear an explanation of the Scriptures, but a single desire to obtain diplomas of indulgences; and, under such circumstances, there could be no call upon the ministry to exert their talents in the laborious acquisition of deep knowledge.

Preachers were chosen in the country, says Wimpheling, from among those miserable creatures who had been previously taken out

* E messe la scutola velenata avanti il papa. (Sanato.)

† Gordon, Tomasi, Infessura, Guicciardini, etc.

‡ Da man an alle Wände, auf allerley zeddel, zuletzt auf den Kartenspielet Pfaffen, und Münchē malete. (L. Epp. ii. 674.)

of the ranks of mendicity, and who had once been cooks, musicians, huntsmen, grooms, or even worse.*

The higher classes of the clergy were also often plunged in the depths of ignorance. A bishop of Dunfeld considered himself happy to have escaped the learning of Greek and Hebrew. The monks averred that all known heresies had proceeded from an acquaintance with these languages, and especially from the Greek. "The New Testament," said one of these wise men, "is a book filled with serpents and thorns. The Greek," continued he, "is a new language recently invented, and which it is necessary to be well guarded against. As to Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that all those who learn it become Jews in an instant." Heresbach, the friend of Erasmus, a respectable writer, has recorded these words. Thomas Linacer, a learned and celebrated ecclesiastic, had never read the New Testament. In his last days (in 1524) a copy of that book was brought to him, but he immediately threw it away from him, with an oath, because, upon opening the volume, his eyes had fallen upon these words, "But I say unto you, swear not at all." Now Linacer was a great swearer. "Either this is not the gospel," said he, "or we are not Christians."† The Faculty of Theologians at Paris itself was not afraid, at the time we speak of, to declare before Parliament, "This is what religion will come to, if therein is permitted the study of Greek and Hebrew."

If there were found, here and there, among the ecclesiastical body, men possessing a degree of learning, it was not with reference to the holy writings of the Bible. The Ciceronians of Italy affected a great contempt for the Bible on account of its style; and priests, who reckoned themselves as belonging to the church of Jesus Christ, translated the writings of holy men inspired by the Spirit of God into the style of Virgil and Homer, in order to render their passages agreeable to the ears of the members of good society. Cardinal Bembo, in place of *Holy Spirit*, wrote *the breath of the celestial zephyrus*; instead of *putting away sins*—*appeasing the shades and the sovereign gods*; and instead of *Christ, the Son of God*—*Minerva, proceeding from the face of Jupiter*. Having one day found the respectable Sadolet occupied in translating the Epistle to the Romans, "Leave off this childishness," said he to him, "such follies do not become a serious man."‡

Such were some of the unhappy consequences which followed the melancholy system at the time oppressing the Christian religion. This representation of affairs exhibits, without doubt, alike the corruption of the church and the necessity of a reformation. To give a view of these features of the times was the object we proposed to ourselves in tracing the events thus far recorded. The vital doctrines of Christianity had almost entirely disappeared, and with them the life and the light which equally constitute the real essence of the religion of God. The strength of the body of the church had been wasted. Its being was enfeebled, exhausted, and laid prostrate, almost without existence, upon the wide field of the world which the Roman empire had acquired.

* *Apologia pro Rep. Christ.*

† Muller's Reliq. tom. iii. p. 285.

‡ Felleri. Mon. ined. p. 400.

CHAPTER IV.

Imperishable Nature of Christianity—Two Laws of God—Apparent Strength of Rome—Hidden Opposition—Decline—Triple Opposition—Kings and People—Transformation of the Church—The Pope Judged in Italy—Discoveries of Kings and People—Frederick the Wise—Moderation and Expectation.

The evils which at this time afflicted Christendom, superstition, incredulity, ignorance, vain speculations, and the corruption of manners, all of them the natural fruits of man's deceitful heart, were not, however, then seen for the first time upon the earth. They had often previously figured in the pages of many people's histories. They had laid hold on, especially in the east, divers sorts of religions, which had had their days of glory. These spiritless religions had yielded to the force of their invaders, and none of them had ever recovered their original position.

Must Christianity now submit to a similar fate? Shall she, too, be lost like those ancient religions of many nations? Shall the blow she has received at the hands of death be sufficiently heavy to deprive her of all life? Can nothing be done to save her from annihilation? These all-powerful enemies which besiege her native strongholds, and which have already destroyed forms of worship, both numerous and diversified, shall they be able to take up their ground, without contradiction, upon the ruins of the church of Jesus Christ?

No! There is something in Christianity more than was ever found in any of the religions of multitudes of people. She does not offer to view, like them, a code of certain general ideas, mixed up with traditions and fables, destined, sooner or later, to fall under the assaults of human reason. She comprehends within herself a fountain of purest truth, filled with facts capable of satisfying the desires of every upright and enlightened mind. Christianity does not merely propose to excite in man certain vague religious sentiments, whose illusion, once dissipated, can no more be kindled; she entertains the purpose of giving content, and she really supplies all the religious wants inherent in human nature, whatever may be the degree of intense-ness to which they have risen. She is not, in fact, the work of man, whose labours fade and disappear; she is the fabric of God, who maintains all that he creates, and she holds as a guarantee for her duration the promises of her Divine head.

It is impossible that human nature can ever raise itself above Christianity. And if even for a while the former genius may have supposed itself in the ascendant, the latter very soon reappears with fresh lustre and a new life, as the only guide to recover the way for lost souls: the degenerated hordes of men then return with an ardour peculiarly refreshed towards those ancient truths, simple and powerful, which they had disdained in the hour of their stupefaction.

Christianity, in truth, exhibits in the face of the sixteenth, the same regenerating power which she had exercised in the course of the first century. After a lapse of fifteen hundred years, the same truths are found to produce the same effects. In the days of the Reformation, as in the times of Paul and Peter, the gospel with an invincible force, overthrew immense obstacles. Her sovereign power manifested its efficacy from the north even unto the south, among

nations the most diversified with reference alike to their manners, their character, or the intellectual developement of their minds. Then, as in the times of Stephen and James, the gospel kindled the fire of enthusiasm and of sacrifice in nations almost extinct, and animated them even to the elevation of martyrdom.

In what manner was this vivification of the church and of the world accomplished?

Two laws were then observable, by which God at all times governs the world.

In the first place, he prepares, slowly and afar off, whatever he wishes to accomplish. He commands ages for the operation of his acts.

Afterwards, when the time is come, he produces the greatest ends by force of the smallest means. He thus acts both in nature and in history. When he wishes a huge tree to grow, he hides a small seed in the earth; or when he wishes to renew his church, he makes use of the most insignificant instruments to accomplish that which emperors, learned men, and eminent members of the church have failed to fulfil. Very soon we will look for and shall find that small grain, which a Divine hand threw into the earth at the time of the reform. We must, however, first discern and reconnoitre the various ways through which God prepared the events of this grand revolution.

At the period when the Reformation was ready to burst forth, Rome appeared to be in a state of peace and safety. It had been said nothing was able again to disturb her in the possession of her triumphs: many and great were the victories she had won. The general councils, those high and low chambers of catholicity, had been subjugated. The Vaudois and the Hussites had been suppressed. Not any university, with the exception, perhaps, of that of Paris, which sometimes made its voice to be heard at the bidding of its kings, expressed a single doubt of the infallibility of the oracles of Rome. Every one seemed to have taken their part of the common power. The higher ranks of the clergy preferred granting a tenth part of their revenues to a distant chief, and to consume in peace the other nine shares, rather than to risk the whole income in search of an independence which must have cost them dear and recompensed them little. The lower grades of the clergy, allured by the prospective of some brilliant places, which ambition caused them to imagine or to discover in the distance, willingly purchased, at the expense of a little slavery, the flattering expectations they so fondly cherished. Besides, this class of individuals were almost everywhere so oppressed by the chiefs of the hierarchy, that they could hardly struggle on under these weighty superiors, far less offer to exhibit a courageous bearing, or even to maintain their own level. The people bent the knee before the Roman altar; and even kings, who began secretly to despise the bishop of Rome, had not yet dared to raise a hand against that power which the age had fenced in with the terrors of sacrilege.

But, if opposition from without thus appeared slackened, or even to have ceased, when the Reformation burst out, the strength of hostility had increased within the fabric; for, if we examine the edifice a little closer, we shall discover more than one symptom betokening decay and ruin. The general councils, in yielding up their privileges, had diffused their principles throughout the church, and carried divi-

sions into the camp of their adversaries. The defenders of the hierarchy were divided into two parties—namely, those who supported the system of absolute papal domination in imitation of the principles of Hildebrand, and those who wished to encourage a papal constitutional government, offering some guarantees and liberties to the churches.

Nor was this all. In the minds of every party, faith in the infallibility of the Roman bishop had received a terrible shock. And if no voice was found condemning this heresy, it was because every one was more anxious to retain alive the feeble sparks of faith that still remained. The slightest concussion was dreaded as sufficient to overthrow the whole building. Christendom held in her breath; but it was to prevent a disaster, in the middle of which she was afraid of perishing. From the moment that man trembles to abandon a persuasion long time regarded with veneration, it is a proof that he no longer retains the said belief; and he will not be able for any length of time to maintain even the very appearance he seems willing to cherish.

The Reformation had been gradually formed by the providence of God, in three different worlds—in the political world, in the ecclesiastical world, and in the literary world. Kings and people, Christians and theologians, letters and learned men, all alike contributed to bring about the revolution of the sixteenth century. Let us review this triple line of opposition, terminating with that of letters, which was, perhaps, the most powerful band in the times that immediately preceded the Reformation.

In the first place, with regard to kings and people, Rome had lost much of her ancient renown in their eyes. The church was, indeed, the primary cause of this relaxed esteem. The errors and superstitions which she had introduced into the observances of Christianity, were not actually the means of bringing down upon the church a fatal reverse. It was, as a matter of course, that Christendom should be placed above the church, as to the subject of intellectual and religious developement, in order to be able to form a right judgment of the church in these respects. But there was an order of things which had its origin among the classes of the laity, and it was here the church had come to be judged. She had become terrestrial. That priestly empire which ruled the people, and which could only subsist by means of the delusion of its subjects, having for a crown a mere semblance thereof, had wholly forgotten the true nature of religion, and, forsaking all thoughts of heaven or its spheres of light and glory, it had plunged itself into the vulgar regions of the secular interests of tradesmen and princes. Representatives born of the Spirit; the priests had changed this high destiny for a closer affinity with the flesh. They had abandoned the treasures of the spiritual science and power of the word, for the brute-force and glitter of the age.

This state of things had arisen naturally enough. It was, in reality, the spiritual order which the church had at first resolved to defend; but in order to protect this order against the resistance and assaults of the people, the church had had recourse to terrestrial means, to common arms, whose possession a false prudence had incited her to covet. When once the church had accepted of the use of such arms,

firm. He possessed that Christian virtue which God has at all times required of those who adore his ways. He waited upon God. He put in practice the wise advice of Gamaliel. *If this plan is a work of men, it will effect its own destruction. If it proceeds from God, you shall not be able to destroy it.* (Acts, v. 38.) "Affairs," said this prince to one of the most enlightened men of his time, to Spengler of Nuremberg, "have reached to such a point, that men can no more do anything therein. God alone must act. It is for this reason we place in his powerful hands those great events which are too difficult for our management." Providence acted well in the choice which she made of such a prince to protect her primitive work.

CHAPTER V.

The People—The Empire—Providential Preparations—Peace—Impulsion of the Reformation—The Third State—National Character—Yoke of the Pope—State of the Empire—Opposition to Rome—The Body of Citizens—Switzerland—Valour—Liberty—Small Cantons—Italy—Obstacles to the Reform—Spain—Obstacles—Portugal—France—Preparations—Deceitful Hopes—Netherlands—England—Scotland—The North—Russia—Poland—Bohemia—Hungary.

The discoveries made by the kings had by degrees operated upon the people. The better instructed among them began familiarly to imbibe the notion that the bishop of Rome was no more than a man, and sometimes even a very wicked man. Suspicions were quickly entertained of his being, in fact, not more holy than many bishops whose reputation was truly equivocal. The license of the popes enraged the feelings of Christendom, and a hatred of the Roman name was speedily established in the hearts of all nations.*

At the same time numerous causes combined to render more easy the emancipation of various countries in the east. Let us for a moment attend to what may be considered their condition at the period we have here reached.

The empire was composed of a confederation of different states, which acknowledged the authority of an emperor as their federal head, but of which each province exercised in their own territories a special sovereignty. The imperial diet, formed of all the princes or sovereign states, performed the duties of the legislative power for the whole of this Germanic body. The emperor was charged with the ratifying of the laws, decrees, or resolutions of said assembly, as well as entrusted with their application and execution. The seven most powerful princes enjoyed, under the title of electors, the privilege of fixing the imperial crown.

The north of Germany, inhabited chiefly by the ancient Saxon race, had acquired the larger share of liberty. The emperor, exposed to constant attacks on the part of the Turks against his hereditary possessions, was constrained to treat with caution those courageous princes and people who were at the time most useful to his interests. Many free towns, in the north, west, or south of the empire, had attained, by their commerce, their manufactures, and their labours in every department of industry, a high degree of prosperity, as well as, it may be said, of individual independence. The powerful house of

* "Odium Romani nominis, penitus infixum esse multarum gentium animis opinor, ob ea, quae vulgo de moribus ejus urbis jactantur." (Erasm. Epp. lib. xii. p. 634.)

Austria, which held the imperial crown, restrained under her own authority the greater part of the states in the south, and kept a close watch over their movements. She was hastening to extend her domination over all the empire, or even beyond its bounds, when the Reformation came to put a strong fence against such invasions, and to succeed in saving the permanency of European independence.

In the same manner as Judea, or Christianity at her birth, was found in the middle of the ancient world, so was Germany now situated in the centre of Christendom. She stood forth, in her might, at once before the Netherlands, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, and the whole compass of the north. The heart of Europe was destined to be the source whence the principle of life was to emanate, and it was from her pulsations the generous blood, able to vivify all the members of this great body, was to be transfused throughout every vein and artery.

The particular constitution which the empire had received, in conformity with the dispensations of Providence, was highly favourable to the propagation of new ideas; for, if Germany had been a monarchy so called, such as France or England, the arbitrary will of the sovereign might have proved sufficient to arrest for a long time the progress of the gospel. But the empire was a confederation, and the truth opposed in one state might be received with favour in another.

The internal peace which Maximilian had just secured for the empire was not less favourable to the cause of the Reformation. For long, the numerous members of the Germanic body had rather engaged themselves in deeds of destructive aggression against each other. Nothing had been seen but troubles, misunderstandings, and war, which incessantly followed each other in the perpetual renewing of disputes among neighbours with their neighbours, towns with towns, and lords with lords. Maximilian had laid a solid basis of public order, by the institution of an imperial chamber, elected for the purpose of considering and deciding upon the differences existing between the various states. The German people now saw, after an experience of so much disquietude and affliction, the appearance of a new era of safety and repose. Nevertheless, Germany, at the moment when Luther appeared, still exhibited to the observant eye the restlessness which agitates the sea after the continuance of protracted storms. The visible calm was not immovable. The first puff of wind might prove sufficient to raise again the fury of the tempest. We shall see more than one example of this uncertainty. The Reformation, in impressing upon the Germans an impulsion totally different from all former influences, destroyed for ever the ancient causes of agitation. She put an end to that system of barbarism which, until then, had domineered over their affairs, and bestowed on Europe a renovated scheme of action.

At the same time, the religion of Jesus Christ had exercised over the provinces of Germany an influence peculiar to herself. The third state had in that country made rapid strides in the march of intellect. There were seen in various districts of the empire, especially in the free towns, numerous institutions well fitted to instruct this commanding division of the people. The arts were found to flourish within

the walls of these establishments. And the inhabitants of such districts devoted themselves in safety to the labours of peaceful occupations, and to the enjoyment of the amiable relations of social life. That life became more and more accessible to the influences of enlightened knowledge. It thus, at same time, acquired a constantly increasing share of consideration and authority. It was not the arm of the magistrate, often called to direct its strength in support of political exigencies, nor of the nobles, always the special admirers of warlike fame and glory, nor yet of a greedy and ambitious race of clergy, eager to cultivate religion as an exclusive property, it was not such helps as these which were about to establish the Reformation in Germany. The Reformation was destined to be the business of the citizen, of the people, and of the whole nation.

The peculiar character of the Germans was, in a high degree, qualified for the undertaking of a religious Reformation. A false spirit of civilization had not enfeebled the national mind. The precious seeds which the fear of God sows in the heart of a people had not been cast to the winds. Ancient customs and manners had still their power to please. There were found then in Germany the same uprightness, fidelity, love of labour, perseverance, and religious disposition, which are still recognised there, and which betokened for the gospel a better hope of success than the light feelings, sophistical, or gross, met with among the inhabitants of other districts of our Europe.

The Germans had received from Rome the grand element of modern civilization, the faith. Cultivation, learning, legislation, everything save their courage and their arms had come to them from the sacerdotal city. Many strong cords had attached henceforth the state of Germany to the interests of popedom. The former had become as a prize of spiritual conquest to the latter, and it is well known what Rome has always done with her gains of conquest. Those other people, who had received possession of the faith and civilization before the existence of a Roman pontiff, had continued, in opposition to him, in a condition of greater independence. Still the subjection of the Germans, to which we have referred, only served to render the spirit of conviction more intrepid at the moment of its happy enfranchisement. Whenever the eyes of Germany shall be opened to the truth, she will cut in pieces the leading strings with which she has been so long held captive. The bondage to which she has had to submit will fill her with a more ardent desire for deliverance from thralldom, and many robust champions of the truth will be seen to rush from that strong house of discipline, wherein, for many ages, all her people have been confined.

There was visible, at this date of our history, in Germany something that strongly resembled what the politicians of our own day have called "a system of see-saw." When the head of the empire was of a firm temperament, his authority was seen to rise; when, on the contrary, this head was feeble, the influence and power of the princes and electors were evidently in the ascendant. Never were these latter potentates more confident in their superiority than in the days of Maximilian, at the time of the Reformation. And the head having taken part against the Reformation, it may easily be judged

how favourable that circumstance was for the propagation of the gospel.

Moreover, Germany had fallen into that mood which Rome, in derision, called "the patience of the Germans." That people had, in truth, displayed a marked degree of patience, ever since the days of Louis of Bavaria. From that period the emperors had laid down their arms, and the tiara had been placed without contradiction above the crown of the Cesars. But the battle had only succeeded in shifting its ground. It had just descended a few steps lower in the ranks of society. The same struggles, of which the emperors and popes had given an example to the world, were very soon renewed in miniature, in every town of Germany, between the bishops and the magistrates. The citizens had taken up the glove which had been allowed to fall on the ground by the chiefs of the empire. So soon as the year 1329, the citizens of Frankfort upon the Oder had made a bold resistance against the encroachments of all their superior ecclesiastics. Excommunicated for having remained faithful to the Margrave Louis, they had continued for twenty-eight years deprived of the rites of the mass, of baptism, marriage, or a consecrated burying-place. At the time of the return of the monks and priests, they had laughed at these things as if they had constituted the performance of a farce or comedy. A melancholy extravagance, no doubt, but of which the clergy had themselves been the primary cause. At the epoch of the Reformation, the opposition between the magistrates and the ecclesiastics had grown to a great height. At every instant the temporal privileges and pretensions of the clergy had caused between these two governing bodies many disagreements and skirmishes.

But it was not only among the burgomasters, the councillors, and the secretaries of towns, that Rome and the clergy met with constant adversaries. About the time we treat of, the passion of resistance was fermenting in the minds of the people. This angry feeling had already burst forth in 1502 in the countries of the Rhine, and the peasantry, enraged at the weight of the yoke placed on their shoulders by their ecclesiastical sovereigns, had formed then among themselves an alliance, which was called the Poor-Alliance.

Thus, throughout the whole range of society, from top to bottom, a murmuring sound was heard, indicative of the gathering thunder that was so soon about to rend the social atmosphere. Germany appeared ripe for the accomplishment of those deeds entrusted to the vindication of the sixteenth century. Providence, in its progressive march, had made all things ready, and those very passions which God condemns were rendered subservient, under his all-powerful hand, to the fulfilment of his own designs.

Let us contemplate the condition of the other co-operative races.

Thirteen small republics, situated with their allies in the centre of Europe, amidst many mountains, which, as it were, constituted their citadels, comprehended in their subjects a race of people equally simple and courageous. Who would have gone to seek in the bosom of these obscure valleys the men whom God had chosen to be, along with the sons of Germany, the liberators of the church? Who could have believed that some petty unknown towns, scarcely removed

from a state of barbarism, hidden behind hills almost inaccessible, at the extreme limits of lakes whose names were unknown to the authors of history, should acquire, in regard to Christianity, a renown more brilliant than that of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, or Rome? Nevertheless thus had it pleased the will of him who commands a piece of earth to be moistened with rain, whilst another portion of ground, on which no rain has fallen, is left in parched aridity.*

Many other circumstances seemed not less inauspicious for the advancement of the cause of the Reformation in the heart of the Helvetic populations. For if in the abodes of monarchy the opposition of power was to be dreaded, the precipitation of the people presented obstacles as great in the dwelling-places of democracy.

But Switzerland had also undergone a system of training. She was like a wild tree, generous in its nature, which had been fostered in the depth of the valley, in order, by the usual ingraftment, to secure from it the produce of much valuable fruit. Providence had engendered in the breast of this new people principles of courage, of independence, and of liberty, destined to unfold all their grandeur whenever the hour of contest with Rome should arrive. The pope had bestowed on the Swiss the title of Protectors of the Liberty of the Church. But that hardy people had construed the meaning of this denomination in a sense altogether different from the notions of the pontiff. If Swiss soldiers were found to guard the person of the pope within the precincts of the ancient capitol, the citizens of Switzerland, within the confines of the Alps, protected with assiduity their own religious freedom, alike against the attempts of the pope and of the clergy. The right of applying to a foreign jurisdiction was there denied the members of the ecclesiastical body. The "Letter of the Priests," (Pfaffenbrief, 1370,) was, in reality, an earnest protestation of Swiss liberty against the abuses and the authority of the clergy. Zurich particularly distinguished itself among those states by its courageous opposition to the pretensions of Rome. Geneva, situated at the other extremity of Switzerland, carried on an eager struggle with its bishop. These two towns most remarkably displayed their bravery, when compared with others, in the grand competition we have undertaken to describe.

But if the Helvetic towns, open to every source of improvement, were likely to be early drawn into the vortex of reform, the same expectations could not be cherished with respect to the people dwelling among the mountains. The light of instruction had not penetrated their high defences. These cantons, the founders of Swiss liberty, proud of the part they had played in the great battle of independence, were not disposed to imitate readily their younger brethren of the plain. Wherefore seek to alter the faith wherein they had emancipated themselves from the thralldom of Austria, and whose altars had been raised to consecrate every place of their happy triumphs? Their priests were the only enlightened guides to whom they could refer; their worship and their festivals offered a pleasing diversion to the monotony of their tranquil lives, and invaded with

* Amos.

agreeable sounds the silence of their calm retreats. They remained firm against the approaches of religious innovations.

In passing over the Alps, we find ourselves on the grounds of that Italy which was, in the eyes of the greater number, the holy land of Christendom. To what quarter could Europe look for the welfare of the church if it were not to Italy, if it were not, in fact, to Rome? That power which, one by one, had placed upon the pontifical chair so many diverse characters, might it not one day be found to settle thereon a pontiff who should become an instrument of blessing for the heritage of the Lord? Were all hopes to be lost in the recollection of the pontiffs, were there not bishops, or councils, who might be expected to reform the church? Nothing good can come out of Nazareth, but only from Jerusalem, but only from Rome.* . . . Such may have been the thoughts of men; but God thought otherwise. He said—*Let he that is filthy, be filthy still*; and he left Italy to her iniquities. That land of ancient glory was by turns a prey to intestine wars and foreign invasions. The intrigues of politics, the violence of factions, the practice of arms seemed to be the sole duty of the inhabitants, and appeared to banish for long from the soil a knowledge of the gospel and its peace.

Besides, Italy thus crushed, broken to pieces, and without a purpose, exhibited a body ill fitted to receive a common impulsion. Each frontier was a new barrier against the progress of the truth.

And if the truth was destined to come from the north, how could the Italians, with a taste so refined, and a system of social life so exquisite in their own eyes, be capable of shewing such condescension as to receive anything from the barbarous Germans? Could the minds of men, disposed to admire the elegance of a song of harmonious measure more than the majesty and simplicity of the Scriptures, be considered an advantageous soil for the reception of the word of God? A false civilization is, of all the various conditions of men, the one most repugnant to the views of the gospel.

In short, however these things may be, Rome continued the Rome of Italy. Not only did the temporal power of the popes induce the various Italian parties to seek, at whatever cost, their alliance and favour, but the universal dominion of Rome offered even more advantages to the avarice and vanity of the other ultramontane states. From the moment that the rest of the world undertook to emancipate itself from the slavery of Rome, Italy would have again become Italy; the domestic quarrels of that country would not have countenanced any foreign system of aggression, and a blow struck at the head of the Peninsular family would have been enough to reanimate immediately those affections and common interests so long left to slumber.

The Reformation, therefore, had little chance of success in the direction we have been speaking of. Nevertheless there were found, on the other side of the mountains, some souls ready to receive the gospel light, so that Italy was not entirely disinherited.

Spain possessed what Italy wanted, namely, a people serious in their disposition, which was noble and of a religious cast. At all

* Apoc. xxii.

times, the said people had reckoned among their clerical body men of piety and learning, and they were sufficiently far removed from Rome to escape with ease the servitude of the Roman yoke. There are few nations wherein one might have more reasonably looked for a renovation of that primitive Christianity which Spain had most likely received from Saint Paul himself. And yet Spain has not risen to her level among nations. She has been destined to shew forth the force of these words of Divine wisdom—*The first shall be last*. Various circumstances contributed to the accomplishment of this sad destiny.

Spain, in her isolated position, far removed from the confines of Germany, could only experience very indistinct concussions of the great earthquake which so violently shook the empire. She had, moreover, set her heart upon treasures very different from those recommended by the word of God, at the time, to the attention of nations. The new world had veiled from her sight the view of an eternal world. Another land altogether modern, and which appeared to be covered with silver and gold, excited all her hopes and admiration. An ardent desire to become rich had not left room in the spirit of Spain for more noble thoughts. A powerful clergy, having at their command the disposal alike of scaffolds and of wealth, ruled over the inhabitants of the Peninsula. The Spaniard willingly yielded to his priest a servile obedience, who, relieving him from all spiritual concern, left him at liberty to deliver himself over to the indulgence of his passions, and to follow after the ways of riches in the discoveries of new continents. Victorious over the Moors, the Spaniards had, at the cost of the most noble blood, cast down the crescent from the walls of Grenada and many other cities, and erected in its stead the cross of Jesus Christ. This great zeal for the cause of Christianity, which should have created the most lively hopes of good for the reform, turned in spirit against the truth. Must not Catholic Spain, which had overcome infidelity, equally oppose the grievance of heresy? Must not those who had driven Mahomet beyond the boundaries of their lovely country, be willing to allow Luther to enter therein? Strange! Their kings exhibited greater contradictions than this: they armed fleets against the progress of the Reformation; they set out, with the object of defeating its purpose, to seek for war in Holland and in England. But these attacks only served to strengthen the forces of the assaulted nations; and their power very soon crushed Spain to the ground. Thus these Catholic regions, lost by their opposition to the Reformation, that very temporal prosperity which had been the primary cause of their rejecting the spiritual liberty of the gospel. Nevertheless the inhabitants who dwelt beyond the Pyrenees were a generous and brave people. Many of their noble children, with the same ardour, but with more knowledge than those who had emancipated their race from the iron fetters of the Arabs, came afterwards to place the offering of their lives upon the funeral piles of the Inquisition.

The case was much the same in Portugal as in Spain. Emmanuel the Happy had secured for Portugal a "golden age," which must have rendered that country little disposed to renounce those things the gospel forbids us to cherish. The Portuguese nation, throwing all their care upon the recently discovered regions of the Eastern

Indies and the Brazils, turned their back upon Europe and the Reformation.

Few countries could have appeared better qualified than France to have received with approbation the evangelical doctrines. The whole force of the spiritual and intellectual life of the middle ages may be said to have been concentrated within her boundaries. It had been said that the highways of knowledge were all repaired in that country for a grand manifestation of the truth. Men of very opposite opinions, and whose influence was understood to have swayed most efficaciously the sentiments of the French people, were openly seen to recognise the spirit of the Reformation. St Bernard had manifested proofs of that faith of the heart, of that inward piety, which forms the most beautiful trait of the character of the reform. Abelard had carried into the study of theology that rational principle which, incapable of constructing that which is true, is powerful in destroying that which is false. Among numerous pretended heretics the flame of the word of God had been revived in many of the French provinces. The University of Paris had set itself in opposition to the church, and was not afraid of any coming contest. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Clemangis and the Gersons had spoken out their sentiments with boldness. The pragmatic sanction had been a grand act of independence, and might well have constituted the palladium of Gallican liberty. The French nobility, too, so strong in numbers, so jealous of their pre-eminence, and who, at that period, had just beheld their privileges gradually wrested from them in order to augment the royal authority, might have felt inclined to countenance a religious revolution, which might have restored them a share of the independence they had so lately lost. The people, also, were of a lively and intelligent disposition, susceptible of generous emotions, and must, therefore, have been at least as accessible as any others to the introduction of the truth. It appeared as if the Reformation in these countries should have proved the full-grown birth that was to follow the long labour of several centuries. But the chariot of France, which, for so many generations, appeared to career in the same course, briskly turned round at sight of the reform, and set out in a direction the very opposite to its former route. Such was the will of him who guides alike the nations and their chiefs. The prince who, at the moment, sat upon the car and managed the reins of government, and who, as a lover of learning, seemed, in the crowd of Catholic chiefs, as the best fitted to second the reform, suddenly directed the views of his people into another line of pursuit. The good symptoms witnessed throughout the course of many ages were deceptive, and the sudden relapse threw France back upon the ambition and fanaticism of her kings. False wishes deprived this country of her legitimate rights. Perhaps, had she received the gospel, she might have become too powerful. God had determined to make use of the feeblest nations, and of people who were yet unknown to the world, for the depositaries of the truth. France, after having been almost reformed, finally accepted of the Roman Catholic faith. The sword of princes thrown into the balance made it incline towards the side of Rome. Alas! another carnal weapon; such instruments in the very hands of the reformed would have caused the loss of the Reformation. Those who

are conversant with the practices of the sword are apt to forget the exercises of prayer. It is by the blood of her confessors, and not by that of her adversaries, the gospel ensures her triumphs.

The Netherlands were, at the times under review, one of the most flourishing countries of Europe. There was there seen a people of industrious habits, enlightened by the frequent intercourse they held with several parts of the world, and full of courage, eminently adapted to the defence of their independence, their privileges, and their liberty. Placed at the entrances of Germany, the Netherlands must have early heard the sounds of the approaching Reformation. Two portions, quite distinct from each other, composed these provinces. The one farthest to the south, glutted with riches, yielded up the cause of the Reformation. How was it possible that all these manufactories, raised to the highest state of perfection; how was it possible that this immense commerce by sea and land; how could Bruges, that grand mart for the merchandise of the north, or Antwerp, the queen of commercial cities, be expected to enter into a long and bloody struggle upon questions of faith? On the contrary, the more northern provinces, defended by their heights on the coast, the sea itself, and many inland waters, and yet more strongly by the simplicity of their manners, and the resolution to lose all rather than the possession of the gospel, not only secured their freedom, their privileges, and their faith, but even acquired a larger share of independence and a glorious nationality. England appeared at the time we treat of little likely to realize the hopes she has since actively maintained. Driven back from the continent where she had long laboured to conquer France, she had begun to cast her eyes upon the ocean, as towards a kingdom most deserving the real efforts of her conquest, and whose inheritance was specially reserved for her possession. Converted by the occurrence of two conquests to Christianity, the first under the attacks of the ancient Britons, the second under the triumphs of the Anglo-Saxons, England then most devoutly paid to Rome the annual contribution of St Peter's pence. Nevertheless this country was reserved for higher destinies. Mistress of the ocean, and present as it were at once in every part of the globe, she was prepared to become one day, with a people whose home was on the sea, the hand of God for spreading the seed of the word of life over the surface alike of the most distant islands and the most extended continents. Already certain circumstances had formed a prelude to these high destinies. Some great lights had formerly been seen to burn within the provinces of the British isles, and a living spark of these fires was still extant. A crowd of foreigners, as artists, merchants, and tradesmen, had come to Britain from the Netherlands, Germany, and even some other countries, and filled her cities and her sea-ports with a new race of inhabitants. The newly-adopted religious opinions were thus easily and promptly conveyed across the channel. Lastly, England was at the time governed by a king, a capricious prince, who, endowed with some learning and much courage, was wont every moment to change the current of his thoughts and projects, and to turn from one side to another, according as the dictates of his violent passions might at the instant direct. It is possible that one of the contradictory acts of Henry VIII. may have given a favourable impulse to the cause of reform

Scotland was, at this date, fiercely agitated with the spirit of party. Her king was only five years old, and her regent was a queen of lofty ambition, who, with an influential clergy, over-ruled, in every sense, this brave nation. Nevertheless Scotland, at an early day, asserted a high rank among the nations who had espoused the side of the Reformation.

The three kingdoms of the north, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were then united under one common sceptre. Their people rude, and lovers of war, appeared little qualified for taking an interest in the doctrines of love and peace. Still, on account of their decided energy, they were perhaps better disposed than the people of the south to receive the force of the evangelic doctrines. But wholly the children of warriors and of pirates, they upheld this semblance too much in the character of belligerents in a Protestant cause, which, at a later period, they manfully defended with their swords.

Russia, pushed as it were to the extremity of Europe, had but little intercourse or affinity with the other states of this quarter of the globe. Besides, she was wedded to the Greek communion. And the Reformation, which was completed in the church of the west, exercised but little or no influence over the affairs of the church of the east.

Poland was in a condition offering good hopes for the cause of reform. The neighbourhood of the Christians of Bohemia and Moravia had disposed Poland to receive gratefully the evangelic impulse which her vicinity to Germany must have speedily communicated to her people. As early as the year 1500, the nobles of Higher Poland had demanded the cup for the people, while enforcing their return to the usages of the primitive church. The liberty enjoyed by the citizens of her towns, the independence of her lords, had constituted Poland a land of sure refuge for many Christians who had, in their own country, suffered the evils of persecution. The truth thus brought into the country was received with joy by a great number of its inhabitants. In our own day, Poland is one of the countries where the fewest confessors are to be found.

The flame of the Reformation which, for long, had burned in Bohemia, had, in that country, been almost extinguished in a flood of blood. Still precious ruins were torn from the carnage, and even permitted to subsist until the day arrived that was so brilliantly illumined by Huss.

Hungary had been torn to pieces by intestine wars, under the government of princes devoid alike of character and of experience, who had, by an attack upon Austria, finished the lot of their people, by conferring on that powerful house an inheritance in the rights of their crown.

Such was the condition of Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a century destined to accomplish a transformation of mighty consequences in the general body of Christian society.

CHAPTER VI.

Roman Theology—The Remains of Life—Justification by Faith—Witnesses to the Truth—Claudius—The Mystics—The Vaudois—Valdo—Wickliff—Hus—Predication—Protestantism before the Reformation—Arnoldi—Utenheim—Martin—New Witnesses in the Church—Thomas Conecte—The Cardinal of Crayn—Institoris—Savonarola—Justification by Faith—John Vitraire—John Laillier—John de Wessalia—John de Goch—John Wessel—Protestantism before the Reformation—The Bohemian Brothers—Prophecy of Proles—Prophecy of the Greyfriar at Isenach.

We have taken particular notice of the condition of nations and of princes, and we now pass on to a review of the preparations for the reform which are to be found in the schools of theology and in the church.

The singular system of theology which had been established in the church must have powerfully contributed to open the eyes of the new generation. Composed for an age of darkened intelligence, and as if it were destined to subsist for ever, that system must have been outstripped and destroyed in every part, as soon as the age had reached a state of consistent maturity. And so it really happened. The popes had continued to add so much here and so much there to the doctrines of Christianity. They had, however, only changed or taken away such parts as could not agree with the perfection of their hierarchy; that which did not interfere with their plans might be left to await the construction of a new order of things. There were, at same time, some true doctrines to be found in the body of this system, such as those of redemption, and the power of the Spirit of God, of which able theologians, had there appeared any of that class in those days, could have made excellent use for the purpose of combating, or even overturning, all the others. The pure gold mixed among the vile lead in the treasures of the Vatican was sufficient to have led to an easy discovery of every fraud. It is, no doubt, true, that if any hardy opponent had dared to make the experiment, the crucible of Rome would have been made to reject the pure ore along with the base metal. But this very condemnation would only have served to render the chaos more desperate.

Great was the void of sound doctrine, and the pretended unity of method was nothing more than a vast heap of disorder. At Rome there had been established the doctrines of the court and the doctrines of the church. The faith avowed in the metropolis was different from the faith acknowledged in the provinces. There were, in short, the separate faiths believed in by princes, by the people, and by religious orders. In these creeds were distinguished the opinions of such a convent, of such a district, of such a doctor, or of such a monk.

The truth, in order to pass at rest the season when Rome had thus oppressed its spirit under an iron yoke, had imitated the doings of the insect which forms a covering of chrysalis with its produce wherein to repose until the storms of winter have passed. And, strange to tell, the matter adopted by that divine truth to accomplish the object of its preservation was composed of the divinity schools so formidably assailed and abused. These industrious artisans in the traffic of thought had set themselves to unravel all the complications of the various theological ideas, and out of these huge bundles of thread, they had worked a netting, through which it would have been difficult for the most talented of their contemporaries to have

discovered the truth in its native purity. It may be considered a pity for the insect, full of life and often sparkling with the most beautiful colours, to shut itself up, as if dead, within its dark shell ; but this concealment, in fact, secures for it the recovery of a new existence. And so it was in the case of the truth. If, in the days of her power, the interested and darkened politics of Rome had met the truth completely uncovered, they would have crushed her to death, or at least have attempted to do so. Disguised, however, as she was by the theologians of the times, under subtilities and distinctions without end, the popes either did not perceive her presence, or concluded that, in such a condition, it was impossible for her to injure their cause. They, therefore, took both the workmen and their work under their protection. But the spring-time might come, when the hidden truth would disclose her upright figure, and would throw to a distance the shreds of her temporary screen ; and having assumed, in her seeming grave, fresh vigour, she would be seen, on the day of her return to life, to bear the palm of victory over Rome and all its errors. This spring-time did, in reality, arrive. At the moment when the silly absurdities of the divinity schools were, one after another, becoming unmasked by the efforts of able men, and were exposed to the ridicule of the new generation, the truth burst through its trammels in all the loveliness of youth and beauty.

It was not, at same time, the writings of the schools of divinity alone which constituted the strong evidence now afforded to the simplicity of the truth. Christianity had, likewise, everywhere infused a part of her spirit into the life of the people. The church of Christ was a building cast to the ground ; but in overthrowing this lofty pile a part of the living rock on which it was originally founded was gathered from the ruins. Several institutions, established during the prosperous days of the church, were still in existence, and could not fail to engender, in the souls of many believers, a love of evangelical truths, in opposition to the preference shewn for the dominant superstitions of the age. Inspired men, the ancient teachers of the church, whose writings were deposited in several libraries, still sent forth, here and there, a solitary warning. This still small voice, it may be hoped, was listened to in silence by more than one attentive ear. Christians, let us not doubt, for how sweet is the thought, were living indeed like brothers and sisters within the walls of these monasteries, where little else was open to common observation save the vileness of hypocrisy and dissipation.

The church had fallen because the grand doctrine of justification by faith in the Saviour had been erased from her statutes. It was, therefore, necessary that this doctrine should be restored, in order to ensure the reconstruction of a true church. From the moment this fundamental truth should be re-established in the districts of Christendom, all those errors in faith and practice which had usurped its place, all that multitude of saints, of works of piety, of penance, of masses, and of indulgences, &c., must vanish from the sight of the world. So soon as one mediator and one sacrifice alone is acknowledged, all other mediators and all other sacrifices of necessity disappear. "This article of justification," says a man who may be con-

sidered as enlightened on the subject,* “is that which creates the church, nourishes it, edifies it, preserves it, and defends it. No person is fitted to give good instruction in the church, nor to resist with success one of its adversaries, who does not remain attached to this truth.” “This is,” adds the writer from whom we quote these lines, in making allusion to the first prophecy, “this is the heel which bruises the head of the Serpent.”

God, who prepared his own work, raised up, in every period of every age, a long list of witnesses to the truth. But that very truth to which these generous men gave witness, was not revealed to themselves in a manner perfectly distinct, or, at least, they were unacquainted with the method of exposing it in a light sufficiently clear. Incapable of finishing the work, they were the means by which preparation was made for its accomplishment. We must allow, however, that if they were not ready for the work, neither was the work ready for them. The measure was not yet full; the different ages had not yet fulfilled the part allotted to them; the need of a positive remedy was not yet in general sufficiently felt.

Scarcely had Rome usurped the sovereign power when a fierce opposition was formed against her authority, which lasted throughout the course of the middle ages.

The archbishop Cladius of Turin, in the ninth century; Peter of Bruges, his pupil Henry, Arnold of Brescia, in the twelfth century, in France and in Italy, strove to re-establish the worship of God in spirit and in truth; but for the most part they sought to fix this adoration too much in the mere absence of images and exterior practices.

The mystics, who have existed in almost every age, observing in silence the holiness of heart, uprightness of life, and a peaceable communion with God, were struck with sadness and horror at sight of the desolations of the church. They carefully abstained from any participation in the quarrels of the schools or in useless discussions, amidst whose turmoils the exercises of true piety had been forgotten. The object of these mystics was to turn men from the vain mechanism of outward worship, from the noise and splendour of ceremonies, in order to lead them to that fond repose of a soul that looks for all its happiness in God. This purpose could not be pursued without offending, at every step, the pride of accredited opinions, or without uncovering the plague-spots of the church. But still these mystics did not experience an unclouded conviction of the doctrine of justification through faith.

Much superior to the mystics, of whom we have been speaking, in purity of doctrine, were the Vaudois, who also formed a long chain of witnesses to the truth. Men more free in mind than the rest of the church, appear, from the most remote ages, to have dwelt on the tops of the Alps of Piedmont. Their number was increased and their doctrine was purified by the disciples of Valdo. From the height of their mountains, these Vaudois protested, during a long series of ages, against the superstitions of Rome.† “They contested for the living hope which they have in God through Christ—for regeneration

* Luther to Brentius.

† Nobla Legon.

and the renewal of the inner man by faith, hope, and charity—for the merits of Jesus Christ, and the all-sufficiency of his grace and justice.”*

Nevertheless that radical truth of the justification of the sinner—this capital doctrine, which ought to stand forth in the very centre of all their doctrines like Mont Blanc from the bosom of the Alps—did not boldly enough distinguish the structure of their system. The head of the hill was not sufficiently elevated.

Peter Vaud or Valdo, a rich merchant in Lyons, (1170,) disposed of all his wealth, and gave it to the poor. He appeared, as well as his friends, to have experienced a desire to establish in his lifetime the perfection of primitive Christianity. He began thus, as it were, to cultivate the branches, and not the roots, of the tree. Nevertheless, his witness is powerful, because he appeals therein to the Scriptures and they shake the Roman hierarchy at the mainstone of its foundations.

Wickliff appeared in England in 1360, and there made an appeal from the pope to the word of God; but the real inward disorder of the body of the church only seemed in his eyes as one of the numerous symptoms of her malady.

John Huss raised his voice in Bohemia a hundred years before Luther offered to speak in Saxony. He appeared to have dipped deeper than his predecessors into the real essence of Christian truth. He begs of Christ to grant him the grace whereby he might be enabled to glory in nothing save in his cross and in the inappreciable shame of his sufferings. But this witness attacks less the errors of the Roman church than the scandalous lives of its clergy. Still he was, if we may so speak, the John Baptist of the Reformation. The flames which rose from his funeral pile kindled in the church a fire that, through dense darkness, spread a distinct light, whose influences were not readily extinguished.

John Huss did more than we have said; for, from the bottom of his dungeon, he sent forth to the world words of prophetic import. He foresaw the imminent need of an absolute Reformation in the affairs of the church.

So soon as the period when, driven from Prague, he had been obliged to wander an outcast among the fields of Bohemia, where an immense crowd, anxious to listen to his words, had followed his steps, he began to declare: “The wicked have commenced by preparing for the goose† perfidious nets; but if even the goose, which is no more than a domestic bird, a peaceable creature, and whose flight carries it but a short way into the air, has nevertheless broke through their meshes, other birds, whose flight will bear them boldly towards the heavens, will yet break through them with much more force. Instead of a silly goose, the truth will hereafter send forth eagles and falcons with piercing looks.”‡ The reformers fulfilled the prediction of these words.

And when this venerable priest had been called by order of Sigismund before the council of Constance, when he had been thrown into

* Treatise of Antichrist, a contemporary of the Noble Legion. † Huss signifies goose in the Bohemian language. ‡ Epist. J. Huss, Tempore Anathematis Scriptae.

prison, the chapel of Bethlehem, where had been announced the gospel, and the future triumphs of Christ, occupied his attention more than his own defence. One night the holy martyr believed that he saw, from the floor of his dungeon, the pictures of Jesus Christ which he had caused to be drawn upon the walls of his oratory defaced by the pope and by bishops. This dream gave him much sorrow; but next day he beheld several painters occupied in retracing their images in yet greater numbers and additional brightness. This work done, the painters, surrounded by a crowd of people, cried out, "Let the popes and bishops come now, they shall not again be able to efface these pictures." "And many people were rejoiced in Bethlehem, and me, too, among the rest," adds John Huss. "Occupy yourself rather with the subject of your defence than with dreams," said one of his faithful friends, the Chevalier de Chlum, to whom Huss had communicated his dream. "I am not a dreamer," replied Huss; "but I hold this for certain, that the image of Christ shall never be obliterated. They have wished to destroy it; but it will be engraven anew in the hearts of men by many preachers far more worthy than me. The nation that loves Christ will rejoice in it. And I, awakening from among the dead, and rising, so to speak, from the tomb, will leap with excessive joy."*

A century passed away, and the torch of the gospel, lightened by the reformers, cheered, in reality, the sight of many nations, who rejoiced in its illumination.

But it is not only among those whom the church of Rome regards as her adversaries that a promise of life is made known in the course of the ages we have referred to. The Roman Catholic church herself, be it said for our own comfort, reckons among her members a host of witnesses to the truth. The original structure has been consumed; but a generous fire still burns under its ashes, and lively sparks are seen from time to time to flash amidst the rubbish.

It is an error to believe that Christianity had no existence up to the time of the Reformation, save under the forms of the Roman Catholic religion, and that thus a division of the church had merely put on the garb of Protestant forms and ceremonies.

Among the teachers who lived before the sixteenth century, a great number no doubt displayed a preference for the system which the council of Trent published in the year 1562; but several of these teachers likewise inclined towards the doctrines professed at Augsburg in 1530 by a body of Protestants, and the majority, most likely, wavered between those two extreme points.

Anselm of Canterbury declared the essence of Christianity to exist in the doctrines of the incarnation and expiation;† and in a pamphlet in which he teaches the sinner how to die, he says to the expiring mortal, "Look alone to the merits of Jesus-Christ." Saint Bernard proclaims with a loud voice the mystery of redemption. "If my faults come from another," says he, "wherefore shall not my justice also be granted to me? Certainly it is better for me that it should be given me, than if it had been born in me."‡ Several schoolmen, and,

* Huss Epp. sub. Temp. Concilii Scriptae. † Cur Deus homo? ‡ Et sane mihi tutius donato quam innata. (De Erroribus Abelardi, cap. 6.)

at a later period, the chancellor Gerson, attack with energy many errors and abuses of the church.

But let us muse especially upon those thousands of obscure individuals, unknown to the world, who have nevertheless possessed the true spirit of the life of Christ.

A monk called Arnoldi offered up every day in his silent cell this fervent prayer: "O my Lord Jesus Christ! I believe that thou art alone my redemption and my righteousness."*

A pious bishop of Basil, Christopher de Utenheim, had his name written upon a picture painted on glass, which is still at Basil, and around this device, which he desired to have constantly before his eyes—"My hope is the cross of Christ; I seek for grace and not for works."†

A poor Carthusian friar, brother Martin, composed an affecting confession, in which he said, "O God, most merciful! I know that I cannot be saved, or satisfy thy justice, otherwise than through the merits, the guiltless passion, and the death of thy well-beloved Son Holy Jesus! all my salvation is in thy hands. Thou canst not turn away from me the cords of thy love; for thou hast created me, hast formed me, and hast redeemed me. Thou hast written my name in iron letters, with unbounded mercy, and in a manner which cannot be effaced, upon thy side, thy hands, and thy feet," &c., &c. The good friar then placed his confession in a wooden box, and hid this box in a hole which he had made in the wall of his cell.‡

The genuine piety of brother Martin would never have been known, had not his box been found on the 21st of December 1776, at the pulling down of an old suit of rooms which had formed part of the convent of the Carthusian friars at Basil. How many convents have concealed the like treasure?

But these holy men only possessed on their own behalf the spirit of this impassioned faith, and had not the gift of communicating its benefits to others. Living in seclusion, they could avouch more or less the sentiment shut up in his box by the good brother Martin: "*Et si hæc prædicta confiteri non possim lingua, confiteor tamen corde et scripto.*" "If I cannot confess these things with the tongue, I do confess them at least with the pen and from the heart." The word of truth was in the secret recesses of many pious souls; but, to use an expression found in the gospel, it had not "free course" in the world.

At the same time, if the doctrine of salvation was not always boldly confessed, there was, at all events, no great fear evinced, even in the bosom of the church of Rome, of declaiming openly against the dishonour shewn this doctrine in many of the then existing abuses.

Scarcely had the councils of Constance and Basil, in which Huss and his pupils had been condemned, terminated their meetings, when that noble list of witnesses against Rome, which we have signalized, was again commenced with yet greater vigour. Many men of liberal minds, disgusted with the abominations of Popery, rose up, like the

* *Credo quod tu, mi Domine Jesu Christe, solus es mea justitia et redemptio,*" etc. (Leibnitz, Script. Brunsw., iii. 396.) † "*Spes mea crux Christi; gratiam, non opera quaero.*" ‡ *Sciens posse me aliter non salvari, et tibi satisfacere nisi "per meritum," etc.* (See, for these quotations and others of a similar kind, Flacius, Catal. Test. Veritatis; Wolfii Lect. Memorabiles; Muller's Reliquion, &c. &c.)

prophets of the Old Testament, and, like them, sent forth terrible denunciations of wo; but they equally shared the fate of their prototypes, and their blood was seen to redden the platforms of the scaffold, or their ashes to float through the air from the furnaces of the malignant pile.

Thomas Conecte, a carmelite, made his appearance in Flanders. He declared "the practice of abominations in Rome, that the church stood in need of reformation, and that, in observing the worship of God, it was not necessary to fear the excommunications of the pope."* Flanders listened to these words with enthusiasm, and Rome burned the body of the man who uttered them in 1432, whilst his contemporaries exclaimed that God had taken him to heaven.†

Andre, the archbishop of Crayn, and a cardinal, finding himself at Rome as ambassador from the emperor, is horror-struck upon discovering that the papal sanctity in which he had so devoutly believed was no more than a fable; and, in his simplicity, he addresses to Sixtus IV. certain evangelical representations. These are answered in terms of derision and with acts of persecution.

He next desires (1482) to assemble in Basil a new council. "The whole church universal," cried he, "is shaken with divisions, heresies, crimes, vices, injustice, and errors and evils innumerable, so that it is ready to be swallowed up in the ravenous abyss of condemnation. It is for these reasons we recommend the calling together of a general council for the reformation of the Catholic faith and for the amendment of manners."‡ Cast into prison at Basil, the archbishop of Crayn died within the dungeon of a jail. The inquisitor who first accused this worthy man, namely, Henry Institoris, pronounced the following extraordinary words:—"The whole world cries and seeks for a council, but there is no human power which is able to reform the church by means of a council. The Most High will find out another method, which is unknown to us at present, although it should be at hand, and by that means the church shall be led back to her primitive condition."§ This remarkable prophecy, spoken by a member of the inquisition, at the very period when Luther was born, forms the most complete apology for the Reformation.

The dominican, Jerome Savonarola, soon after his entrance into the order at Bologna, in 1475, delivered himself over to the constant practices of prayer, fastings, and mortifications, and was wont to cry out, "O thou who art good, in thy kindness teach me thy justice."|| Translated afterwards to Florence in 1489, he preached energetically; his voice was commanding, his countenance animated, and his action of a fascinating description. "It is necessary," he exclaimed, "to renew the church!" And he professed the grand principle which can alone restore life to the church. "God," said he, "forgives men their sins, and justifies them in mercy. For as many as there are just men upon the earth, as much is there compassion in heaven;

* Bertrand d'Argentre, *History of Britany*. Paris. 1618. Pp. 788. † Ille summo vivit Olympo. (Baptista Mantuanus, de Beata Vita in fin.)
‡ A. sorbente gurgite damnationis subtrahit. (J. H. Hottingeri, *Hist. Eccl. Sæculi*, xv. p. 347.)
§ Alium modum Altissimus procurabit, nobis quidem pro nunc incognitum, licet heu præ foribus existat, ut ad pristinum statum Ecclesia redeat. (Ibid, p. 418.)
|| Bonus est tu, et in bonitate tua doce me justificationes tuas. (Batesius, *Vitæ Selectorum Virorum*. Lond. 1681. Pp. 112.)

because no person can be saved by their works. No one can glory in himself, and if in the presence of God we were to inquire of every just creature, Have you been saved by your own strength? the whole assembly would cry out with one voice, Not unto us, Lord, but to thy name be all the glory! It is for this reason, O God! I ask thy pity, and do not bring before thee my justice; but when through grace thou justifiest me, then thy justice is mine, for grace is the justice of God. As long, O man, as thou dost not believe, thou art, on account of sin, deprived of grace. O God! save me by thy justice, that is to say, in thy Son, who alone is found just among men!"* In this manner the grand and holy doctrine of justification through faith rejoiced the heart of Savonarola. In vain the presidents of the churches set themselves in opposition to him;† he knew that the oracles of God are over and above the visible church, and that they must be preached, with her or without her, or even in spite of her. "Fly," cried he, "far away from Babylon," and it is Rome he intends to distinguish by that name. Very soon Rome replied to the challenge after its own fashion. In 1497, the scandalous Alexander VI. issued a pope's brief against Savonarola, and in 1498 torture and the stake were called upon to do justice on the reformer.

The grey friar, John Vitraire of Tournay, whose monastic spirit did not appear to be of a very high order, placed himself, nevertheless, in strong opposition to the corruptions of the church. "It would be far better," said he,‡ "to cut the throat of his child than to rear him in a religion not reformed. If your rector, or any other priest, should keep a woman in their houses, you ought to go into their dwellings, and, by force, carry away the woman, or otherwise forcibly eject her from the house. Are there any who make certain prayers to the Virgin Mary, in order that, at the hour of death, they may be able to behold the Virgin Mary? You shall see the devil, not the Virgin Mary." A retraction of these expressions was demanded from the monk, and Vitraire yielded to the order in 1498.

John Laillier, teacher of Sorbonne, rose up in 1484 against the tyrannical domination of the hierarchy. Every member of the ecclesiastical body," said he, "has received from Christ equal power. The Roman church is not the head of the other churches. You ought to keep the commandments of God and of the apostles; and, with regard to the commandments of all its bishops and other lords of the church, . . . as much worth as the chaff, they have destroyed the church with their nonsense."§ The priests of the eastern church commit no offence in becoming married men, and I therefore believe that we should be alike blameless in the western church were we also to enter into the state of matrimony. Since the days of St Sylvester, the Roman church has no longer been the church of Christ, but a church of the state and of money. Belief has no more been given to the legends of the saints than to the chronicles of France."

* *Meditationes in Psalmos*; *Prediche sopra il Salmo, Quam bonus Israel*, etc. *Sermones supra Arham Noe*, etc.

† *Inter omnes vero persecutores, potissimum Ecclesiae praesides.* (Batesius, p. 118.)

‡ *D'Argentré, Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, ii. p. 340.

§ *Ibidem.*

John de Wessalia, a teacher of theology in Erfurt, a man of strong mind and quick perceptions, attacks the errors upon which the hierarchy rests, and declares the Holy Scriptures to be the only ground of faith. "It is not religion (that is to say the monastic state) which saves you," said he to a number of monks, "but the grace of God. God has opened from all eternity a book in which he has written the names of all his elect. Whoever has not his name written therein shall not find it so throughout eternity; and whoever is registered in that book shall never see his name effaced therefrom. It is by the grace of God alone the elect are saved. He whom God wishes to save by giving him this grace shall be saved, although all the priests in the world should desire to condemn or excommunicate him. And he whom God wishes to condemn, although all were equally anxious to save him, shall nevertheless experience condemnation.* With what assurance have the successors of the apostles ordained not what Christ has prescribed in his holy writings, but what they have themselves imagined, carried away as they have been by a thirst for gold or the eagerness to command? I despise the pope, the church, and the councils, but I admire Jesus Christ." Wessalia arrived by degrees at the height of these convictions, courageously maintained them in an open manner from his pulpit, and afterwards entered into friendly connexions with the envoys of the Hussites. Weakened by the pressure of age and the exhaustion of disease, bending over the support of a staff, this courageous old man appeared, with a trembling step, before the inquisition, and was left to die in one of the dungeons of that institution in the year 1482.

John de Goch, prior in Malines, asserted, about the same time, the rights of Christian liberty as the soul of every virtue. He accused the dominant doctrine with Pelagianism, and denominated Thomas d'Aquin, the Prince of Error. "The one canonical Scriptures," says he, "commands a constant faith and an irrefragable authority. The writings of the ancient fathers have only authority in so far as they are consistent with the canonical truth.† This vulgar proverb is full of truth—*That which a monk dares to do, Satan would blush to think of.*"

But the most remarkable of these forerunners of the Reformation was, undoubtedly, John Wessel, surnamed "The Light of the World," a man full of courage and love of the truth, who was a teacher of theology, successively at Cologne, Lothvain, Paris, Heidelberg, and Gröningen, and of whom Luther declared, "If I had sooner read his writings, my enemies might have been able to think that Luther had drawn all his ideas out of Wessel, so much are his mind and mine in complete accordance."‡ "St Paul and St James," said Wessel, "relate different, but not contrary things. Both believe that the just live by faith, but by a faith which acts through charity. He who, listening to the gospel, believes, desires, hopes, trusts in the good news, and loves him who justifies and blesses him, giving

* Et quem Deus vult damnare, si omnes vellent hunc salvare, adhuc iste damnetur. (Paradoxa Damnata, etc. 1749, Moguntiae.) † Antiquorum Patrum scripta tantum habent auctoritatis, quantum canonicae veritati sunt conformia. (Epist. Apologet. Anvers 1521.) ‡ Adeo spiritus utriusque concordat. (Farrago Wesseli, in Praef.)

himself afterwards entirely over to him who loves him, and attributes nothing to himself, since he knows that out of his own funds he has nothing to give.* The sheep must distinguish the things given him to eat, and avoid poisonous food, even although offered by the shepherd himself. The people ought to follow the pastors in the pasture-ground, but when it is no longer in the pasture-ground they lead them, they are no more pastors; and thus, since they are beyond their province, the people are no longer bound to obey their call. Nothing works more efficaciously for the destruction of the church than a corrupted body of clergy. Every Christian, even the least advanced and the most simple, is constrained to resist those who would destroy the church.† It is not necessary to fulfil the precepts of the prelates or teachers beyond the limits prescribed by St Paul, (1 Thess. v. 21;) that is to say, in so far as, sitting in the seat of Moses, they speak according to the words of Moses. We are the servants of God and not of the pope, as it is said, '*Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.*' The Holy Spirit has promised to strengthen, to vivify, to preserve, and to increase the unity of the church, and he will not leave the church to the care of the pontiff of Rome, who often takes no care of it. Nor does the mere sex prevent a woman, even if she be faithful and prudent, and have the spirit of charity spread abroad in her heart, from feeling, judging, approving, and resolving, by a judgment which God ratifies."

Thus in proportion as the approach of the Reformation draws near, the testimonies to the truth are in number multiplied. It might, indeed, be affirmed that the church was anxious to shew that the Reformation had an existence within its heart before the appearance of Luther; and that Protestantism was born in the church on the very same day that the seed of Popery was seen to take root therein, in the same manner as in the political world conservative principles have always displayed their front from the moment that either the despotism of the great or the turmoils of the factious have dared to protrude their hideous forms. Protestantism was sometimes even more powerful than Popery during the course of the ages which preceded the Reformation. What opposition could Rome possibly offer to the evidence of all those witnesses we have just now contemplated, at the very time they were proclaiming such truths throughout so many districts of the Christian empire?

But, in addition to all this, it must be observed that the Reformation had not only seeds sown in the hearts of Christian teachers, but also in the spirits of the people. The doctrines of Wickliff, issuing from the colleges of Oxford, had spread rapidly over the whole extent of Christendom, and had secured adherents in Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, and Prussia. In Bohemia, from the abode of discord and open war, there had at last sprung up a peaceful and Christian community, who re-established an institution of the primi-

* Extentus totus, et propensus in eum quem amat, a quo credit, cupit, sperat, confidit, justificatur, nihil sibi ipsi tribuit, qui scit nihil habere ex se. (De Magnit. Passionis, cap. xlv. Opera, p. 553.) † Nemo magis Ecclesiam destruit, quam corruptus clerus. Destruentibus Ecclesiam omnes Christiani tenentur resistere. (De Potestate Eccles. Op. p. 769.)

tive church, wherein bold testimony was given to the grand principle of gospel controversy, that "Christ himself is the rock upon which the church is built, and not Peter or his successors." Belonging equally to the Germanic and Egyptian races, these simple Christians had sent out missionaries into the heart of different nations who spoke their languages, in order to gain over, without tumult, proselytes to their own opinions. Nicholas Kuss, having received two visits from these missionaries at Rostoch, began, in 1511, to preach publicly against the pope.*

Circumstances of this description are well worthy of our observation. When wisdom from above will utter with a yet stronger voice her warnings, there shall be everywhere many intelligent beings and fond hearts ready to listen to her admonitions. When the sower, who has not ceased to wander over the territories of the church, will begin to engage in another and more extended season, he shall find the earth prepared to receive the good seed. When the trumpet which the angel of the covenant has not ceased to blow shall resound with a louder blast, many will prepare themselves for the battle.

Already the church feels confident that the hour of contest is near at hand. If more than one philosopher has been allowed to foretell, in one way or another, during the course of the last century, the revolution which was about to signalize its close, shall we express astonishment because several teachers have equally prognosticated at the end of the fifteenth century the remarkable Reformation which then hastened to renew the condition of the church?

The provincial of the Augustin friars, André Prolés, who for nearly half a century presided over the members of that body, and who, with indomitable courage, maintained among his order the doctrines of St Augustin, joined again with his brethren in the convent of Himmelspforte, near to Wernigerode, was wont suddenly to pause while reading the word of God, and addressing himself to the monks, he would say to them—"Brethren, you hear the testimony of the Holy Scriptures! they declare that through grace we are all what we are, and that through it alone we have all that we have. Whence then can proceed so much darkness and so many horrible superstitions?

O brethren! Christianity has need of a great and bold Reformation, and even now I see its hardy approach." Then the monks would cry out—"Wherefore do you not yourself begin this daring Reformation, and set yourself in opposition to such a host of errors?" "You see, O my brethren!" the aged provincial would reply, "that I am laden with years and infirm of body, and that I possess not the knowledge, the talents, and the eloquence necessary to ensure success in an undertaking so momentous; but God will raise up a hero, who, by his age, his strength, his talents, his knowledge, his genius, and his eloquence, will deservedly occupy the first place. He will begin the Reformation, he will resist the wickedness of error, and God will give him a courage fitted to defy the forces of the great."† An old monk from Himmelspforte, who had frequently heard these words spoken, has repeated them to Flacius. And it was

* Wolfii Lect. Memorab., ii. p. 27. † Excitabit Dominus heroem *setate* viribus. . . . (Flacii Catal. Testium Veritatis, p. 843.)

from among the brotherhood of the very order of which he was provincial the Christian hero announced by Prolés was destined to appear.

A monk named John Hilten, living in the convent of the Greyfriars at Isenach, in Thuringia, was much given to study. He studied with great attention the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations to St John; he even wrote a commentary on these books, and condemned the most flagrant abuses of the monastic life. The monks, irritated at the exposures thus published against them, cast Hilten into prison. His advanced age, and the filthiness of his dungeon, caused him to fall into a dangerous sickness, and he requested to see the brother guardian. Scarcely had this functionary entered the cell, when, without listening to the complaints of the prisoner, in the violence of passion he began to censure severely the doctrine advanced by the invalid, which was in opposition, adds the report, to the modes of cooking patronized by the monks. Then the friar, forgetting his malady, and drawing a deep sigh, said, "I bear your insults quietly for the love of Christ, for I have said nothing which can disturb the monastic state, and I have done no more than condemn the most notable abuses. *But,*" continued he, (according to the report given us by Melancthon in his *Apology for the Confession of Faith of Augsburg*), "*there will come another time, the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and sixteen, that year will destroy you, and you shall not be able to resist its power.*"* John Hilten, who had declared the end of the world as fixed for the year 1651, had not so far deceived himself with regard to the year in which the future reformer was to appear. This distinguished man was very soon afterwards born at a short distance from the prison of Hilten; and the former began his studies in the very town of Isenach wherein the latter monk had been a prisoner, whilst the enterprise of the Reformation was publicly entered upon only one year later than the time predicted by the worthy friar.

CHAPTER VII.

Third Preparation—Letters—Revival of Learning—Recollection of Antiquity in Italy—Influence of the Scholars—Christianity of Dante—Valla—Incredulity in Italy—Platonic Philosophy—Commencement of Letters in Germany—Youth of the Schools—Art of Printing—Character of Letters in Germany—Letters and the Schoolmen—A New World—Reuchlin—Reuchlin in Italy—His Works—His Influence in Germany—Mystics—Struggle with the Dominicans.

It has been seen in what manner princes and people, the actual members of the church, and learned theologians, have together laboured, each in their own sphere, to prepare the work the sixteenth century was destined so soon to discover. But the Reformation was appointed to receive assistance from a source additional to those already mentioned, namely, from letters.

The human mind was in a state of active progression. This fact alone was sufficient to ensure its emancipation from error. Let only a small seed fall near the foundation of an old wall, and the shrub, as it grows, will serve to hasten the decay of its neighbour.

The pontiff of Rome had constituted himself the guardian of the people, and the superiority of his understanding had rendered the

* Alius quidem veniet . . . (Apologia Conf. Aug. xlii. De Votis Monasticis.)

task easy to him. For long he had considered them as in a state of minority ; but now they seek to escape from his surveillance in every quarter. This venerable guardianship, which had its origin in those principles of eternal life and civilization which Rome had communicated to barbarous nations, could no longer be exercised without opposition to its authority. A formidable adversary had placed himself over against this despotism in order to control its deeds. The natural tendency of the human mind to unfold its own energies, to examine and to learn, had formed the body of the new force here alluded to. The eyes of men's minds were, in short, opened, and they demanded explanations of every object from their long-respected conductor, under whose guidance they had heretofore journeyed on in the path of life without framing a single question, whilst these eyes were shut to the light of reason. The term of infancy had been passed over by the people of regenerated Europe, and the age of manhood had commenced. To that native simplicity which is disposed to believe all it hears, had succeeded a curious inquiring spirit, an impatient reasoning, that desires earnestly to know the real condition of affairs. It was asked with what design God had spoken to the world, and whether it was true that men possessed the right of themselves to establish mediators between God and their brethren.

One thing alone was able to save the church ; namely, to raise itself in understanding yet higher above the people. To proceed merely on a level with their acquirements was not a sufficient defence. But the church, on the contrary, found herself in a state of evident inferiority with the attainments of the people. She had begun to descend at the very time they had begun to ascend. When mankind in general begin to raise their views towards the fields of knowledge, the priesthood finds itself absorbed in the terrestrial pursuits of human interests. This is, in fact, a phenomenon which has often been vividly exhibited in history. The wings of the eaglet have grown strong, and no one has possessed sufficient stretch of arm to prevent him from continuing his upward flight.

It was in Italy that the human mind first shook off the fetters of thralldom.

The divinity school or romantic poetry had never reigned there without hindrance. A recollection of antiquity had always remained in Italy. These recollections were much invigorated in their energies towards the conclusion of the middle ages, and very soon communicated to the minds of men an impulsion altogether peculiar.

As early as the fourteenth century, Dante and Petrarch restored to their honours the ancient poets of Rome, at the same time that the former places in his infernal regions the most powerful popes, the latter implores with earnestness for the restitution of the primitive constitution of the church. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, John Ravenna taught with success the Latin writings at Padua and Florence, and Chrysoloras expounded the fine genius of Greece at Florence and Pavia.

Whilst the light was thus in Europe escaping from the dungeon darkness in which it had been shut up, the east also despatched towards the west fresh glimmerings of learning. The standard of Osmanlis, planted in 1453 upon the walls of Constantinople, had

caused the dispersion of the learned men of that city; and these scholars had carried with them into Italy the writings of Greece. The torch of the ancients communicated light to the extinguished spirits that had for so many centuries lain in a torpid state. George de Trebisonde, Argyropoulos, Bessarion, Lascaris, Chalcondylas, and many others filled the west with their love of Greece and of her most exalted geniuses. The patriotism of Italy was thereby excited, and there appeared in Italy a great number of the literati, among whom were particularly distinguished the names of Gasparino, Aurispa, Poggio, Valla, who also used strenuous endeavours to reclaim the honours of Roman antiquity. There was now produced an extraordinary blaze of intellectual light, and Rome could not avoid being, in consequence, thrown into a deep shadow.

The passion for antiquity, which was exasperated by many mere *scholars*, was sufficient to shake the most noble minds in their attachment to the church; for “no one can serve two masters.” At the same time the studies to which most attention was paid placed at the disposition of the learned many subjects completely new, altogether unknown to the divinity schools, whereby the knowledge possessed by the church might be easily criticised. Discovering in the Bible much more than in the works of theologians, the beauties of style which had ravished the mind in their studies of classic authors, the *scholars* were wholly inclined to place the Bible above the writings of the teachers. These scholars reformed the taste in literature, and thus made preparations for the Reformation of the faith.

It is true that literature vehemently asserted that her science had no connexion with the tenets of belief held by the church, whilst at the same time its votaries were eager in their attacks upon the divinity schools, decidedly before the assaults of the reformers, and strove to turn into ridicule the barbarisms of these schools and their “Teutons,” who had so lifelessly lived.* Some of these scholars had even proclaimed a belief in the doctrines of the gospel, and had challenged some of the opinions most fondly cherished by Rome. Even now Dante, while adhering faithfully to Roman doctrines, had declared himself in favour of the power of faith, very much in the manner contended for by the reformers. “It is the true faith,” he has said, “which entitles us to become citizens of heaven.† Faith, according to the doctrines of the gospel, is the principle of life; it is the spark that, always increasing, becomes a living flame, and shines within our souls like the star in the heavens. Without faith there are neither good works nor honest conduct which can be of any service to us. However great the bulk of sin may be, the arms of divine grace are larger still, and they embrace all those who turn unto God.‡ The soul is not lost through the anathemas of the pontiff, and eternal charity may still reach the soul so long as hope is left to burn.§ From God alone proceeds our righteousness, through faith.” And speaking of the church, Dante cries out—“O my bark! how ill

* Qui ne viventes quidem vivebant. (Polit. Ep. ix. 3.) + Parad. xxiv. 121.

‡ Orribil furon li peccati miei;

Ma la bonta infinita ha sì gran braccia.

Che prende ciò che si revolve a lei. (Purgator. iii. 121-124.)

§ Per lor maladizion si non si perde.

Che non possa tornar l'eterno amore,

Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde? (Ibid. 134-136.)

filled thou art! O Constantine! what a great evil has not been engendered, I do not say by your conversion, but by that offering which the rich father then received from you!"

At a later period, Laurentius Valla applies to the opinions of the church the test proved by the study of antiquity; he denies the authenticity of the correspondence between Christ and King Abgarus; he rejects the tradition respecting the formation of the types of the apostles; and he saps the foundations on which rest the pretended heritage the popes have claimed to hold from Constantine.*

But whilst this grand intellectual light, kindled by the study of antiquity during the course of the fifteenth century, was well calculated to destroy error, it was wholly powerless as a means of edification. It is neither to Homer nor to Virgil that the honour of saving the church can be honestly attributed. The revival of learning, of science, or of arts, was not the principle that animated the Reformation. The Paganism of poetry, in rushing along the territories of Italy, rather served to confirm the Paganism of the heart. The scepticism taught in the school of Aristotle, and the contempt of everything which did not belong to the science of philology, seized upon a large share of the works of literature, and fostered an incredulity which, while feigning to yield submission to the church, attacked at the same moment the most important truths of religion. Peter Pomponatius, the most famous representative of this impious tendency, inculcated, at Bologna and Padua, this doctrine—that the immortality of the soul and the ways of providence are problems in philosophy.† John Francis Pic, nephew to Pic of la Mirandola, spoke of a pope who did not believe in God;‡ and of another who, having acknowledged to one of his friends his disbelief in the immortality of the soul, appeared after his death, in the night-time, to this same friend, and said to him—"Oh! the eternal fire that now consumes my flesh makes me too sensibly feel the immortality of that soul which, in my opinion, should have died with the body!" Such an anecdote recalls to memory the remarkable words addressed, as it has been affirmed, by Leo X. to his secretary Bembo—"The whole host of heaven knows well of what utility has been to us and our order this same fable of Jesus Christ."§ A multitude of unmeaning superstitions were happily refuted; but in their stead was established an incredulity full of disdainful and scornful mirth. To laugh at everything, even at subjects the most important and holy, became the fashion and the mark of a strong mind. Nothing more was beheld in the principles of religion than a proper means for rightly governing the people. "I have a fear," exclaimed Erasmus, in 1516, "that with the study of ancient literature, ancient Paganism will be firmly repaired."

There was, no doubt, seen at this time, equally as at the conclusion of the days of mockery in the reign of Augustus, and as in our own age, after the fooleries of the last century, a new Platonic philosophy to struggle through the dense cloud of this impudent incredulity, and to strive, like the philosophy at present in existence, to inspire the

* De ementita Constantini donatione declamatio ad Papam. (Op. Basil. 1543.)
 † De Immortalitate Animae, de Praedestinatione et Providentia. ‡ Qui nullum Deum credens. (J. F. Pici de Fide, Op. ii. p. 820.) § Ea de Christo fabula. (Mornaei Hist. Papatus, p. 820.)

minds of men with some respect for the principles of Christianity, and to rekindle in their hearts the deep feelings of religion. The Medicis supported in Florence these efforts of Platonic philosophy. But never shall a philosophical religion be found of a consistency fitted to regenerate the church and the world. Haughty in its nature, disdaining the preaching of the cross, and pretending to see in the Christian maxims nothing beyond the representations of figures and types, incomprehensible to the majority of mankind, this sort of philosophy cannot fail to lose itself in the fire of a mystic enthusiasm, and will always be alike powerless in the work of reformation or of salvation.

• What must, then, have happened had not the true spirit of Christianity reappeared in the world, and had not this faith filled anew the hearts of the people with all its vigour and holiness? The Reformation came to save religion, and along with her the very existence of society. Had the church of Rome relished at heart the furtherance of the glory of God and the prosperity of the people, she would have joined in the work of the Reformation with joy. But of what value were such views in the mind of a Leo X.?

Nevertheless a flaming torch of intellectual fire could not be kindled in Italy without shedding abroad beyond the Alps a portion of its light. The affairs of the church had caused a continual communication to be maintained between the Peninsula and the other parts of Christendom. These *uncivilized nations* were very soon made conscious of the superiority and the pride of the Italians, and they began to blush themselves at the incorrect manner in which they had been accustomed both to write and to speak. A few noble youths, a Dalberg, a Langen, and a Spiegelberg, enflamed with a desire to acquire learning, passed over into Italy, and carried back into Germany a knowledge of the sciences, grammar, and classics, so much wished for, and which they imparted to their anxious friends.* In a short time afterwards, there appeared a man possessed of distinguished abilities, namely, Rodolphus Agricola, for whom the acquirements he gained in science by his splendid genius would have ensured a venerated reputation had he lived in the ages of Augustus or Pericles. The ardour of his mind and the exertion used in his studies wore out his constitution in a very few years. But, in the closest friendship with this great man, there had been reared some excellent pupils, who extended the spirit and learning of their master over the whole territories of Germany. Often, when in company with Agricola, were these students known to deplore together the darkness which overshadowed the church, and the question was constantly urged, wherefore had St Paul so frequently repeated the statement, that men are justified by faith and not by works.† Too soon we see assembled at the feet of these worthy teachers, a horde of mean youths, who lived upon alms, who studied without books, and who, divided into societies as priests of Bacchus, of arquebusiers, and even of other trades, went about in disorderly groups from town to town or from school to school. Still this signifies nothing; for these uncouth bands formed the nucleus out of which the construction of a well-informed public was at last com-

* *Hamelmann Relatio Hist.* It is under a wrong impression that this first impulsion is attributed to Thomas a Kempis. (Delprat upon G. Groote, p. 286.) † *Fide Justus esse.* (Melandron, Decl. I. 602.)

pleted : by degrees the standard works of antiquity were sent forth from the presses of Germany, and replaced the writings of the divinity schools ; and the art of printing, discovered at Mentz in 1440, was the instrument of increasing, in manifold numbers, the energetic appeals issued against the corruptions of the church, and those summonses, not less stringent, which called the minds of men into new and more arduous paths of exertion.

The study of ancient literature was followed, in Germany, by effects altogether different from those exhibited under a similar training in Italy and France. This study was, in the former of these countries, joined to a participation in the faith. Germany sought, in prosecuting the labours of the new literary culture, to discover the advantages which religion might gather in this fresh-opened field of mental exercise. That industry which had only produced in the homes of some a certain refinement of intellect, minute and barren, had penetrated the whole soul of others, had warmed their hearts, and prepared them for the reception of a larger provision of knowledge. The earlier renovators of literature in Italy and France distinguished themselves by a cast of conduct trifling in the extreme, and often immoral. In Germany, their successors, animated with a pure and serious spirit, inquired with zeal into every department of learning, for the proofs of established truth. Italy, offering the incense of her homage to science and literature alike profane, beheld rising in her schools the image of an incredulous opposition. Germany, occupied with a profound theology, and relying on her own talents, experienced the light of an opposition full of faith. There the foundations of the church were undermined, here these foundations were strengthened. In this empire there was formed an extraordinary reunion of liberal men, learned and generous, among whose number were conspicuous the names of several princes, and who used their utmost endeavours to render the accomplishments of science useful to the interests of religion. Some of these worthy associates prosecuted their studies in the humble faith of little children ; others engaged in this work with ~~more enlightened minds~~, of keen perceptions, and disposed, perhaps, to exceed the limits of a free and legitimate criticism ; but both the one and the other class of these observers contributed to clear away from the threshold of the temple the accumulated rubbish of dismal superstitions.

The theological body of the monks readily perceived the danger that threatened their position, and set themselves to raise up a hue and cry against those very studies which they had tolerated in Italy and France, because in these countries such studies had been found to form a close alliance with the practices of a frivolous and licentious life. A conspiracy was at once formed among these reverend men against the acquisitions of languages or science ; for in their train a glimpse of the faith had become discernible. A monk recommended some persons to beware of the heresies of Erasmus. "In what do they consist?" was the responsive interrogatory. The monk acknowledged that he had not read the work in question, and he was unable to allege any reason for his caution, beyond the fact of this book "having been written in too good Latin."

An open war was soon engaged in between the students in literature

and the theologians of the divinity schools. These latter combatants beheld with affright the movements made in the territories of intellectual pursuits, and imagined that a state of immobility and mental darkness would form the surest defence for the safety of the church. It was in order to save Rome that the battle was undertaken against the revival of learning; but this contest only served to hasten the destruction of the devoted city. Rome now became the prey of many masters. At one time led astray under the rule of the pontificate of Leo X., she abandoned her old friends and clasped within her arms the bodies of her new opponents. Popery and literature composed a union which must have been considered disposed to burst the bands which held together the members of monarchism and the hierarchy. The popes did not perceive, at first sight, that the thing they had regarded as a toy, was, in reality, a sword which might pierce them to the heart. In like manner as we have seen, in the history of the last century, how some princes were willing to welcome within their courts a description of politics and philosophy which, had they yielded entirely to their baneful influences, would have altogether overwhelmed their authority, the alliance we now refer to was not of long duration. Literature pushed forward without paying any regard to objects which were calculated to endanger the stability of her patron's power. The monks and members of the divinity schools easily foresaw that to abandon the pope was to forsake their own welfare; and the pope, in spite of the passing patronage he bestowed upon the fine arts, did not shew less hesitation when he understood the danger, and the measures the most contradictory to the spirit of the times.

The universities also defended themselves as much as possible against the intrusion of these new improvements. Cologne drove out of its college Rhagius; Leipsic, Celtis; and Rostoch, Hermann von dem Busch. At the same time the new teachers, and with them the ancient classics, were by degrees established, and often with the assistance of princes, within the walls of these high schools. Very soon we meet with the formation therein, despite the complaints of the divinity scholars, of societies composed of grammarians and poets. Everything was turned into Greek and Latin, even to the very name of the literati; for how could the friends of Sophocles and of Virgil be able to hear themselves called Krachenberger or Schwarzerd? But a spirit of independence was not less visible in the actions of all the universities. No longer were the students seen in the fashion of seminarists, with their books under their arms, to walk soberly, with great respect and downcast eyes, behind their masters. The petulance of a Martial or of an Ovid had passed into these new disciples of the muses. They welcomed with transports of joy the raillery directed in abundance against the dialectic theologians; and the heads of the literary movement were sometimes accused of shewing favour to, or even of encouraging, disorderly conduct among the students.

In this manner a new world had appeared. Deriving an origin from antiquity, it had been fostered within the ages of the world known as the middle ages. The two parties were about to come to blows; a struggle was imminent. And here was the most tranquil of the champions of letters, an old man very near the close of his career, who was pledged to undertake the contest.

In order that truth may secure the victory, it is above all things necessary that the arms with which she is destined to fight should be taken from arsenals wherein they had for ages been left concealed. These arms were composed of the holy writings of the Old and New Testament. It was also requisite to rekindle in Christendom a love for the study of the Scriptures in the original languages of Greek and Hebrew. The man whom the providence of God had selected for this undertaking was one named John Reuchlin.

A very fine voice belonging to a boy had been heard in the choir of the church at Pforzheim. This voice had attracted the attention of the margrave of Baden. It was the voice of John Reuchlin, a young lad of agreeable manners and of a merry disposition, the son of an honest citizen of the place. The margrave immediately took this lad under his protection, and selected him, in 1443, to accompany his son Frederick to the university of Paris.

The son of a doorkeeper at Pforzheim arrived in company with a prince, and in the highest spirits, at the school we have mentioned—then the most celebrated throughout all the provinces of the west. He there met with the Spartan Hermonymos and John Wessel, "The Light of the World," and he likewise enjoyed the opportunity of studying, under able masters, the Greek and Hebrew languages, of which there was not at that time any professors in Germany, and of which he was destined to become the reviver in the countries of the Reformation. The poor young German copied for some of the richer students the songs of Homer and the discourses of Socrates, and in this manner gained sufficient means for continuing his studies and devoting himself to literary pursuits.

But we must take notice of other matter also which Reuchlin heard from the mouth of Wessel, and which made a most powerful impression upon the mind of the former. "The popes may have deceived themselves. The whole satisfaction of men is a blasphemy against the power of Christ, who has reconciled and perfectly justified the human race. To God alone belongs the power to give an entire absolution. It is not necessary to confess our sins to the priests. There is no such place as purgatory, unless it may be so said of God himself, who is a consuming fire, and one which purifies from all uncleanness."

Scarcely arrived at the age of twenty years, Reuchlin gave lessons at Basil in philosophy as well as in Greek and Latin; and there was heard in that town, what was then considered a prodigy, namely, a German speaking Greek.

The partisans of Rome began to feel uneasy when they beheld many generous spirits thus rummaging among their own hidden treasures. "The Romanists make wry faces," said Reuchlin, "and loud exclamations, pretending that all these literary labours are contrary to Roman piety, seeing that the Greeks are schismatics. Oh! how much trouble, how much suffering must be endured, in order to conduct Germany at last into the ways of wisdom and science."

Very soon afterwards, Eberhard of Wurtemberg calls Reuchlin to Tubingen, to be the ornament of that rising university. In 1488, he takes him along with himself into Italy. Chalcondylas, Aithusa, and John Pic of la Mirandola, become at Florence the companions

and friends of Reuchlin. At Rome, when Eberhard was received by the pope, surrounded by all his cardinals, at a solemn audience, Reuchlin delivered a discourse in a style of Latin so pure and elegant that the assembly, who expected no such exhibition from a barbarous German, was thrown into a state of utter amazement, whilst the pope exclaimed—"Certainly this man deserves to be put beside the best orators of France or Italy."

Ten years after this date, Reuchlin was obliged to flee for safety into Heidelberg, to the court of the elector Philip, in order to escape the vengeance of the successor of Eberhard. This Philip, in unison with John of Dalberg and the bishop of Worms, his friend and chancellor, exerted himself to spread abroad the new lights of reason, which had begun to pierce the atmosphere in every quarter of Germany. Dalberg had founded a library, the use of which was freely given to all the learned men of the place. Reuchlin put forth all his talents in this new theatre of his labours, in order to destroy the remaining barbarism of the people.

Sent to Rome by the elector, in 1498, to complete the affairs of an important mission, Reuchlin took advantage alike of all the time and all the money he could spare, either in renewing his studies in the Hebrew language, under the tutelage of the learned Israelite, Abdias Sporne, or in purchasing every manuscript he could obtain, whether in Hebrew or Greek, with the purpose of applying them, like so many torches, to increase the happy light which had, in his own country, begun to appear.

An illustrious Greek, Argyropolos, was, at the time, delivering lectures in this metropolis, to crowded audiences, upon the wonderful antiquities in the literature of his own people. The learned ambassador went, along with his suite, to the hall where this doctor was enforcing his views, and, upon entering the room, the ambassador paid his respects to the master thereof, and expressed pity for the unhappy condition of Greece, then, as it were, expiring under the blows of the Ottomans. The Greek requested to know from the German from what country he came, and said, "From whence do you come, and do you understand Greek?" Reuchlin replied, "I am a German, and not altogether ignorant of your language." Entreated by Argyropolos, the ambassador read and explained a few sentences from Thucydides, whose works lay near the professor's chair. After this the said professor, seized at once with astonishment and grief, cried out—"Alas! alas! Greece, beaten back and a fugitive, has gone to hide herself on the other side of the Alps!"

In this manner the sons of the half civilized Germany and those of ancient and learned Greece were introduced to each other in the palaces of Rome. Thus the east and the west embraced one another in this splendid rendezvous of the world, where the one poured into the hands of the other those treasures of intellectual wealth which had been so hurriedly snatched from the barbarous ravages of the fierce Ottomans. God, when his purposes are to be served, brings together speedily, by some grand catastrophe, those things which seemed destined to remain for ever at a distance.

On his return to Germany, Reuchlin was able again to visit Württemberg. It was now especially that he accomplished those works

which were so useful to Luther and to the cause of the Reformation. The excellent man of whom we speak, who, as Count Palatine, occupied an eminent place in the empire, and who, as a philosopher, contributed to lower the reputation of Aristotle and to exalt the fame of Plato, composed a Latin dictionary, which wholly superseded those issued by the divinity schools; prepared a Greek grammar, which greatly facilitated the study of that language; translated and explained the penitential psalms; corrected the Vulgate; and, what more particularly enhanced his merits and his renown, published, the first in Germany, both a Hebrew grammar and dictionary. Reuchlin, by means of such labour, re-opened, as it were, those books which had so long remained shut to the inhabitants of the ancient alliance, and raised for himself, as he said, a monument "more durable than brass."

But it was not alone by the worth of his writings, it was equally by the excellence of his life, that Reuchlin sought to advance the dominion of the truth. Tall of stature, and of an imposing exterior, he was courteous in his manners and encouraging in his address, so that he completely won the confidence of those with whom he had to deal in every relation of his intercourse with his fellow-men. His ardent thirst after knowledge was only equalled by his zeal in communicating to others the stores of learning he had himself acquired. He spared neither pains nor money to bring into Germany the editions of the classics, at the moment they were issued from the printing presses in Italy; and so it was the son of a doorkeeper did more to farther the instruction of the people than many rich municipalities or powerful princes. His influence over the youth of his day was great, and who, therefore, can estimate, in this respect, the whole value of the services he rendered to the cause of the Reformation? We will only make mention of one example. A young man, his own cousin, and son of an artist, celebrated for the manufacture of arms, whose name was *Schwarzerd*, came to lodge in the house of his sister Elizabeth, in order to study under the direction of his cousin. Reuchlin, filled with joy on beholding the genius and application of his young pupil, adopted him as his son. By counsel, by example, and by presents of books, everything was done to render this relation a useful man alike to the church and the country. Reuchlin rejoiced to see the good work prospering in his hands, and imagining the name of *Schwarzerd* to be too harsh and uncivilized, it was translated into Greek, according to the custom of the times, and the young student received the appellation of *Melanchthon*—the same who afterwards became the illustrious friend of Luther.

Still the grammatical pursuits we have alluded to were not sufficient to satisfy the desires of Reuchlin. In imitation of the Jewish doctors, his-masters, he began to study the mystics of the word. "God is a spirit," said he, "the word is a breath, man breathes, God is the word. The names which he has given to himself are an echo of eternity."* Like the cabalists, he thought to ascend from symbol to symbol, from figure to figure, to the highest and purest of all figures—to that which governs the reign of the Spirit.†

* De Verbo Mirifico.

† De Arte Cabalistica.

It was while Reuchlin was entranced in the pursuit of these abstract and peaceable researches that the enmity of the divinity schools forced him, on a sudden, and much against his will, into the squabbles of a violent altercation, which formed, in reality, one of the preludes to the Reformation.

There was at Cologne a baptized rabbi, called Pfefferkorn, intimately connected with the inquisitor Hochstraten. This man, along with the Dominicans, solicited and obtained from the emperor Maximilian, perhaps with good intentions, an order in virtue of which the Jews were constrained to carry all their Hebrew books (the Bible excepted) to the town-house of the place in which they resided. Within this public edifice these writings were doomed to be burned. As a motive for such a proceeding, it was alleged that they (the writings) were filled with blasphemies against the character of Jesus Christ. And it must be allowed they were at least full of foolish allusions, whilst the loss to the Jews themselves, by the execution of the sentence referred to, would not have been of eminent consequence.

The emperor requested Reuchlin to give his opinion on the works in question. The learned doctor pointed out expressly the books written in contempt of Christianity, delivering them over to their destined fate; but endeavoured to save the rest. "The best method for converting the Israelites," added he, "would be to establish, in every university, two masters of the Hebrew language, who might teach theologians to read the Bible in Hebrew, and thus to refute the leaders of this people." In consequence of this report, the Jews obtained a restitution of their books.

The proselyte and the inquisitor spoken of above, in imitation of a flock of hungry crows that saw their prey escaping from their grasp, uttered shrill and furious threatenings. They selected various passages out of the writings of Reuchlin, whose meaning they studiously perverted, declared the author thereof to be a heretic, accused him also of entertaining a secret liking for the principles of Judaism, and threatened him with the chains of the Inquisition. Reuchlin at first experienced an inward dread of the results to which he had exposed himself; but his adversaries becoming always more haughty, and at last prescribing dishonourable conditions, he determined to publish, in 1513, a "Defence against these Detractors of Cologne," in which he described the whole body of their associates in colours the most brilliant and well defined.

The Dominicans swore vengeance against their defamer, and expected, by an act of authority, to strengthen their staggering dominion. Hochstraten erected at Mentz a court of justice against Reuchlin. The writings of the learned doctor were condemned to the flames. And thus all the innovators, the masters and pupils of the new school, feeling themselves attacked in the person of Reuchlin, rose up in hostile array like one man. The times were in reality changed. Germany and literature were no longer to be compared with Spain and the Inquisition. The grand literary movement in operation had formed the substance of public opinion. The higher ranks of the clergy were themselves almost subdued by the influence of this new agent. Reuchlin refers his case to Leo X.; and this pope, who did not much admire the character of ignorant and fantas-

tic monks, remitted the whole affair to the judgment of the bishop of Spires, who declared Reuchlin innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and condemned the monks and friars to pay the expense of the process. The Dominicans, those constant supporters of Popery, referred again, full of rage, to the infallible decision of Rome, and Leo X., not knowing what to do between these two powerful adversaries, returns a mandate of *supersedendo*.

The union of literature with the true faith forms one of the peculiar features of the Reformation, and distinguishes it alike from the first establishment of Christianity and from the revivals in religion of the present day. The Christians who were the contemporaries of the apostles had to contend against the improvements of their age; and, with only some exceptions, the same may be said of the Christians of our own times. The majority of learned men were willing to espouse the cause of the reformers. Public opinion itself was in their favour. The work in this gained a larger extent, but perhaps it lost therewith some of its depth.

Luther, acknowledging everything that Reuchlin had done, wrote to him, shortly after his victory over the Dominicans—"The Lord has wrought in thee, in order that the light of the Holy Scriptures might begin again to shine in that Germany, where, for so many ages, alas! it has not only been suffocated but altogether extinguished."*

CHAPTER VIII.

Erasmus—Erasmus a Canon—At Paris—His Genius—His Reputation—His Influence—Popular Attack—Discourse upon Folly—Laziness—The People of the Church—The Saints—Folly and the Popes—Attack of Science—Principle—The New Testament in Greek—His Profession of Faith—His Works and his Influence—His Faults—Two Parties—A Reform without Agitation—Was it possible?—The Church without Reform—His Timidity—His Indiscretion—Erasmus loses himself after all.

But there had already appeared a man who regarded the grand business of his life to be the waging of war against the divinity schools, the universities, and the convents, and who may be styled the great writer of the opposition at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

Reuchlin had not reached the twelfth year of his age when this first genius of his day was born. A man full of vivacity and spirit, called Gerard, a native of Gouda, in the Netherlands, courted the daughter of a physician, named Marguerite. The principles of Christianity did not at all direct the actions of this young man's life, or, at all events, the influence of passion, had hid their presence from view. His parents and nine brethren were anxious to force him into the privacy of the monastic state. He, therefore, fled from home, leaving his betrothed near to the time of her delivery, and directed his steps towards the city of Rome. The guilty Marguerite became the mother of a son. But Gerard was left in ignorance of this fact, until, some time afterwards, he received from his parents an account of the death of her whom he had loved. Seized with remorse and sorrow, he took holy orders and devoted himself entirely to the services of God. He once more returned to Holland. Marguerite he found

* Mai Vita, J. Reuchlin. Francf. 1687. Maynhoff, J. Reuchlin and Seine Zeit. Berlin. 1830.

still alive, who would never consent to become the wife of another. But Gerard remained faithful to the solemn vows he had taken. Their affections were thus turned exclusively upon their darling child. His mother had watched over his infancy with all a mother's care. And his father, upon his return from Rome, sent him to school, although he was not more than four years old. He had not accomplished his thirteenth year, when his master, Sinthemius de Deventer, embracing him one day in an ecstasy of delight, cried out—"This child shall yet attain the highest summits of science." These words were addressed to Erasmus of Rotterdam.

About the time we speak of, the mother of Erasmus died, and soon afterwards, his father, overwhelmed with sorrow, followed her to the place appointed for all living.

The young Erasmus* lived alone in the world, and manifested a strong aversion to the monastic life, which his tutors were wishful to force him to embrace, but to which, it may be said, he was adversely disposed from the day of his birth. At last, however, he was persuaded to enter into a convent of friar canons, and scarcely had he done so before he felt overwhelmed with the burthen of his vows. He recovered, however, some portion of freedom to act, and we very soon find him visiting the court of the archbishop of Cambray, and, later still, a student in the university of Paris. He prosecuted his studies in this place under circumstances of peculiar distress, but with the most indefatigable application. From the moment he was able to procure the possession of a little money, he employed it, in the first place, to make a purchase of various Greek books, and then to the supply of some requisite clothing. Often the poor young Dutchman applied in vain to the generosity of his protectors; and he was thus taught, in after life, to derive his greatest joy in affording sufficient assistance to many young persons who were studious but poor. Devoted without intermission to the search after the truth and the accomplishments of science, Erasmus only assisted with reluctance in the disputes of the schools, and recoiled from the study of theology, from a dread of discovering therein grievous errors, and of being consequently denounced as a heretic.

But it was now that Erasmus began to experience confidence in himself. He thus succeeded in acquiring from the study of the ancients a justness of thought and elegance of style which raised his attainments far beyond the most illustrious literary achievements yet acquired in Paris. He became a teacher, and in this manner gained a host of powerful friends: he also published some of his writings, whereby he secured an ample reward of admiration and applause. He was well versed in the desires of the public, and shaking off the last bands which held him to the divinity schools or the cloister, he committed himself entirely to the pursuits of literature, displaying throughout all his works those observations so full of elegance, and that pure spirit, lively and enlightened, which are sure at once to instruct and amuse.

The habit of industry which he contracted at this period remained

* He properly called himself *Gerhard*, like his father. He translated this Dutch name into Latin, (*Didier*, *Desired*,) and into Greek, (*Erasmus*.)

with him during the whole course of his life, so that, even while travelling, which he usually did on horseback, he was never idle. He composed on the journey, as he rode across the country, and, arrived at an inn, he wrote down his thoughts in bed. It was in this fashion he completed his famous "Panegyric on Folly,"* while on a voyage from Italy to England.

Erasmus early acquired for himself a great reputation among the learned classes. But the enraged monks vowed against him an eternal hatred. Sought after by princes, he was inexhaustible when he determined to find excuses for escaping from the pressure of their invitations. He liked better to pass his days along with the printer Frobenius, in correcting books, than to loiter, surrounded with luxury and compliments, within the magnificent courts of Charles V., Henry VIII., or Francis I., or even than to adorn his head with the hat of a cardinal which had been offered to his acceptance.†

From 1509 he taught at Oxford. He came in 1516 to Basil, and fixed his quarters there in 1521.

What has been the influences he exercised over the affairs of the Reformation?

This influence has been too much lauded in one quarter and too much depreciated in another. Erasmus never was, and, perhaps, never could have been a reformer: but he prepared the road for others to travel on. Not only did he foster and diffuse throughout his own age a love of science and a spirit of research and scrutiny which encouraged others to proceed much farther in the same direction than he had himself advanced, but, moreover, he also knew how, protected by high prelates and powerful princes, to expose and combat the vices of the church with the sensitive weapon of the most piquant satire.

Erasmus, in truth, attacked in two ways the body of the monks and the evils of abuse. In the first place, he availed himself of the means of a popular attack. This little fair-complexioned man, whose blue eyes, nearly half shut, minutely observed whatever met their earnest look, over a mouth curved with a smile somewhat sarcastic, whose bearing was timid and embarrassed, and who seemed as if a breath of wind might drive him to the ground, scattered, in all directions, a polished and sharpened censure against the theology and devotion of his age—his natural character and the events of his life having rendered such a disposition habitual. Even in the depth of writings, where nothing of the like kind was to be anticipated, this sarcastic humour would suddenly appear, and with a stroke of his finger he made an easy victim of those scholars and ignorant monks against whom he had declared a deadly war. There are striking marks of resemblance to be found between Voltaire and Erasmus. Many authors who had preceded Erasmus, had before this time rendered popular the idea of that element of folly which glides through all the thoughts and actions of human life. Erasmus took full advantage of this notion so generally recognised. He introduced folly to the world in person, under the title of *Moria*, the daughter of Plutus, born in the Fortunate Islands,

* *Ἐγκώμιον Μωρίας*. Seven editions of this work were issued in a few months.

† *A principibus facile mihi contingeret fortuna, nisi mihi nimium dulcis esset libertas.* (Epist. ad Prich.)

nursed in drunkenness and impertinence, and queen of a powerful empire. She has given a description of this empire. She delineates, successively, all the states of the world which belong to her; but she makes a pause, especially when she comes to the members of the church, who do not wish to acknowledge her benefits although she loads them with her favours. She covers with her mysticisms and mockery the labyrinth of logic in which the theologians are found to lose themselves, and those silly syllogisms with which they pretend to support the church. She lays open to view the disorders, the ignorance, the obscenity, and the ridicule of the monks. "They all belong to us," says she, "those persons who have not any great pleasure but in relating miracles or in listening to prodigious lies, and who make use of such tales to charm away the weariness of others or to fill their own purses. (I speak particularly of priests and preachers!) Next to them are found those who have adopted this mad, although sweet, persuasion, that if they cast their looks upon a piece of wood, or a picture representing the figure of Polyphemus or Christopher, they shall not die that same day." . . . "Alas! . . . what a number of follies," continues *Moria*, "whose colour almost makes myself blush up to the eyebrows! Do we not behold each country imploring the aid of their particular saint? Every misery has its saint, and every saint his candle. This saint comforts you under the tortures of the toothache; this one assists you in childbed; another restores the goods a thief has taken from you; another saves you from the dangers of a shipwreck; and a fifth protects your wandering flocks. There are also those who are powerful in many things at a time, and chiefly the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, to whom the vulgar attribute almost more authority than to the Son.* In the middle of all these follies, were some odious wise man to raise his voice, and, taking the counterpart, to chant in this manner, (what is true,) 'You shall not perish miserably if you live like a Christian.† You shall redeem your sins, if to the money which you give you add the hatred of evil, of tears, of vigils, of prayers, of fastings, and make a complete change in your manner of living. This saint will be favourable to you if you imitate his example.' Were some wise person," I say, "to speak these things in charity to their ears, oh, of what happiness would he not deprive their souls, and into what troubles, into what desolation, would he not plunge them! . . . The mind of man is so constituted that imposture has much more influence over him than truth.‡ Should there be one saint more fabulous than another, a St George, a St Christopher, or a St Barbara, you shall see more devotion shewn in the worshipping of such than was ever bestowed upon St Peter or St Paul, or even Christ himself."||

But *Folly* does not even rest here; she sets upon the very bishops themselves, "who run more after gold than after souls, and who believe they have done enough when they comport themselves with complaisancy in theatrical exhibitions, as holy fathers, to whom worship is due, and bless or anathematize as to them seems just." The

* Præcipue Deipara Virgo, cui vulgus hominum prope tribuit quam Filio. (*Encomium Moris*, Op. iv. p. 444.) † Non mali peribis si bene vixeris. (*Ibid.*)
‡ Sic sculptus est hominis animus ut longe magis fucis quam veris capiatur. (*Ibid.*, p. 450.) || Aut ipsum Christum. (*Ibid.*)

daughter "of the Fortunate Islands" becomes so bold as to invade the court of Rome, and there even to attack the pope himself, who, only busied with pleasurable occupations, leaves the apostles Peter and Paul to fulfil the duties of his ministry. "Can there be," says she, "more obstinate enemies of the church than these impious pontiffs, who, through their silence, allow the name of Jesus Christ to be abolished, who bind him by their mercenary laws, who falsify him by their forced interpretations, and who strangle him by their pestilential lives."*

Holbein adds to the "Panegyric upon Folly" the most fantastical engravings, among which the pope figures adorned with his triple crown. Never, perhaps, did any work appear better fitted to the necessities of the period. It is impossible to describe the impression this little book produced upon the minds of the inhabitants of Christendom. Twenty-seven editions of it were published during the life of Erasmus, and it was translated into every language, serving more than any other to fix the spirit of the age in its antisacerdotal tendency.

But to the popular attack of sarcasm Erasmus joined the attack of science and of erudition. The study of Greek and Latin literature had opened up new sources of vision to the modern genius which had been roused from sleep in the territories of Europe. Erasmus adopted with eagerness the notion of the Italians, that it was to the school of the ancients they must go in order to study the sciences, and that, throwing aside the insufficient and capricious works of which, till then, they had made use, it was needful to learn from Strabo the art of geography, from Hippocrates that of medicine, from Plato the knowledge of philosophy, from Ovid an acquaintance with mythology, and from Pliny information in the science of natural history. Yet one step more was wanting—a step to be taken by a giant, and which would reach even to the shores of a new world, more important to human nature than the stride lately accomplished by Columbus in his start from his ancient kingdom. Erasmus pursued the same principle, and requested that theology should no longer be studied through the works of Scotus and Thomas d' Aquin, but that application should be made for that purpose to the fathers of the church, and above all to the New Testament. He demonstrated that it was not indeed necessary to hold by the translation of the Vulgate, which was full of inaccuracies; and he did the truth much service by publishing his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, a text as little known in the west as if it had never existed. This edition appeared at Basil in 1516, as a forerunner of the Reformation. Erasmus did for the New Testament the same office rendered to the Old by Reuchlin. Theologians were, from this date, enabled to read the word of God in the original languages, and afterwards to acknowledge the purity of the doctrines adopted by the reformers.

"I wish," said Erasmus, in publishing his New Testament, "to retrace to its origin that cold disputation of words which is called theology. God grant that this work may bear, for the sake of Christianity, as much fruit as it has cost me trouble and application."

* Quasi sint ulli hostes Ecclesiæ perniciosiores quam impij pontifices, qui et silentio Christum sinunt abolescere et quæstuariis legibus alligant et coactis interpretationibus adulterant et pestilente vita jugulent. (*Encomium Moriæ*, Op. iv. p. 451)

This wish was accomplished. In vain the monks cried out—"He wishes to correct the Holy Spirit!" The New Testament issued by Erasmus was the means of diffusing abroad an ardent light. His paraphrases upon the epistles and the gospels of St Matthew and St John, his editions of Cyprian and Jerome, his translations of Origen, of Athanasius, and of Chrysostom, his "True Theology,"* his "Ecclesiastes,"† and his commentaries upon many of the psalms, contributed greatly towards the dispersion of a real taste for the word of God and pure theology. The effects of these works surpassed the most sanguine expectations of their author. Reuchlin and Erasmus opened up the Bible to the learned: Luther threw it open to the people.

Nevertheless Erasmus did more than this. In going back to the Bible, he brought to recollection the actual contents of the Bible. "The most exalted purpose in the renewal of philosophical studies," said he, "will be to learn and acknowledge the simple and pure Christianity found in the Bible." Delightful words! and may it please God to bestow on the organs of philosophy in our own day an equally clear perception of their important mission. "I am firmly resolved," said he again, "to die upon the study of the Scriptures: in them are all my joy and all my peace."‡ "The summary of all Christian philosophy resolves itself into this," said he, moreover:—"To place all our hope in God, who without our merits, but through grace, gives us all things for the sake of Jesus Christ: to know that we are redeemed by the death of his Son: to die to all worldly inordinate desires, and to walk in a manner conformable to his doctrine and example, not only without doing injury to any one, but also by doing good to all: patiently to bear with all our trials in the hope of future remuneration: and, lastly, not to attribute to ourselves any honour whatever on account of our virtues, but to give thanks to God for all our strength and all our beneficent deeds. Behold the truths which must penetrate the hearts of men, until they have become for them a second nature."§

Then directing his censure against that mass of ordinances of the church regarding garments, fasts, feasts, vows, marriage, and confession, which so grievously oppressed the people and enriched the priests, Erasmus exclaims—"In the temples, scarcely is a thought turned towards the interpretation of the gospel.|| A large portion of these sermons must be formed to please the commissioners of indulgences. The most holy doctrines of Christ must be suppressed or interpreted in another sense for their benefit. There is now no hope of amendment, at least until Christ himself should convert the hearts of princes and of pontiffs, and excite in them a desire to seek after real piety."

The works of Erasmus succeeded one another in quick succession. He labours without intermission, and his writings are read as soon as his pen has ceased to trace them. That emotion, that native sprightliness, that rich intelligence, pure, spiritual, bold, which, without mental reservation, was poured forth in flowing streams upon his contemporaries, carried away and entranced the immense body of the

* *Ratio Verae Theologiæ.*

† *Sen de Ratione Concionandi.*

‡ *Ad Servatium.*

§ *Ad Joh. Slechtam, 1519. Hæc sunt animis hominum inculcanda, sic, ut velut in naturam transeant. (Er. Ep. i. p. 680.)*

|| *In templis vix vacat Evangelium interpretari. (Annot. ad Matth. xi. 30. Jugum meum suave.)*

public, who read with avidity the works of the philosopher of Rotterdam. He very soon became the most influential man in Christendom, and from every quarter rewards and honours were showered upon his head.

If we contemplate closely the circumstances of the grand revolution which afterwards renovated the church, we cannot fail to observe that Erasmus had, as it were, constructed a strong bridge across which many were encouraged to pass. A number of men, who would have been startled by the boldness of evangelic truths presented in all their force and purity, allowed themselves to be led on by Erasmus, and at last became the most zealous favourers of the Reformation.

But the very qualifications which so eminently distinguished him for the work of preparation, were contrary to the peculiar properties required to finish this noble enterprise. "Erasmus knew very well how to point out errors," said Luther, "but he does not know how to teach the truth." The gospel of Christ was not the home in which he refreshed and cherished the inmost feelings of his soul, the centre towards which all his activity gravitated. He was in the most exalted sense a learned man, and only as a secondary distinction a Christian. Vanity exercised over his thoughts a control too strong to allow the influence obtained in his own age to become very decisive. He pondered with anxiety over the consequences which every action was calculated to produce on the aspect of his reputation. There was nothing he delighted in so much as to speak of himself and of his renown. "The pope," he wrote, to an intimate friend, in a strain of puerile vanity, at the time he declared himself the adversary of Luther; "the pope has sent me a diploma full of benevolence and testimonies of respect. His secretary assures me that it is a thing never heard of before, and that the pope dictated himself this document word for word."

Erasmus and Luther are the representatives of two grand ideas with reference to a reform, of two great parties in their own and in every other age. The one composed of men whose character was distinguished by traits of timid prudence; the other by those whose marked features were resolution and courage. These two parties existed at the period we treat of, and they were distinctly portrayed in the persons of their illustrious chiefs. The men of prudent sentiments believed that the cultivation of theological science would, by degrees, and without revilings, ensure a steadfast Reformation in the church. The men of daring action conceived that, to spread among the learned classes of mankind a number of ideas more enlightened and just, would have no effect in destroying the wild superstitions of the people, and that merely to correct such and such abuses was indeed to do little, unless the whole body of the church was boldly renovated.

"A disadvantageous peace," said Erasmus, "is still better worth cultivating than the most just war."* He thought, (and how many Erasmuses have there not been in existence since that time, and how many are there not now alive in our own day;) he thought that any Reformation which would cause the church to shake, would ex-

* "*Malo hunc qualisqualis est rerum humanarum statum quam novos excitari tumultus,*" said he also. (Erasm. Ep. i., p. 953.)

pose her to the awful chances of being completely overthrown. He beheld, with affright, the passions strongly moved; the evil mixing itself everywhere with the little good it was possible to effect; existing institutions destroyed, without a hope of seeing others rise in their stead; and the vessel of the church herself leaking at every plank, ready to founder amidst the horrors of the tempest. "Those who make a way for the waters of the sea to enter into the new canals," said he, "often accomplish a work which cheats them; for the formidable element, once introduced, does not remain still in the place within which it was meant it should confine itself, but rushes on according to its own inclinations, and causes miserable havoc.* However this may be," said he again, "let troubles everywhere be avoided. It is better to support impious princes than to make the evil worse by many innovations."†

But the courageous party among his contemporaries were prepared to answer such objections. History had clearly demonstrated the fact, that a free exposition of the truth and a decided battle against falsehood were the only means whereby victory could be won. Had recourse been made to civil conduct, the artifices of politics and the cunning schemes of the papal court would have extinguished the light at its first appearance in the world. Had not every means of persuasion been employed for many centuries; had not council after council been called together with the purpose of reforming the church; all these appliances had proved alike ineffectual. Wherefore, then, pretend to try anew experiments which had so often failed?

Without doubt, a fundamental reform cannot be brought into operation without turmoil. For at what time has there ever appeared among men any great and good work which has not been produced by agitation? This dread of seeing the evil mixing itself up with the good, were it a just fear, would it not in reality stop short the prosecution of every enterprise even the most noble or holy? The evil which may find protection in the bosom of excessive agitation must not be dreaded, but strong measures must be taken to combat and destroy its force.

Is there not, moreover, a total difference between a commotion excited by the passions of men, and one which emanates from the Spirit of God? The one shakes the foundations of society, the other serves to strengthen them. How great must be the error to imagine, like Erasmus, that in the condition in which Christendom was then placed, with that mixture of contrary elements, of truth and falsehood, of life and death, it could have been possible to prevent violent convulsions. You might as well seek to shut up the crater at the top of Mount Vesuvius, whilst the burning elements are raging in its bowels. The middle ages had witnessed more than one violent commotion, with an atmosphere less darkened by storms than the sky which settled over the times of the Reformation. It is not then how to stop or how to compromise that must be thought of, but how to direct and how to manage.

* Semel admissum, non ea fertur qua destinaret admissor. . . . (Erasm. Ep. i. p. 953.) † Præstat ferre principes impios, quam novatis rebus gravius malum accersere. (Ad. Matth. xi. 30.)

If the Reformation had not burst forth in terrible majesty, who can tell what frightful ruin might have happened in its stead? Society, a prey to a thousand elements of destruction, without any regenerating or preserving power, must have been fearfully desolated. No doubt such an event would have proved a reform after the manner of Erasmus, and according to the dreams which still, in our own day, are indulged in by many moderate but timid men, and which would have thoroughly upset the constitution of all Christian society. The people, excluded from that light and piety which the Reformation caused to be diffused even among the most obscure classes of men, abandoned to the direction of violent passions and an uneasy spirit of revolt, they would have broken through every restraint, like a wild beast excited by many provocations, and whom no bridle can check in the fury of his rage.

The Reformation can be regarded as nothing else than an intervention of the Spirit of God among the transactions of men, a regulating power which God had established in the earth. The Reformation might, it is true, have stirred up the elements of fermentation that are hid in the hearts of men, but it was God who conquered. The doctrine of the gospel, the truth of God, penetrating the souls of the mass of the people, destroyed that which ought to perish, but everywhere strengthened that which ought to be maintained. The Reformation has raised a building in the world. Her prevention would only have been able to say that it had cast one to the ground. "The ploughshare," as it has wisely been said, in speaking of the work of the reform, "might also be thought to do great injury to the ground, because it tore up the soil: it only thus renders the earth more fertile."

The great principle upheld by Erasmus was—"To give light, and the darkness would disappear of itself." This principle is good, and Luther adopted its maxims. But when the enemies of the light strive to extinguish it, or to snatch the torch out of the hand of him who carries it, is it necessary, for the love of peace, to let them do so? Is it not rather incumbent on the holder to resist the attempts of the wicked adversaries?

Courage forsook the heart of Erasmus. Now courage is needful in working out the operations of a reform, as well as in forcing the capture of a city. There was much of a timorous disposition in the character of his mind. From his earliest days, the mere mentioning of the word death caused him to tremble. He took the most extraordinary care of his health. No personal sacrifice was too great for endurance in order to escape to a distance from the place where any contagious malady raged. His desire to enjoy the comforts of life even surpassed the vehemence of his vanity, and it was for this reason that he had rejected more than one brilliant offer of advancement.

Thus he has no pretensions to the character of a reformer. "If the corrupted manners of the court of Rome require some grand and prompt remedy, that is not my affair, nor the business of those who are like me."* He had nothing of that strength of faith which animated the soul of Luther. Whilst the latter was always ready to lose his life for the truth, Erasmus ingenuously said—"Let others

* *Ingens aliquod et præsens remedium, certe meum non est.* (Er. Ep. i. p. 653.)

pretend to martyrdom; for me, I do not believe myself worthy of that honour.* I fear, if any tumult were to arise, I would be found to imitate Peter in his fall."

By his writings, as well as by his words, Erasmus, more than any other man, had hurried forward the preparations of the Reformation; and yet, when he saw the tempest near, which he himself had raised, he shook with fear. He had done everything in his power, even with storms of raillery, to bring back the calm of former days; but the time was gone by for such efforts, the strong dike had burst, and it was impossible to stay the rush of waters destined at the same time to scour and to fertilize the world. Erasmus was powerful as an instrument in the hand of God; when he ceased to be that, he was no longer anything.

In short, Erasmus was now diffculted to determine to which side he should adhere. No one could satisfy his wishes, and he seemed fearful of all. "It is dangerous to speak," said he, "and it is dangerous to hold your tongue." In every grand religious movement there have been discovered characters of sadly wavering dispositions, who were respectable in many relations, but who did injury to the truth, by being over anxious to give offence to none, and thus incurring the displeasure of every person in the world.

What would have become of the truth had not God raised up in her defence champions more courageous? Look to the advice Erasmus gave Viglius Zuichem, afterwards president of the superior court at Brussels, respecting the manner in which he ought to conduct himself before certain sectarians, (for such was the appellation already conferred by Erasmus upon the reformers)—"My friendship for you makes me desire that you should hold yourself at a distance from the contagion of sects, and that you should not give them any occasion to say Zuichem is our associate. If you approve of their doctrines, at least conceal your thoughts, and, above all, do not dispute with them. A jurisconsult should behave slyly with these folks, like a certain dying person with the devil. The devil asked this expiring creature, What do you believe? who fearing, should he confess the faith, to be surprised into some expression of heresy, replied, Whatever the church believes. The devil insisted, And what does the church believe? That which I believe, answered the other. The devil once more urged, And what do you believe then? And the dying man again exclaimed, Whatever the church believes!"† The duke George of Saxony, a mortal enemy to Luther, having likewise received from Erasmus an evasive answer to a question put by the former to the latter, said—"My dear Erasmus! wash for me the soiled garment, and do not make it worse." Second Curio, in one of his works, describes two different heavens—the heaven of Papacy and the Christian heaven. He does not find Erasmus in either of these regions; but he discovers him moving about in constant agitation between the two, in a circle without an outlet anywhere.

Such was the character of Erasmus. He wanted that inward self-possession which makes one truly free. How different would have been his temper, had he entirely devoted himself to the cause of the

* *Ego me non arbitror hoc honore dignum.* (Er. Ep. i. p. 662.) † Erasmus Ep. 274.

truth! But after having endeavoured to accomplish some reforms with the approbation of the heads of the church, after having for Rome abandoned the Reformation, when he saw that these two parties could not proceed in company, he lost himself in the face of an expectant world. On the one side his recantations were not sufficient to assuage the anger of the fantastic partisans of Popery. They sensibly felt the injury he had done them, and they could not forgive the offence. Many impetuous monks assailed him from their pulpits with opened-mouthed abuse. They denominated him a second Lucian, a fox who had destroyed the vineyard of the Lord. A doctor of Constance had the portrait of Erasmus hung up in his parlour, for the purpose of frequently spitting in its face. Whilst, on the other side, Erasmus, having forsaken the standard of the gospel, beheld himself despoiled of the esteem and support of the most generous men of the age in which he lived, and must also, without doubt, have deprived himself of those heavenly consolations which God infuses into the hearts of those who bear themselves like good soldiers of Jesus Christ. At least we are urged to this thought in the contemplation of the many bitter tears he shed, the painful watchings he endured, the troubled sleep he suffered, the insipidness he complained of in his food, the disgust he felt in the study of the muses, formerly his sure consolation, the wrinkled brow, the pale countenance, the sad and downcast looks, the hatred he expressed for a life which he called cruel, and those deep sighs at the hour of death of which he speaks to his friends.* Poor Erasmus!

The enemies of Erasmus have, however, exceeded, it appears to us, the bounds of truth, when they declared, at the moment Luther appeared—"Erasmus has laid the egg, but Luther has hatched it."†

CHAPTER IX.

The Nobles—Diverse Motives—Hutten—Combination of Literature—Letters of some Obscure Men—Their Effects—Opinion of Luther—Hutten at Brussels—His Letters—Sickingen—War—His Death—Cronberg—Hans Sachs—General Fermentation..

Symptoms of regeneration, similar to those which had been exhibited by princes, bishops, and scholars, were also discoverable among the men of the world, such as lords, knights, and the members of the military profession. The German nobility, in truth, played a distinguished part in the cause of the Reformation. Many of the most illustrious sons of Germany formed a close alliance with the love of letters, and, inflamed with an ardent zeal, somewhat impassioned, made every effort to deliver their people from the yoke of Rome.

Several causes conjoined to ensure for the Reformation a host of friends among the ranks of the nobility. Some of their number having frequented the universities, had there received, within their hearts,

* *Vigiliæ molestæ, somnus, irrequietus, cibus insipidus omnis, ipsum quoque musarum studium ipsa frontis me mœstitia, vultus pallor, oculorum subtristis dejectio* (Erasm. Ep. i. p. 1380.) † The works of Erasmus have been published by John le Clerc at Liege, 1703, in ten folio volumes. For his life see Burigny, *Life of Erasmus*, Paris, 1757; Muller, *Life of Erasmus*, Hamburgh, 1828; and the Biography inserted by Le Clerc in his *Library of Choice Works*. See also the elegant and faithful work of M. Nisard, (*Review of the Two Worlds*), who, nevertheless, appears to me to have been deceived in his appreciation of Erasmus and Luther.

the same spirit which had kindled the ardour of the men of letters. Others, reared in homes where the most generous sentiments were inculcated, had their souls prepared to embrace the glorious doctrines of the gospel. Many admired in the objects of the Reformation an inexpressible appearance of chivalry which enticed them to follow close in her train; whilst a number, it must be allowed, espoused the same cause, in anger against the clergy, who had powerfully contributed, under the reign of Maximilian, towards the embezzlement of their ancient rights in favour of the ruling princes. Filled with enthusiasm, these noble persons regarded the Reformation as the prelude of a great political renovation. They imagined they beheld the empire escaping from the darkness of the present crisis with vigorous steps, and reappearing before the world in another condition, radiant with transcendent glory, ready to be established on the surest foundations, alike by the sword of the warlike knight and the holy word of the living God.*

Ulrich de Hutten, who has been surnamed the Demosthenes of Germany, on account of his philippics against Popery, formed, as it were, the link which, at the time, united the nobles with the men of learning. This individual shone alike in the force of his writings and the strength of his sword. Sprung from an ancient family in Franconia, he was sent, when only eleven years old, to the convent of Foulde, where he was doomed to become a monk. But Ulrich, who had no inclination for the distinction awaiting him, fled from the convent when he had reached his sixteenth year, and took refuge in the university of Cologne, where he vigorously applied himself to the study of languages and poetry. At a more advanced period, he led a wandering life, and was present, in 1513, at the siege of Padua, in the capacity of a common soldier, at the same time that he also visited Rome during the season of her deepest moral debasement, and there practised those accomplishments in the arts of aggression which he afterwards turned to account as her enemy.

On his return to Germany, Hutten composed against Rome a piece entitled "The Roman Trinity." In this performance he disclosed the manifold disorders of that court, and demonstrated the necessity of putting an end by force to such mournful tyranny. "There are," says a traveller named *Vadiscus*, who figures in this work, "three things which are generally spoken of regarding Rome—an evil conscience, a spoiled stomach, and an empty purse; there are also three things which Rome does not believe—the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and the reality of hell; and there are three things Rome converts into objects of commerce—the grace of Christ, ecclesiastical preferments, and women." The publication of this treatise obliged Hutten to quit the court of the archbishop of Mentz, where he was domiciled at the time it was written.

The affair of Reuchlin with the Dominicans was the signal that called together the whole literary force, in union with that of the magistrates and nobles, in opposition to the united body of the monks.

* "*Animus ingens et ferox, viribus pollens. . . Nam si consilia, et conatus Hutteni non defecissent quasi nervi copiarum, atque potentie, jam mutatio omnium rerum extitisset, et quasi orbis status publici fuisset conversus.*" (Camer. Vita Melanethonis.)

The defeat of the inquisitors, who, it was said, had only escaped from a definite and absolute condemnation by the force of money and intrigue, gave great encouragement to their opponents. Counsellors of the empire, and nobles from the most considerable cities, such as Pirckheimer of Nuremberg, Pentinger of Augsburg, Stuss of Cologne, with many distinguished preachers, like Capito and Œcolampadius, accompanied by doctors of medicine and of history, joined to a list of authors, orators, and poets, at whose head was placed Ulrich Hutten, composed this noble *army of Reuchlinists*, a catalogue of their names being regularly drawn out at the time and published.* The most remarkable production of this literary league, however, was the famous popular satire entitled, "Letters of some Obscure Men." The principal authors of this work were Hutten and one of his friends from the university, Crotus Robianus; but it is hard to say with which of the two the first idea originated, if, indeed, it did not proceed from the clever printer Angst, or whether Hutten took any part in the first part of the work. Many *Humanists*, lodging together in the fortress of Ebernbourg, appear to have composed the second part; but the picture is one of splendid talent and strong resemblances, caricatured it may be, at times, on account of its glaring colours, but full of truth and expression, with traits of character and particular features the most decisive and striking. The effect produced by its appearance was astounding. A number of monks, the adversaries of Reuchlin, and the supposed authors of these letters, are represented as occupying themselves with the affairs of the day and with theological subjects, according to the usual manner of their transactions and in their barbarous Latin. They are made to address to their correspondent, Ortuin Gratius, a professor at Cologne, and friend to Pfefferkorn, the most absurd and useless questions; they give him the most simple proofs of their profound ignorance and stupid incredulity, of their superstition, of their mean and vulgar spirit, of the gross gluttony in which they indulge, and make a god of their belly, but not less of their pride and of their fantastic and persecuting zeal. They recount many of their ludicrous adventures, tell of their excesses, of their debauchery, and of a number of instances of scandal in the life of Hochstraten, Pfefferkorn, and other leaders of their party. The style of these letters, so tinged with hypocrisy, so curiously simple, renders them amusing to the reader in the strongest conceptions of comic extravagance. And yet all the scenes are so naturally displayed, that the Dominicans and Franciscans of England received the work now spoken of with the greatest approbation, and actually believed that it had been positively written on the principles of their orders and for their defence. A prior of the Brabant, in his credulous simplicity, even ordered a number of copies to be brought, and sent them in presents to the most distinguished members of the order of Dominicans. The monks, always the most easily irritated, solicited the pope to issue a severe bull against those who should dare to read these epistles; but Leo X. refused their request. The reverend hermits were thus doomed to support the general laughter and to swallow down their

* *Exercitius Reuchlinistarum*, at the head of the collection of Letters addressed on this subject to Reuchlin.

angry feelings. No other work was ever known to have assailed the pillars of Popery with so terrible a force. But it was not by means of raillery and satire the gospel was destined to triumph. Had a continuance of this warfare been indulged in, had the Reformation, in place of attacking error with the arms of God, turned for weapons towards the strongholds of worldly mockery, its cause must have been lost. Luther loudly condemned these satires. And one of his friends having sent him a copy of one of them, entitled, "The Tenor of the Supplication of Pasquin," he replied—"These impertinences which you have sent me appear to me to have been composed by a mind wanting discretion. I have communicated them to a combination of friends, and all have formed the same opinion of these trifles."* In speaking once more of the same work, Luther wrote to another of his correspondents—"This Supplication appears to me to have been produced by the same historian who has composed the 'Letters of some Obscure Men.' I approve of his intentions, but I do not approve of his writings; for he does not guard himself against giving offence or doing outrage to proper feelings."† This judgment is somewhat severe, but it testifies of the spirit which animated the soul of Luther, and shews how far he was beyond his contemporaries. We must, nevertheless, add, that he did not on every occasion follow the dictates of maxims thus rigidly correct.

Ulrich having found it necessary to renounce the protection of the archbishop of Mentz, again sought the favour of Charles V., who had then quarrelled with the pope. He consequently went to Brussels, where Charles held his court. But far from obtaining shelter, Ulrich learned that the pope had commanded the emperor to send him to Rome with his feet and hands tied together. The inquisitor Hochstraten, the persecutor of Reuchlin, was one of those commissioned by Rome to join in the pursuit of Ulrich. Indignant at the daring demand made of the emperor, Ulrich quitted the Brabant. Leaving the gates of Brussels, he met with Hochstraten on the high road, and the inquisitor, in affright, threw himself upon his knees, recommending his soul to the mercy of God and the saints. "No," said the knight, "I will not stain my sword with your blood." He gave him, however, a few blows with the broadside of his weapon and allowed him to depart in peace.

Hutten now directed his steps towards the castle of Ebernbourg, wherein Francis of Seckingen had offered an asylum to all those who were persecuted by the authorities beyond the mountains. It was while living in this castle, with a burning zeal for the emancipation of his country, Hutten dictated those remarkable letters which he addressed to Charles V., Frederick, elector of Saxony, to Albert, archbishop of Mentz, to the ruling princes, and to the nobility, and which productions raised him to the highest station of contemporary writers. It was also at Ebernbourg he composed the several works meant to convey information for, and to be read by, the people, and which spread abroad through all the Germanic countries a horror for Rome and a love of liberty. Devoted to the cause of the Reformation, his design was to excite in the nobles a wish to take up arms in defence of the gospel, and to overthrow, by means of the sword, the

* Luther, Ep. i. p. 37.

† Ibid, p. 38.

same Rome which Luther only desired to cast down with the help of the word, and by the invincible force of the truth.

Nevertheless, in the heart of all these warlike exultations, it is consolatory to observe in the mind of Hutten many instances of tender and affectionate expressions and sentiments. At the death of his parents, he gave up the whole of the family property to his brethren, although he was himself the eldest, and he, moreover, requested them not either to write or to send money, for fear that they might suffer thereby, in spite of their innocence, and be thrown along with him into deep troubles.

If the truth cannot acknowledge Hutten as one of her legitimate children—for she can only allow affinity with those who are holy in their lives and charitable in their hearts—still she must at least accord him honourable notice as one of the most undaunted opponents of error.*

As much may also be said in favour of Francis of Seckingen, the illustrious friend and protector of Hutten. This noble knight, whom many of his friends and contemporaries believed deserving of the imperial crown, shines foremost in the ranks of those warriors who became the antagonists of Rome. Whilst Francis was ardent in his love of a military life, he was equally filled with admiration of the sciences, and with veneration for the character of those who were their professed followers. At the head of an army that threatened the siege of Wurtemberg, he gave orders, in case Stuttgard should fall into their hands, to save with care both the house and the means of the great scholar John Reuchlin. He, in the sequel, caused this learned man to be brought into his tent, where he embraced him in his arms, and offered him assistance in adjusting the quarrel he had at the time with the monks of Cologne. For long the sons of chivalry had considered contempt for letters a mark of distinction and glory. The period we have now under consideration presents a very different and fresh spectacle. Beneath the weighty cuirasses worn by the Seckingens and Huttens of the time, we discern the clear dawning of that intellectual light whose mid-day effulgence was soon to enliven the distant corners of the earth. The Reformation bestowed upon the world, as its first fruits, many warriors who were friendly to the arts of peace.

Hutten, in exile, after his retreat from Brussels, within the castle of Seckingen, invited the valorous knight to study the doctrines of the gospel, and explained to him the fundamental principles of these doctrines. "And are there some persons," cried Seckingen, quite astonished, "who dare to attempt the overthrow of such an edifice? . . . Who could be able to accomplish that?" . . .

A number of individuals, afterwards celebrated as reformers, found a safe resting-place in the same castle: among others, Martin Bucer, Aquila, Schwebel, and Œcolampadius, so that Hutten properly enough called Ebernbourg "The Hotel of the Just." Œcolampadius was in the habit of preaching regularly every day in the castle. The military guests of the place, however, were latterly fatigued with such frequent representations of the mild virtues of Christianity; the sermons

* The works of Hutten have been published at Berlin by Manchen, 1822-25, in five volumes 8vo.

appeared to them too long, however brief Œcolampadius endeavoured to make his illustrations. The soldiers went, it is true, almost every day to the church, but it was no longer with any other purpose than to hear the benediction or to repeat some short form of prayer, in so much, that Œcolampadius exclaimed—"Alas! the word is here sown upon rocks!"

Seckingen very soon, desirous of serving the cause of truth according to the rules of his own profession, declared war against the archbishop of Treves, "in order," said he, "to open a gate for the gospel." In vain did Luther, who had already made his appearance, attempt to dissuade the soldier from his purpose. He attacked Treves with five thousand cavalry and a thousand foot soldiers. The courageous archbishop, assisted by the elector palatine and the landgrave of Hesse, compelled the baron to retire. During the following spring, the allied princes attacked Seckingen in his castle at Landstein, and, after a bloody conflict, the owner of the fort was forced to surrender, having been himself mortally wounded. The three allied princes marched into the fortress, and ranged through the whole building, wherein, at last, they found the undaunted knight in a secret corner, stretched upon his deathbed. The dying soldier held out his hand to the elector palatine, but took no notice of the princes who accompanied him. These latter chiefs, however, overwhelmed him with questions and reproaches. "Leave me to rest," said he to them; "for it is now necessary that I should prepare myself to give answers to a lord greater than you are!" . . . When Luther was told of the death of the knight, he exclaimed—"The Lord is just, but marvellous! It is not with the sword he wishes to spread abroad his gospel!"

Such was the sad termination of a warrior, who, either as emperor or elector, might have perhaps raised Germany to the highest pitch of glory, but who, restricted within the compass of a limited circle, uselessly wasted the great talents with which he was endowed. It was not into the tumultuous spirits of these rash warriors that the Divine truth, descended from heaven, was willing to infuse its constant influence. It was not by the strength of their arms she was destined to conquer; and God, in annihilating the mad projects of Seckingen, gave a fresh proof of the truth of these words spoken by St Paul—"The arms of our warfare are not carnal; but they are powerful through the excellency of God."

Another baron, Harmut de Cronberg, the friend of Hutten and of Seckingen, appears to have been possessed of more prudence and knowledge of the truth. He addressed a letter in terms of modest courtesy to Leo X., persuading him to transfer his temporal power to the person to whom it of right belonged, namely, to the emperor. Addressing himself also to his subjects, in the character of a father, he strove to make them comprehend the doctrines of the gospel, and exhorted them at once to shew obedience to, and to place all their confidence in, Jesus Christ, "who," adds he, "is the sovereign Lord of us all." He resigned into the hands of the emperor a salary of two hundred ducats, "because," as he said, "he did not wish any longer to serve him who lent his ear to the enemies of the truth." We find among the writings of Harmut the following words, which, in our opinion, place him infinitely above the Christian character of either

Hutten or Seckingen—"Our heavenly Teacher, the Holy Spirit, is able, when he chooses, to teach us in one hour much more of the faith which is in Christ than it is possible to learn in ten years at the university of Paris."

Those who seek only among the titles of the throne,* or in the stalls of the cathedral, and the degrees of the academies, for the friends of the Reformation, and who pretend that none of these defenders of the truth are to be found among the people, have fallen into a grievous error. God, who prepared the hearts of the wise and powerful, prepared likewise, in the humble dwellings of the people, many simple and submissive spirits who were one day appointed to become the servants of his word. The common history of the times records the lively emotions then visible in the minds of the lower classes of society. The tendency of the popular literature, introduced before the Reformation, was directly opposed to the dominant spirit then reigning in the church. In the "*Eulenspiegel*," a celebrated popular poem of the day, continual mockery is made of the priests, beasts, and gluttons, who keep a number of butlers and fine horses, and whose kitchens are overflowing with dainties; in the "*Renard Reinecke*," the households of the priests, in which children are found, maintain a conspicuous place; another popular writer thunders with all his might against the ministers of Christ who ride on handsome horses, but do not desire to fight with infidels; and John Rosenblut, in one of his plays on the carnival, makes the Turkish emperor appear in person, to lecture seasonably all the states of Christendom.

It was, in fact, within the hearts of the people that the revolution, so soon about to burst out, was especially kindled. Not only are young men seen to rise from the lowest ranks, and in the sequel occupy the highest places in the church, but likewise many individuals are observed, who remain all their lives attached to the prosecution of the humblest occupations, to contribute powerfully in the furtherance of that great revival which then agitated Christendom. We will relate some traits of the life of one of these adventurers.

A son was born, on the 5th of November 1794, to a tailor of Nuremberg, called Hans Sachs. This son, named Hans, (John,) after his father, having made a short advance in certain studies, which a severe illness caused him to relinquish, assumed the trade of a shoemaker. The young Hans took advantage of the liberty which this humble profession allowed for the cultivation of his mind, in order to penetrate within the confines of that other world whose prospects delighted his soul. From the time that singing had ceased to be heard in the castles of valiant knights, it seems to have sought and found an asylum among the merry citizens of the gay towns in Germany. A singing-school appears, indeed, to have been held in the church of Nuremberg. And in these pleasing exercises young boys came to mix their cheerful voices, when the heart of Hans was opened, by such softening influences, to religious impressions, which, at the same time, seemed to excite in him a love of both music and poetry. The genius of this young man, however, would not allow him to remain for any length of time confined within the narrow

* See Chateaubriand. *Historic Studies*.

bounds of his shoemaker's shop. He longed to behold with his own eyes the wide world, of which he had read so much in many books, and of which some of his companions had told him such singular stories, and which world, therefore, was covered over, in his imagination, with a profusion of wonders. In 1511, he gathered together a small stock of necessities, and departed from home, directing his steps towards the south. Very soon the youthful traveller, who met upon his journey with a host of cheerful companions, with students traversing the country, and with many dangerous attractions, began to experience within the conflicting feelings of a conscientious struggle. The inordinate desires of this life and his pious resolutions were placed in front of each other. Trembling for fear of the consequences, Hans fled for safety and hid himself within the boundaries of the small town of Wels, in Austria, (1513,) where he lived in seclusion, and applied himself to the study of the fine arts. The emperor Maximilian happens to pass through the town attended by a brilliant retinue. The young poet allows himself to be hurried away by the gaudy vision of this court. The prince receives him into his hunting train, and Hans once more forgets his serious thoughts under the noisy vaults of the palace at Insprach. Still his conscience again rebukes him with strong remonstrances. Immediately the sportsman puts off his gay hunting attire and leaves the palace of his master, from which he flees to Schwatz and afterwards to Munich. It was in this latter town he sang (in 1514) his first hymn "To the Honour of God," set to a tune of peculiar beauty. He was overwhelmed with applause. In every stage of his travels he had occasion to observe numerous and sad proofs of the abuses with which true religion had been corrupted.

On his return to Nuremberg, Hans settled in life, became married, and saw himself inwrapped as the father of a family. When the Reformation broke out to view, he fixed his eyes steadfastly upon this striking spectacle. He laid hold upon that holy book (the Scriptures) which had already become dear to him as a poet, in which he now no longer looked to find nothing more than images and songs, but wherein he eagerly sought after the light of the truth. Shortly afterwards, it was to the strains of that truth he consecrated the sounds of his lyre. From an humble shop, situated close to one of the gates of the imperial city of Nuremberg, issued forth accents which rung throughout the whole regions of Germany, which prepared the minds of men for a new era, and which everywhere rendered the grand revolution, wrought out by the hands of the people, doubly dear to their souls. The spiritual songs of Hans Sachs, and his Bible composed in verse, aided powerfully the completion of that great work. It would, indeed, be difficult to determine what class had done the most in the cause of the Reformation, whether the electorate prince of Saxony, the ruler of the empire, or the shoemaker of Nuremberg.

In this manner it is seen that, at the time under our notice, circumstances existed, in every rank of society, which betokened the approach of a vast Reformation. In every quarter symptoms are displayed, and events are hurried on, which threaten to overthrow the work of the ages of darkness, and to secure for men the improvements of a "new time." The hierarchical form, which the efforts of many

centuries had impressed upon the world, was torn, and ready to be utterly cast away. The intellectual lights, whose discovery had just been made, spread through every country, with inconceivable rapidity, a multitude of new ideas. In every branch of society, a new life was seen to bud forth. "Oh, the age!" exclaimed Hutten, "study of every kind flourishes, minds are awakening from sleep; it is a joy only to live!" The intellectual faculties of men which had remained dormant for so many generations, seemed now anxious to redeem, by their activity, all the time they had so uselessly wasted. To have left these awakened spirits in idleness, without nourishment, or not to have presented them with other food than that to which they had been so long accustomed during the period of their languishing condition in life, would have been wholly to mistake the real nature of man. Already the human mind had clearly perceived the difference between that which was and that which ought to be, and it measured with a determined look the immense abyss which was seen to separate these two conditions of the world. Great princes were seated upon the throne; the ancient colossus of Rome shook under its own weight. The old spirit of chivalry quitted the earth, making way for a new spirit, which emanated at once from the sanctuaries of the learned and the humble dwellings of the poor. The printed word had taken wings, on which it flew, like some seeds often carried through the air on the winds, even to the most distant corners of the earth. The discovery of the two Indies enlarged the size of the world. . . . Everything proclaimed the advance of a grand revolution.

But whence must proceed the decided blow which shall cause this ancient edifice to fall, and the power which shall equally cause to rise from its ruins a new structure? No one could answer the question. Who was possessed of more wisdom than Frederick? Who was more versed in science than Reuchlin? Who could boast of greater talents than Erasmus? Who had more spirit, or more poetical genius, than Hutten? Who had more valour than Seckingen? Or who had more virtue than Cronberg? And yet it was neither Frederick, nor Reuchlin, nor Erasmus, nor Seckingen, nor Hutten, nor Cronberg. . . . Learned men, princes, warriors, the church herself, all had lent their aid in undermining some parts of the foundation: but there a stop had been made; and in no direction was seen to appear the powerful hand which was destined to become the hand of God.

Nevertheless every one experienced a feeling that that hand must soon be discovered. Some persons pretended to have observed in the stars the certain signs of its appearing. Those soothsayers, beholding the miserable condition of religion, proclaimed the approaching advent of Antichrist. Others, on the contrary, presaged an imminent Reformation. The world stood wrapped in expectation—and Luther appeared!

BOOK II.

YOUTH, CONVERSION, AND FIRST LABOURS OF LUTHER—1483-1517.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Luther—Parents of Luther—His Birth—Poverty—Paternal House—Severity—First Acquirements—The School of Magdebourg—Misery—Isenach—The Shunammite—The House of Cotta—The Arts—Recollection of the Times—His Studies—Trebonius—The University.

•ALL was now ready. God, who prepares his work in the course of many centuries, accomplishes his purpose, when the hour is come, by means of the weakest instruments. To effect the greatest designs with the most trivial agencies is the acknowledged law of God's proceedings. This law, which is everywhere displayed in the actions of nature, is equally visible in the events of history. God chose the reformers of the church out of the very same condition from which he took the apostles. He selected them from that poor class which, without being mixed with the inferior grades of society, can yet scarcely be ranked among the order of citizens. Everything must exhibit to the world proofs of the fact that the work is not the doings of man but of God. The reformer Zuinglius was brought from the hut of a shepherd of the Alps; Melancthon, the theologian of the Reformation, from the shop of a gunsmith; and Luther from the cottage of a poor miner.

The first period of the life of man, that, namely, in which he becomes formed and expanded in his faculties under the hands of God, is always important. And this observation applies in a particular manner to the career of Luther. The whole character of the Reformation is already there in a pregnant state. The diverse phases of that grand conception were engendered in the soul of him who was its subordinate agent before the project was made known to the world. The knowledge of the Reformation which was fomented in the heart of Luther affords the only solution of the reformation of the church. It is only by examining the specific idea that we can arrive at an acquaintance with the general intention. Those who neglect the former will never learn more of the latter than the mere form or outward appearance. They may be able to understand the apparent meaning of certain events and certain results, but they can never comprehend the intrinsic nature of this renovation; because the principle of life, which was the soul of its substance, will remain hid from their view. Let us therefore contemplate the Reformation in the body of Luther, before we come to consider it in relation to those facts which changed the condition of Christendom.

In the village of Mora, close to the forest of Thuringia, and not far from the districts where Boniface, the apostle of Germany, began to announce the tidings of the gospel, there lived, no doubt during many ages, an ancient and numerous family, whose name was Luther. The eldest son always inherited the house and paternal property, according to the customs of these peasants in the districts of Thuringia, whilst the other children of the family were left to wander here and

there in search of their means of subsistence.* One of this family, John Luther, married the daughter of an inhabitant of Neustadt, in the bishoprick of Warzburg, Marguerite Lindemann. This fond couple quitted the country of Isenach, and went to settle themselves in the small town of Eisleben, in Saxony, in order therein to gain their bread by the sweat of their brow.

Seckendorff tells us, on the authority of Robhan, the superintendent at Isenach, in 1601, that the mother of Luther, believing her time still distant, had gone to visit the fair of Eisleben, and that, contrary to her expectations, she was there delivered of a son. Notwithstanding the confidence usually to be placed in the relations of Seckendorff, this account does not appear to have been correct; for, in truth, not one of the most ancient historians of Luther has taken any notice of the affair; besides, the distance from Mora to Eisleben is nearly twenty-four German leagues, and it would not be very easy, in the condition the mother of Luther then was, to overtake a journey of such a length, *to go and see a fair*: in short, the testimony of Luther's own words seems quite at variance with the truth of this assertion.†

John Luther was an upright man, of active industry, with an open disposition, and carrying his notions of firmness of character to the degree of stubbornness. With a turn of mind more refined than that of most men in the same rank, he had read many books. These means of instruction were at this time very rare; but John allowed no opportunity of procuring a supply thereof to escape. They formed his chief delight during the hours of the rest permitted him in the prosecution of a rude and laborious occupation. Marguerite possessed the virtues which adorn all honest and pious women. Her modesty, her fear of God, and addiction to prayer, were peculiarly conspicuous. She was regarded by the mothers of families in the place as an example which they should endeavour to copy.‡

It is not precisely known how long after the time this happy couple had fixed their abode in Eisleben, when, on the 10th of November, an hour before midnight, Marguerite was delivered of a son. Melancthon frequently questioned the mother of his friend respecting the period of his birth:—"I remember very well the day and the hour," replied she, "but for the year I am not certain." But James, the brother of Luther, a man of great honesty and integrity, has reported it as the opinion of the whole family that Martin was born in the year of our Lord 1483, on the 10th of November, the eve of St Martin.§ The first thoughts of the pious parents were to consecrate to God in holy baptism the infant son he had just given to their care. The day after the birth, which happened to be on a Tuesday, the father, therefore, carried his son with gratitude and joy to the church of St Peter, and here it was he received the seal of his consecration to the Lord. He was called Martin in remembrance of the day on which he was baptized.

* *Vetus familia est et late propagata mediocrium hominum.* (Melan. Vita Luther.) † *Ego natus sum in Eisleben, baptizatusque apud Sanctum Petrum ibidem. Parentes mei de prope Isenac illuc migrarant.* (L. Epp. i., p. 390.) ‡ *Impudentisque in eam ceteræ honestæ mulieres ut in exemplar virtutum.* (Melan. Vita Lutheri.) § (Ibid.)

The young Martin was only six months old when his parents quitted Eisleben in order to settle in Mansfeld, which is only five leagues distant from their former place of abode. The mines of Mansfeld were then very celebrated; and John Luther, a hard-working man, imagining that he might perhaps be called upon to rear and maintain a numerous family, hoped to gain in Mansfeld a more ready provision for the wants of himself and his children. It was in the town we have last mentioned the understanding and talents of the young Luther displayed their earliest developement; it was there his activity began to shew itself, and that his character gave primitive indications of strength both in words and actions. The plains of Mansfeld and the banks of the Wipper formed the theatre of his earliest sports with the children of the neighbourhood.

The commencement of their sojourn at Mansfeld proved very trying to the patience of honest John and his wife. They were constrained to live there at first in great poverty. "My parents," said the reformer, "have been very poor. My father was a poor wood-cutter, and my mother has often had to carry the wood upon her back, in order to earn sufficient food for the support of us their children. They have endured on our account labour so rude as to draw blood from their veins." The example of parents whom he regarded with affection, and the habits which they inspired him with, accustomed Luther by times to the practices of exertion and frugality. How often must he, without doubt, have accompanied his mother to the woods, for the purpose of gathering together with her his little bundle of sticks.

But there are promises made with respect to the labours of the just, and John Luther experienced the reality of these promises. Having at length acquired a little more ease, he established in Mansfeld two smelting smithies; and it was around these furnaces the young Martin grew up, whilst it was with the product of his labour his father afterwards provided for the wants which Martin's studies made necessary. "It was from a family of miners," said the worthy Mathesius, "that the spiritual founder of Christendom was destined to come; an example of what God wished to do in cleansing for himself the sons of Levi, and in purifying them in the furnace like fine gold."* Respected by all his neighbours for his uprightness, his blameless life, and good sense, John Luther was made a counsellor of Mansfeld, the capital of the county of the same name. Too heavy a load of misery might have crushed the spirit of the child, but the prosperity of the paternal house tended to enlarge his heart and elevate his character.

John was careful to profit by the new circumstances in which he found himself placed. He manifested particular regard for men of literary acquirements, and he often invited to his house the ecclesiastics and schoolmasters of the town. His domestic establishment exhibited a fine specimen of those associations of plain citizens which shed such a lustre over the state of society in Germany at the commencement of the sixteenth century. A mirror was thus held up to the

* Drumb musste diese geistliche Schmelzer, . . . (Mathesius, Historien, 1565, p. 3.)

world, in which were reflected the numerous figures which succeeded each other in the agitated scenes of that interesting period. The son also reaped advantage from the favourable change enjoyed. No doubt the presence of those men, to whom so much respect was paid in his father's company, excited, more than once, in the heart of young Martin, the ambitious desire of one day becoming himself either the master of a school or the member of some other learned profession.

As soon as the boy had reached the time of life when he could receive instruction, his parents eagerly sought to impress his mind with a practical knowledge of God, to inspire him with that holy fear which is the beginning of wisdom, and thus to draw his attention to the exercise of Christian virtues. Every care was taken to inculcate the lessons of this primary domestic education;* still the tender solicitations of the elder Luthers was not confined exclusively to that description of learning.

His father, desirous of seeing him acquire the elements of that knowledge for which he himself entertained such fervent esteem, invoked the blessing of God upon Martin, and sent him to school. The child was yet little more than an infant. His father, or a young man in Mansfeld, Nicolas Emler, used frequently to carry him in their arms to the house of George Emilius, and returned again to fetch him home in the same manner. Emler afterwards married one of Luther's sisters.

The piety of his parents, their activity, and their austere virtue, imparted to the youth a happy impulse, and formed in him an attentive and serious disposition. A system which corrected unsteady principles with chastisement and fear was then prevalent in the rules of education. Marguerite, although approving at times the too severe conduct of her husband, was yet frequently in the habit of embracing Martin in her arms to sooth his wounded spirit and quiet his tears. Nevertheless she likewise enforced the precept of that proverb which tell us, *He who loves his son hastens to chastise him.* The impetuous character of the boy often exposed him to the infliction of reprimands and punishment. "My parents," said Luther, in after life, "have treated me harshly, which has made my temper most timorous. My mother beat me one day so furiously, with a hazel-wand, that the blood followed her strokes. They believed in their heart that they were doing good; but they did not understand how to discern the traits of character—a knowledge, however, which is most needful to direct when, upon whom, and in what manner, punishments ought to be inflicted."†

The poor child endured at school a course of training not less severe. His master flogged him fifteen times successively in the course of one morning. "It is necessary," said Luther, in recounting this fact, "to whip children, but it is at the same time necessary to love them also." Under the influence of such an education, Luther learned by times to despise the pleasures of a sensual life. "That which must become great must begin sparingly," remarks, with justice, one of his earliest historians; "and if children are reared up from their youth

* Ad agnitionem et timorem Dei . . . domestica institutione diligenter assuefecerunt." (Melancht. Vit. Luth.) † Sed non poterant discernere ingenia secundum quæ essent temperandæ correctiones. (L. Op. W. xxii. p. 1785.)

with too much delicacy and pleasing emotions, they are thereby injured in every other stage of their lives.”*

Martin learned, however, a good deal at school. He was there taught the chapters of the catechism, the ten commandments, the creed, the Lord's prayer, many canticles, with formulas of prayers, and the *Donat*, a Latin grammar composed in the course of the fourteenth century by Donatus, the master of St Jerome, and which, improved in the fifteenth century by a French monk called Remigius, enjoyed for many years an excellent reputation in all the schools. Martin, moreover, studied the *Ciseo-Janus*, a calendar of most singular import, arranged either during the tenth or eleventh century: in short, he was instructed in every accomplishment within the range of learning taught at the Latin school of Mansfeld.

But the boy does not appear to have been here led towards a true knowledge of God. The single religious feeling then discoverable in his disposition was that of fear. Every time he heard the name of Jesus Christ mentioned he grew pale with alarm; because Christ had only been represented to his mind as an angry judge. This servile fear, which is so alien to the spirit of true religion, prepared him the better, perhaps, to receive the good news of the gospel, and that joy which he afterwards experienced when he had learned to know him who is meek and humble of heart.

John Luther was anxious to make his son a scholar. The new light which had begun to shine in every corner had penetrated within the walls of the house inhabited by the miner of Mansfeld, and there kindled the spark of ambitious longings. The remarkable talents and persevering application of his son, raised in John the most fascinating hopes of future distinction. Thus, when Martin had attained, in 1497, the age of fourteen years, his father resolved to part with him for a while, and to send him to Magdebourg, to the school of the friars of St Francis. Marguerite felt constrained to acquiesce in the proposal, and Martin prepared to leave his paternal abode.

Magdebourg was, in the eyes of Martin, a new world. Surrounded by numerous privations, (for he scarcely possessed sufficient means for his proper maintenance,) he examined and listened everywhere to the lessons of experience. André Prolés, provincial of the order of the Augustins, delivered, at that time, earnest discourses on the necessity of reforming religion and the church. It was not, however, the sermons of this preacher which first planted in the soul of the young man the germ of those ideas which, at a latter period, budded forth in such luxuriance in the mind of Martin.

We are, in truth, now speaking of the time of Luther's early and rude apprenticeship. Sent out into the world when only fourteen years old, without friends or protectors to take care of him, he trembled in the presence of his masters, and, in the hours of recreation, he painfully sought for nourishment in the company of children equally poor with himself. “I went in search,” said he, “with my companions, of some little store of food, in order to provide for our necessities. One day, during the time in which the church celebrates the feast of the birth of Jesus Christ, we wandered together through the neighbouring villages, going from house to house and singing,

* Was gross sol werden, muss klein angehen. (Mathæus, Hist., p. 3.)

with four voices, the usual canticles composed upon the little infant Jesus, born in Bethlehem. We made a stop before the dwelling of a peasant in a sequestered spot at the end of the village. The owner, hearing us singing our Christmas hymns, came out with some provisions which he intended for our use, and asked, with a rough voice and harsh manner, Where do you come from, boys? Frightened at the sound of his words, we escaped with all our speed. We had no reason whatever to be afraid, for the peasant offered us with good will the assistance he brought to the door; but our hearts, without doubt, were rendered timorous in consequence of the threats and tyranny with which the masters then crushed the spirit of their scholars, insomuch that a sudden terror had completely overcome our resolution. At last, however, the peasant continuing to call after us, we stopped, composed our agitated feelings, ran back towards our benefactor, and received from his hand the food he had from the first meant to bestow." "It is thus," adds Luther, "we are accustomed to tremble and flee when our consciences are guilty and alarmed. Then we have even a dread of the succour offered to our acceptance, although it be from those who are our friends, and who are anxious to do us every kind of good."

A year had scarcely run its course when John and Marguerite, learning how much difficulty their son had found in procuring a livelihood in Magdebourg, sent Martin to take up his abode in Isenach, where there was established at the time a very celebrated school, and where they had many relations among the inhabitants of the town.* John and his wife had now more children; and although their circumstances were improved, they were still unable to support their son in a strange town. The furnaces and the care of John Luther were only sufficient to provide for the wants of the family at Mansfeld, and he hoped Martin, once arrived in Isenach, would find therein greater facilities of procuring subsistence than had fallen to his lot in the former place of his residence; but this hope was deceitful—Martin was not more fortunate than before. The relatives of the family who lived in Isenach paid no attention to his wants, or, it may be, they were so poor themselves that it was impossible for them to offer him any sufficient relief.

When our scholar was pressed with hunger, he was compelled, as in Magdebourg, to join a company of fellow-students, and sing along with them in front of the houses of the town, in order to procure a morsel of bread. This custom, practised at the time of Luther, is still preserved, even in our own days, in several towns throughout the countries of Germany. Often the voices of the young boys thus employed send forth sounds of exquisite harmony. Frequently the poor but bashful Martin only received, in place of bread, the stern rebuke of angry words. Then it was that, overwhelmed with sorrow, he was wont, in secret, to shed a fountain of tears, and only looked forward to the future with fear and trembling.

One day especially, when he had already been driven away from the entrance of three different houses, and was disposed to return to his hapless home fasting, on reaching the square of St George, he

* *Lutheri Opera*, (Walch,) ii., 2347.
† *Isenachum enim pene totam paren-*
talam habet, (L. Ep. i., p. 390.)

† *Isenachum enim pene totam paren-*

stood still, in a distracted and immovable posture, with his thoughts evidently lost in deep reflection, before the house of an honest citizen. Must it be that, for want of bread, he should be forced to renounce his studies, and go and labour with his father in the mines of Mansfeld? . . . On a sudden, a front door is opened, a female appears upon the threshold: it was the wife of Conrad Cotta, the daughter of the burgomaster of Ilfeld.* Her name was Ursula. But the chronicles of Isenach denominate her "the pious *Shunammite*," in remembrance of her who had with so much earnestness entreated the prophet Elisha to eat some bread in her house. The Christian Shunammite here referred to had already more than once observed the youthful Martin in the meetings of the faithful, and she had been struck with the sweetness of his voice and the sincerity of his devotion.† She had just now been witness of the harsh treatment which the poor young scholar had received, and seeing him so sorrowfully pensive before the door of her house, she came forward to his assistance, making signs for him to enter the mansion, and ordering food to be given him sufficient to appease the cravings of his gnawing hunger.

Conrad approved of the benevolent deed his wife had done: he, in fact, found so much pleasure in the society of the boy Luther, that, a few days afterwards, he took him to live entirely within the shelter of his house. From that moment the studies of Martin were amply provided for. No more shall he be driven to return back in the direction of the mines of Mansfeld, and there to bury in oblivion the talents which God had so bountifully bestowed upon him. When Martin knew not where to turn for help, God had opened in his favour at once the hearts and the house-door of a Christian family. This event disposed his soul to rely with such undoubting confidence on the goodness of God, that the strongest tempests of misfortune were never again, in after life, able to disturb his faith.

Luther experienced in the house of Cotta a life different in every respect to what he had ever known before. It was a calm existence he enjoyed there, exempt from anxiety or want, and his mind, therefore, became more serene, his disposition more cheerful, and his heart more open. His whole being was awakened to the mild influences of lively charity, and he began to be affected by a new sense of life, of joy, and of happiness. His prayers were more fervent, his thirst after knowledge more intense, and the progress he made in his studies more rapid and solid.

To the acquirements of literature and science he added the accomplishments of the fine arts; for these arts were then growing fast into repute among the inhabitants of Germany. The men whom God designs to act with effect upon the feelings of their contemporaries, are themselves first imbued with, and then persuaded to follow, the ruling tendencies of their own age. Luther was taught to play upon the lute and the flute, and he often accompanied the former instrument with the strains of his own charming voice, thus soothing the despondency of his heart during his hours of sadness. It also afforded him tranquil felicity to testify, by his proficiency in this delightful

* *Link's Reise-gesch.* † *Dieweil sic umb seines singen und herzlich Gebets willen.* (Mathesius, p. 3.)

art the lasting gratitude he owed for his adopted mother, who was passionately fond of music. Nor was he himself less ardent in his love of harmonious sounds, which preference remained strong to the days of his old age, and he, in fact, composed both the words and the air of some of the most beautiful canticles ever known in Germany. Many of these spiritual songs have even been translated into our own language.

These were, indeed, happy days in the life of the young Luther, and he often reverted to them in memory with strong feelings of emotion. A son of Conrad having come, many years afterwards, to prosecute his studies in Wittemberg, when the poor scholar of Isenach had risen to be the teacher of his age, Luther received the boy with joy to his table and under his roof. He was eager to render back in part, to the son, the kindness he had received from the father and mother of this boy. It was in the recollection of the deeds of this Christian female, who had supplied him with bread when every one else had driven him from their doors, that Luther made use of these amiable words: "There is nothing on earth more charming than the heart of a woman in which piety resides."

Luther never expressed shame in speaking of the days when, urged by hunger, he was wont to beg, in mournful mood, the food necessary for his existence and the prosecution of his studies. Far from encouraging such vain thoughts, he reflected with gratitude upon the extreme poverty of his youth. He regarded that condition as one of the means which it pleased God to adopt in order to fit him for what he was to perform in after life, and, therefore, gave thanks to him for all his goodness. Those poor children who were obliged to follow the same course received his ardent sympathy. "Do not despise," said he, "those little boys who seek, by singing before your doors, *panem propter Deum*, bread for the love of God; for I also have been such a one myself. It is true that afterwards my father supported me with much affection and goodness at the university of Erfurt, supported me there by the sweat of his brow; nevertheless, I have been a poor beggar. And now, with the use of my pen, I have reached such a height, that I would not wish to change fortunes with the Grand-Turk himself. Nay more, although all the goods of the earth were heaped up, the one above the other, I would not take them in exchange for what I am. And still I should not have gained the situation in which I am now placed, had I not been sent to school, had I not been taught to write." In this manner the great man acknowledged, in these first and humble rudiments, the origin of his glory. He was not afraid to remind himself that that voice, whose accents had made the empire and the world to shake, had once solicited, for mercy's sake, a piece of bread in the streets of a poor little town. The Christian composes his mind in the remembrance of what is past, because he recollects that it is to God he must give all the glory.

The strength of his understanding, the quickness of his imagination, and the excellence of his memory, enabled Luther very soon to outstrip his companions in study.* He especially increased, with rapid

* *Cumque et vis ingenii acerrima esset, et imprimis ad eloquentiam idonea, celeriter æqualibus suis præcurrit.* (Melancthon, Vita Luther.)

progress, in his knowledge of ancient languages, elocution, and poetry. He wrote discourses and composed verses. Gay in disposition and courteous in manner, having what is called a good heart, he was beloved equally by his masters and his companions.

Among his professors he attached himself particularly to John Trebonius, a learned man, who possessed an agreeable delivery, and who evinced for youth those marks of esteem which are so well calculated to encourage its exertions. Martin had observed that when Trebonius entered his class-room, he uncovered his head in paying obeisance to his scholars—an act of peculiar condescendence in these pedantic times. But this observance had yet a more lasting effect upon the mind of the young man. He learned thereby that he was deserving of respect. The regard shewn by the master had raised the pupil in his own estimation. The colleagues of Trebonius, who did not practise the same polite behaviour, having one day expressed their astonishment at his conduct, he replied to them, and the words were not less amazing to the young Luther—"There are among these young boys many men whom God will one day make burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, and magistrates. Although you do not yet see them adorned with the signs of their coming dignity, it is just, nevertheless, that you should have a respect now for their persons." No doubt the young scholar listened to these words with pleasure, and perhaps he already saw before him the vision of a doctor's cap descending upon his head.

CHAPTER II.

The Divinity School and the Classics—Luther's Piety—Discovery—The Bible—Sickness—Is made Master of Arts—Conscience—Death of Alexit—The Clap of Thunder—Providence—Adieu—Entry into the Convent

Luther had now attained the eighteenth year of his age. He had tasted the pleasures of literature; he was enflamed with an ardent desire to learn; and he sighed for an entrance into some university, as an introduction to the source of every science, where he might be able to gratify his thirst after knowledge.* His father insisted that he should study the law. Full of confidence in the talents of his son, he was anxious that they should be usefully cultivated, and that they should be made to shine in the face of the world. The father already believed that he beheld his son crowned with honourable distinctions among his fellow-citizens, gaining the favour of princes, and dazzling the eyes of men with the splendour of his appearance in the world. He was resolved that the young man should go to Erfurt.

Luther arrived within the walls of the university of said town in the year 1501. Jadocus, surnamed the Doctor of Isenach, was the professor of scholastic philosophy in this institution, and lectured thereon with great success. Melancthon regrets that, at the time under our notice, there was merely taught at Erfurt a heretical logic of difficulties. He believed that if Luther had been there instructed under professors of a different cast, if he had been taught the more mild and tranquil precepts of true philosophy, such training would

* *De gustata igitur literarum dulcedine natura, flagrans cupiditate discendi appetit academiam.* (Mel. Vit. Luth.)

have moderated and softened the vehemence of his nature.* The newly entered student began then to study the philosophy of the middle ages in the writings of Occam, Scotus, Bonaventura, and Thomas d'Aquin. In after years all these sources of learning were a horror to him. He shook with rage when the name of Aristotle was mentioned in his presence, and even went so far as to say, that had not Aristotle been a man, he would not have been afraid to have called him the devil. But his eager desire to find the true doctrine stood in need of better nourishment; he, therefore, busied himself in the study of those lovely monuments of antiquity, namely, the writings of Cicero and Virgil, with others of the strictly classic school. He was not content, like the common herd of students, to learn by heart the productions of these writers; he sought chiefly to comprehend the depth of their thoughts, to inspire within his own bosom the same spirit which animated their works, and to appropriate to himself the fruits of their wisdom; to understand thoroughly the design of their compositions, and to enrich his own imagination with their serious expressions and brilliant images. He often questioned the professors on the subjects of their lectures, and very soon left behind him the acquirements of his fellow students.† Endowed with a quick memory and ready conception, everything that he read or heard remained for ever present to his mind; it seemed as if he acquired knowledge by intuition. "In this manner Luther shone forth from the days of his youth." "The whole university," says Melancthon, "admired his fertile genius."‡

But, even at this stage of his existence, the young man of eighteen years old did not labour on with the single desire of cultivating his understanding: he was possessed of those serious thoughts and of that heart whose treasure is in heaven, which God gives to those whom he destines for his most zealous servants on earth. Luther felt that his dependance was on God, the simple and powerful conviction which forms at once the spring of profound humility and of great actions. He implored with fervour the Divine blessing upon his labours. Every morning he began the day with prayer; then he went to church; afterwards devoting his time to study, and he did not cast away in idleness a single moment of the day. "To pray well," he was accustomed to say, "is more than half the duty of study."§

The young student passed in the library of the university every moment that he could spare from the task of academical duties. Books were as yet a rare commodity, and he esteemed it a great privilege to be favoured with the use of the united wealth comprised within the boundaries of this vast collection. One day (after he had been two years at Erfurt, and when he was twenty years old) he was opening in the library, one after another, a number of books, with the purpose of ascertaining who were the authors of them. A volume which he had thus opened in its turn attracted his attention. He had never seen anything like it up to the moment we speak of.

* Et fortassis ad leniendam vehementiam naturæ mitiora studia veræ philosophiæ. (Mel. Vit. Luth.) † Et quidem inter primos, ut ingenio studioque multos cœqualium antecellebat. (Cochlæus, Acta Lutheri, p. 1.) ‡ Sicigitur in juventute eminebat, ut toti academici Lutheri ingenium admirationi esset. (Vita Luth.) § Fleissig getat, ist uber die heilt studirt. (Mathes. 3.)

He reads the title of the book. . . . It was a Bible! a rare book, little known in those days. His interest is quickly excited; he becomes inwrapped with admiration at finding other subjects in this volume beyond the mere fragments of the gospel and of the epistles which the church had selected for the purpose of reading them to the people in the temples each sabbath-day throughout the year. He had believed, until now, that these detached portions had comprised the whole substance of the word of God. And now to behold so many pages, so many chapters, and so many books, of which he had formerly had not the least idea.* His heart throbbed whilst he held in his hand the whole of the Scriptures which have been given by Divine inspiration to man. He scanned with avidity, and with indescribable ecstasy, all the pages of God's work. The first sentence on which his eyes were fixed, recounted the history of Hannah and the young Samuel. He read on, and scarcely could he restrain the fervent joy of his soul. So entranced was he in thinking of that child whom his parents had lent to the Eternal for all the days of his life; the song of Hannah, wherein she declares that the Eternal raises the poor from the dust and draws the needy out of the mire, in order to make him sit with princes; that young boy Samuel who grew up in the temple in the presence of the Eternal; the whole of this history, the complete form of that word which he had thus discovered, raised within the bosom of Luther feelings to which he was, until now, an utter stranger. He returned to his own dwelling with a heart overcharged with reflection. "Oh!" thought he, "if God would but once give me for myself such a book as this."† Luther as yet was not instructed in either the Greek or Hebrew languages. It is little likely that he should have studied these two tongues during the two or three first years of his sojourn at the university. It was a Latin version of the Bible which had in this manner transported his happy feelings. He returned very soon again to the library to enjoy the possession of his new-found treasure. He read and read again, and then, in the fulness of his joy, he once more returned to read the same pages. The first light of a new truth had been kindled in his heart.

It was thus that God designed for Luther the discovery of his word. He here disclosed to him the book of which he was one day to prepare for his people that admirable translation, through means of which Germany has, now for three centuries, enjoyed a knowledge of the oracles of God. The example we now relate was, perhaps, the first instance of a hand being stretched forth to take from its shelf the precious volume contained in the library of Erfurt. This book, deposited within the archives of an obscure hall, was about to become for an entire people the book of life. The Reformation was hid in the pages of this particular Bible.

It was in the course of the same year that Luther obtained his first academical degree—that of bachelor of arts. The extreme toil to which he had exposed himself in order to support his examinations with credit, had brought upon him the seeds of a dangerous malady.

* Auf ein Zeit, wie er die Bucher fein nacheinander besieht, kommt er uber die lateinische Biblia. (Mathes. 3.) † *Adiuvante, cepitque optare ut olim talem librum et ipse mancipec posset.* (M. Adami, Vit. Luth., p. 103.)

In truth, death seemed to be fast approaching towards his couch. Serious thoughts occupied his mind. He believed his earthly career was about to terminate. Much pity was expressed with reference to the condition of the invalid student. It was mournful, many thought, to see such promising talents thus abruptly extinguished. A number of friends came to visit him while stretched upon a bed of sickness. Among this multitude there was seen a priest, a venerable old man, who had watched with interest the student of Mansfeld in the course of his labours and academical life. Luther could not hide from his affectionate friend the thoughts which crowded upon his imagination. "Very soon," said he, "I shall be called upon to leave the world." But the good old man replied, with kindness—"My dear bachelor, be of good cheer, you shall not die of this sickness. Our God will yet make of you a man who, in his turn, will afford consolation to many;* for God lays his cross on the shoulders of him whom he loves, and those who carry that cross with patience shall acquire much wisdom." These words amazed the young patient. It is at this moment, when he seems at the gates of death, he hears from the mouth of a priest words which tell him that God, as he had said to the mother of Samuel, raises up the miserable. The old man had infused into his heart the spirit of calm consolation, he had reanimated his soul; never will he forget that old priest. "It was here the doctor was privileged to hear the first prediction," says Mathesius, the friend of Luther who has preserved for us the particulars of this fact, "and he often recalled the circumstance to his memory." It is easy to understand in what sense Mathesius reports these words as conveying the meaning of a prediction.

When Luther had recovered from his malady, some changes were observable in his character. The Bible, this sickness, and the words of the old priest, appeared to have impressed him with some new intelligence. There was, however, as yet, nothing that had seized exclusively upon his mind; he, therefore, continued his studies; and in 1505 he was made a master of arts or doctor in philosophy. The university of Erfurt was at this time the most celebrated seminary in the provinces of Germany. The others in comparison could be reckoned as nothing more than inferior schools. The ceremony of conferring such degrees was there usually practised with particular pomp. A procession, carrying torches, came to offer the tribute of their homage to Martin Luther.† The fête was in reality one of much splendour. All appeared elated with joy. And Luther, encouraged perhaps by the flattering appearances of these outward honours, seemed ready to devote his talents entirely to the study of the law, in conformity with the wishes of his father.

But God had a different intention. During the time Luther was occupied in the prosecution of various studies, whilst he began to give lectures upon the physics and ethics of Aristotle, as well as upon other branches of philosophy, his heart never ceased to urge him with the thought that piety was indeed the one thing needful, and that before every other consideration it was requisite to be assured of his own salvation. He knew the displeasure God had testified against

* *Deus te virum faciet qui alios multos iterum consolabitur.* (M. Adams, Vit. Luth., p. 103.) † Luth. Op. (W.) xxii., p. 2229.

sin ; he called to his recollection the pains which the word had denounced upon the guilty sinner ; and he asked of himself with fear, whether he was sure that he possessed this blessing of the Divine favour. His conscience cried out to him, No. His disposition was prompt and decided ; he resolved to do everything in his power to bring himself to an entire conviction and hope of immortality. Two events occurred, the one after the other, which caused his heart to tremble, and served equally to hasten the period of his determination.

Among the intimate acquaintances who particularly shared his confidence at the university, there was one called Alexis, with whom he was most closely connected in friendly intercourse. One morning a report was spread abroad in Erfurt that this young man Alexis had been assassinated. Luther, with eager haste, went to receive certain information on the mournful subject, when he found the truth of the miserable report confirmed. The loss of this friend, so suddenly snatched from his presence by death, greatly agitated the heart of Luther, and the question which rose to his mind at the time was, What would become of me if I were to be thus unexpectedly hurried out of the world ? a question which filled his soul with the most afflictive terror.*

We have now come to the summer of the year 1505, and Luther, whom the usual vacation at the university had set at liberty, formed the resolution of making a jaunt to Mansfeld, with the purpose of revisiting the cherished scenes of his youth, and of once more embracing his parents. Perhaps he was likewise desirous of opening his mind to his father, and sounding him upon the scheme which he had begun to indulge within his own breast, as well as to receive his consent to enter upon the studies of another term. He clearly foresaw all the difficulties which stood in the way of his present position. The idle life of the majority of the priests was very displeasing to the active disposition of the miner at Mansfeld. The members of the ecclesiastical body besides were held in little estimation among their fellow-men, whilst the greater number of them enjoyed a very pitiful income as the reward of their labours ; and the father, who had made many personal sacrifices in order to support his son at the university, who had been gratified by hearing of the public teaching of that son in a celebrated academy since the time he had reached his twentieth year, could not be supposed as willing to renounce all the fond hopes of distinction his pride had naturally suggested.

We are ignorant of what passed during the sojourn of Luther at Mansfeld. It is possible the firm determination of his father had dissuaded Luther from confiding in him the secret designs of his heart. The young man, at all events, once more left his father's house with the intention of resuming his place on the forms of the university. He had, on his return, reached within a short distance from Erfurt, when he was overtaken by a violent storm, such as is often experienced among these mountain passes. The thunder roared over his head, and the balls of fire burst at his feet. Luther threw himself down upon his knees. His hour, he thought, had perhaps arrived. Death, judgment, and eternity crowded on his imagination

* *Interytus sodalis sui contristatus.* (Cochlæus, p. 1.)

with all their terrors, and caused him to hear a voice whose accents he could not refuse to obey. "Absorbed in anguish, and with the fear of death," as he has himself said,* "he made a vow that, if the Lord would deliver him from his present danger, he would abandon the world and give himself over entirely to the service of God. After rising up from the ground, beholding always before him that death which must one day overtake his path, he began seriously to examine himself and to inquire what it was his duty to do.† The uneasy thoughts which had so lately disturbed his soul rose up again in double vigour before the vision of his mind. He had endeavoured, it is true, to fulfil with propriety all his duties. But in what condition was the interests of his soul? Could he, with a heart defiled, appear before the judgment-seat of a God so dreadful? He must at once become holy. And he now felt as ardent a thirst to become holy as he had formerly found in his search after the acquisitions of science. But where was he to meet with this inestimable blessing, how was he to acquire its possession? The university had furnished him with means for satisfying his first desires. Who could now assuage the agony of his soul, or quench the fire that burned in his bosom? He will go to the seclusion of the cloister; the life of a monk shall save him from perdition. How often had he not heard of the power of such a life to reform the heart, to sanctify the sinner, and to render man a perfect being! He will enter into the monastic order, and he will become holy. In this manner he shall secure for himself the possession of eternal life.‡

Such were the events which changed the vocation and all the destinies of Luther's life. We here recognise the finger of God. It was his all-powerful hand which arrested on the high road the progress of the young master of arts, the aspirant to the honours of the bench, the future juris-consult, in order to turn the course of his life into another direction of a wholly different complexion. Rubianus, one of the friends of Luther at the university of Erfurt, afterwards wrote to him in the following strain:—"Divine providence had respect to what you were one day destined to become, when, on your return from the home of your parents, the fire from heaven caused you to fall down upon the ground, like another Paul, close to the city of Erfurt, and, carrying you away from our association, drove you to seek shelter in the order of Augustin." Thus analogous circumstances have been found to signalize the conversion of the two greatest organs whose services Divine providence has converted to its own purposes in the two greatest revolutions which have ever affected the affairs of this earth, namely, St Paul and Luther.§

Luther once more enters the gates of Erfurt. But his resolution is fixed beyond the power of change. Nevertheless it was not without

* Mit Erschrecken und Angst Ides Todes umgeben. (Luth. Ep. ii. p. 101.)

† Cum esset in campo, fulminis ictu territus. (Cochleus, i.) ‡ Occasio autem fuit ingrediendi illud vitæ genus, quod pietati et studiis doctrinæ de Deo, existimavit esse convenientius. (Mel. Vit. Luth.) § Some historians have said that Alexis was killed by the stroke of lightning which arrested Luther; but two contemporaries, Mathesius (p. 24) and Selnecker, (in Orat. de Luth.) distinguish these two events; and we may also add the testimony of Melancthon, who says, "Sodalem nescio quo casu interfectum." (Vita Luth.) I know not by what cause he was killed.

regret he saw himself compelled to break asunder the ties of long cherished friendship. He, therefore, does not communicate his intentions to any one. But, one evening, he invited his companions in the university to a pleasurable and frugal entertainment. Music once more enlivened their intimate intercourse. And such was the farewell which Luther took of the world. Henceforth, instead of these amiable associations in his pleasures and toils, he must herd with monks; instead of these gay and spiritual meetings, he must endure the silence of the cloister; in place of these joyful songs, the solemn harmony of the tranquil chapel. God bids him; and every sacrifice must be made. Yet once more his heart beats, for the last time, with the lively emotions of his youth. The repast excites the temper of his friends. Luther himself is elevated with the scene. But at the moment when he was nearest to engage with enthusiasm in the mirth of the hour, the young man could no longer either resist or retain the serious thoughts which pressed upon his heart. He rose to speak. . . . He discloses to his astonished companions the particulars of his plan. These friends strive to persuade him to follow a different course, but in vain; and that very night, Luther, fearing perhaps the renewal of importunate solicitations, quitted his lodgings in Erfurt. He there left all his effects and all his books, taking along with him nothing more than copies of Virgil and Plautus, (he had not then a Bible.) Virgil and Plautus! the epic poem and comedy! a singular representation of the mind of Luther! There was, in truth, included in his own character all the traits of an epic poem—a beautiful, a grand, a sublime poem; but of a cast inclined towards the moods of gaiety, diversion, and buffoonery, so that there were visible more than one familiar example in the grave and magnificent picture of his eventful life.

Provided with these two books, Luther set out alone, in the darkness of night, on his way to the convent of the Hermits of St Augustin. He asks leave to enter the gates. They are opened to receive him, and again shut fast against intrusion. Behold Luther thus separated for ever from his parents, from his companions in study, and from the world. This separation took place on the 17th of August 1505, and Luther had then reached the age of twenty-one years and nine months.

CHAPTER III.

Anger of his Father—Pardon—Servile Labour—Sackcloth and the Cell—Courage—Saint Augustin—D'Ally—Occam—Gerson—The Bible—Hebrew and Greek—Hours—Asceticism—Anguish—Luther during Mass—Anguish—Useless Practices—Luther Faints.

At last Luther is with God. His soul was now in safety. That holiness so much the object of his desire was now within his reach. At the sight of this young doctor, the monks were filled with admiration, and lauded his courage and contempt for the life of the present age.* Luther, however, did not forget his former friends. He wrote to them a letter, taking leave of them and of the world, and the next day he despatched this epistle, along with the clothes he had worn up to the present date, as well as his ring of master of arts, which he also

* *Hujus mundi contemptu, ingres us est repente, multis admirantibus, monasterium. . . .* (Cochleus, i.)

returned to the university, so that nothing might be left to recall his thoughts towards the affairs of that world which he had now abandoned for ever.

His companions at Erfurt were struck with amazement at what had happened. Must it be endured that a genius so eminent should be allowed to hide its light within the cells of a monastery, whose course of life might be compared to nothing better than a state of semi-death.* Thus overcome with sorrow, these friends hastened to reach the convent, in the hope of persuading Luther to desist from a purpose so truly afflictive; but their endeavours were fruitless. The gates of the building were shut against their entrance. A whole month passed away before any one was permitted either to see the new monk or to hold any conversation with him.

Luther was equally impatient to communicate to his parents the great change which had taken place in the pursuits of his calling. His father was overwhelmed with consternation. He trembled at the fate of his son, as we are informed by Luther himself, in the dedication of his book upon monastic vows, addressed to his father. His weakness, his youth, the ardour of his passions, all conspired to make John Luther dread the consequences, and to conclude that, after the first moments of enthusiastic rapture, the idle habits of the cloister would either compel the young man to fall into a state of despair or into the commission of grievous faults. He was aware that this kind of life had already proved the ruin of many. Besides, the counsellor-miner of Mansfeld had formed other projects of a very different nature for the acceptance of his son. He had conceived the idea of uniting him in marriage to a family of honourable station and large fortune; and now he beheld all these ambitious prospects blasted by the imprudent step his son had taken.

John, therefore, wrote to Martin a letter filled with angry expostulations, in which he used the expressions *thee* and *thou*, although, since the time when Luther had received the degree of master of arts, his father had addressed him always by the plural pronoun *you*; and this circumstance is also mentioned by Martin himself. John withdraws every promise of favour, and declares that he will disinherit his son of every mark of parental affection. In vain the friends of John Luther, and, no doubt, among them his wife, strove to appease the vehemence of his wrath; in vain they entreated him to reflect that, "if you wish to sacrifice anything to God, what could you possibly offer better or more dear than your son, your Isaac?" but the inexorable counsellor of Mansfeld was unwilling to lend an ear to any proposals, however reasonable or admirable.

Sometime afterwards, however, (it is also Luther who tells the story, in a sermon delivered at Wittemberg, on the 20th of January 1544,) the plague infested the land, and carried off two of the sons of John Luther. In the midst of this affliction, some one came to tell the father, whose soul was torn with anguish, the monk of Erfurt is also dead! The occasion was seized upon as favourable for restoring the novice to the affections of his father's heart. "Should it indeed prove to be a false report," said the friends of John Luther, "you will at least have your afflictions sanctified, by consenting, with

* *In vita semi-mortua.* (Melch. Adami. V. L. p. 102.)

a willing mind, to recognise your son in his condition as a monk." "Be it so," replied John Luther, with a heart broken, and only yet half reconciled, "and may God grant him success!" At a later period, when Luther, thus again placed in amity with his father, recounted to him the accident which led to the adoption of a monastic life, "God forbid," replied the honest miner, "that you may not have taken that for a sign from Heaven which was only a phantom of the devil."

Still Luther was not impregnated, as yet, with those qualifications which were destined afterwards to convert him into the steadfast reformer of the church. His entrance within the gates of a convent was evident proof of this defalcation. Such a step was taken in conformity with the spirit of the age, out of which infatuation he was soon about to assist in dragging the church by force. He who was appointed to become the teacher of the world, was, as yet, no more than its servile imitator. A new stone was laid upon this bulky structure of superstitions by him who was very soon directed to cast the edifice to the ground. Luther was still seeking his salvation within himself, and in human observances and devices: he was ignorant of the fact that salvation comes from God alone. He trusted in his own righteousness and glory, unmindful of the righteousness and glory of the Lord. But the truth, now hid from his understanding, was very soon disclosed to him in vivid colours. It was while shut up in the cells of Erfurt the immense change was wrought in the soul of Luther which turned his heart to the love of God and his wisdom, instead of the world and its traditions, and which accomplished the undertaking of that great revolution in which he was doomed to be the most powerful instrument.

Martin Luther, on entering within the walls of the convent, changed his name and adopted the appellation of Augustin.

The monks had offered him the most hearty welcome. It was no small gratification to their peculiar pride to behold the university forsaken for an entrance into their humble house, by one of the college doctors of highest repute and esteem. Nevertheless they treated him harshly, and imposed upon him labour of the most revolting description. They were anxious to humble the pride of the teacher of philosophy, and to convince him that the science he taught did not elevate him above the condition of his brethren in the convent. It was, moreover, intended to prevent him, in this manner, from engaging in his former studies, out of which it was impossible for the brotherhood to extract any subject of profit. The dignified master of arts was fixed upon to do the work of a gardener, to open and shut the gates, to wind up the clock, to sweep the church, and to clean out the rooms.† Then, when the poor monk, at once the porter, sexton, and servant of the cloister, had finished his work—*Cum sacco per civitatem!* With the sack for the city! shouted the brethren; and, charged with a bread sack, he had to travel over all the streets in Erfurt, begging from house to house, obliged perhaps to present himself before the doors of individuals who had been his companions or inferiors. On his return, he was compelled either to shut himself up in a confined and low cell, from which he could see nothing beyond a green court of a few feet

* Gott geb das es nicht ein Betrug und teuflisch Gespenst sey. (L. Ep. ii. p. 101.) Loco immunda purgare coactus fuit. (M. Adam, Vit. Luth. p. 103.)

wide, or to begin once more the toils of his humiliating office. But he resigned himself to every hardship. Supported by his determination to devote himself entirely to the duties he had willingly undertaken, it was with all his soul he had become a monk. How, moreover, could he have dreamt of sparing his body, or to have shewn any regard for that which could only satisfy the flesh? It was not thus he would be able to acquire that humility and holiness in search of which alone he had come to dwell within the solitude of the cloister.

The poor monk, oppressed with pain, endeavoured to apply every moment to the avocations of science which he could steal from the hurry of his degrading occupations. He willingly shut himself up in confinement to prosecute the labours of his cherished studies; but too soon the brethren discovered his retreat, and crowded around him with murmuring accusations, intruding upon his meditations with expressions like the following:—"Come, come, it is not by such studies as these, but by begging bread, corn, eggs, fish, victuals, and money, that you can make yourself useful in the cloister."* Luther yielded to the urgency of their complaints, put aside his books, and took up his sack. Far from evincing any regret at having subjected himself to such mean drudgery, he was earnest in bringing to a happy close the task allotted for his performance. It was in this abject employment that inflexible perseverance was nursed in his soul with which he ever afterwards pursued the accomplishment of every resolution that he had formed in his mind. The resistance he encountered in many rude denials rendered the temper of his will the more constant. God exercised his faithfulness in small things, so that he might continue firm in the execution of greater deeds. Moreover, to be properly fitted for delivering his benighted age from the miseries of superstition under which it groaned, it was necessary he should feel the poignancy of the affliction. To drain a cup to the bottom, it is imperative to drink the dregs.

The rugged apprenticeship we have described, however, was not extended to a period so distant as Luther might have dreaded. The prior of the convent, at the intercession of the university of which Luther was a member, freed him from the discharge of the servile duties he had been accustomed for a time to perform. The young monk, thus emancipated, embraced the labours of his study with a fresher zeal. The works of the fathers of the church, especially those of Augustin, attracted his minute attention. The exposition which this illustrious teacher has given of the Psalms, and his book "Upon the Letter and the Spirit," were the favourites of his contemplation. Nothing more forcibly arrested his thoughts than the sentiments expressed by that father upon the corruption of the human will and upon the freeness of the Divine grace. He felt, from his own experience, the reality of the corruption described, and the need of the grace explained. The words of Augustin spoke home to his heart. Could he have joined any other school than that of Jesus Christ, it would have been, without doubt, the seminary of the doctor of Hippo. Luther, moreover, could repeat by heart almost the whole works of Peter d'Ailly and of Gabriel Biel. He was astonished at the opinion expressed by the former, that, had not the church been decided to

* Selneccer's Orat. de Luth. (Mathesius, p. 5.)

the contrary, it would have been much better to have admitted the actual receiving, in the Lord's Supper, of bread and wine, and not of simple accidents.

He studied, at same time, with great care, the theological writings of Occam and Gerson, who both speak so freely upon the authority of the popes. To this course of reading he added other methods of exercising his mind. He was often heard in public assemblies to unravel the meaning of the most complicated reasoning, and to extricate himself from labyrinths out of which many others present were unable to see their way. All his hearers were constrained to express admiration of his talents.*

But it was not with the view of obtaining for himself the reputation of a great genius Luther had entered the seclusion of the cloister: it was in order to gather therein the nourishment of sincere piety;† and, therefore, he only regarded such occupations as innocent recreations from more important duties.

He delighted, most of all, in following wisdom up to its pure fountain head in the word of God. He found in the convent a Bible fastened to its place by a chain, and he returned constantly to the perusal of this enfettered Bible. He little understood the meaning of the word; but it was nevertheless his most pleasing study. He was sometimes in the habit of passing a whole day contemplating the subject of a single passage. At other times he committed to memory sentences from the writings of the prophets. He felt an earnest desire to understand, through the compositions of the prophets and the apostles, in a sensible manner, the will of God, thus augmenting the fear he entertained for his name, and increasing his faith according to the sure testimony of the word.‡

It was from impressions formed at the time we speak of that he resolved to commence the study of the Scriptures in their original language, and in this manner to lay the foundation-stone of the most perfect and most useful of all his works, namely, his translation of the Bible. He made use of a Hebrew lexicon composed by Reuchlin, which had lately been published. One of the brothers of the convent, learned in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and with whom he always lived on terms of the closest intimacy, John Lange, was most probably his first instructor in these foreign tongues.§ He also profited much by the learned commentaries of Nicolas Lyra, who died in 1340. In so much that Pflug, who was afterwards the bishop of Naumbourg, was wont to say—"If Lyra had not first played the lyre, Luther would never have danced or leapt for joy. *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.*"

The young monk had so eagerly applied himself to the prosecution of his studies, that it often happened he neglected, for two or three weeks at a time, to say his regulation prayers; but on such occasions he became terror-struck with the thought of having transgressed the rules of his order. He was, therefore, in the practice of shutting

* In disputationibus publicis labyrinthos aliis inextricabiles, diserte et cum admirationibus explicabat. (Melancthon, Vita Luther.) † In eo magis genere non famam ingenii, sed alimenta pietatis quarebat. (Ibid.) ‡ In eo magis genere non famam ingenii, sed alimenta pietatis quarebat. (Ibid.) § Cæsch. deutsch. Bibelübersetzung.

himself up for the purpose of making amends for such dereliction of duty, and set about conscientiously to repeat over every one of the prayers he had omitted before he allowed himself either to eat or drink. On one of these occasions he even deprived himself of the relaxation of sleep for the course of seven weeks.

Most ardent in his desires to attain the summit of that completed holiness, in search of which he had entered the cloister, Luther devoted himself to the rigid observance of all the customs prescribed to the followers of the monastic or ascetic life. He sought to crucify the flesh with fastings, mortifications, and watchings.* Shut up within his cell, as if in the dungeon of a prison, he struggled without relaxation to overcome the influences of wicked thoughts and the inordinate affections of his heart. A small piece of bread and a meagre herring were often his sole means of nourishment: but it must be said that he was naturally very abstemious in his appetite; for his friends have many times known him, when he had lost every thought of gaining heaven by such mockery, to be satisfied with the most trifling quantity of food, and even to continue four days together without either tasting meat or drink.† And this testimony is worthy of belief, because it is related to us by Melancthon; so that we have an excellent test whereby to try the veracity of those fables which ignorance and prejudice have invented with regard to the intemperance practised by Luther. Nothing was reckoned dear with him, at the time we speak of, so that he might attain holiness, and purchase an entrance into heaven. The church of Rome never fostered in her bosom a monk more pious. Never did one of her cloisters witness exertions more sincere or more indefatigable, in the hope of thereby securing the happiness of eternal life.‡ When Luther, after he had become a reformer, said heaven cannot be bought, he knew well what he said. "Truly," wrote he to the duke Gregory of Saxony, "I have been a pious monk, and I have fulfilled the regulations of my order more rigidly than I would wish to express. If ever a monk had been able to enter the gates of heaven by means of his monkish observances, most assuredly I should have gained an entrance therein.§ A fact which can be proved by the whole of the religious fraternity with whom I was acquainted. Had my monastic life continued much longer, I would have suffered the death of martyrdom, on account of my watchings, prayings, readings, and other labours."

We now approach the hour when Luther was changed into the being of another man, and wherein, by being awakened to a due sense of the immensity of the love of God, he was, at the same time, placed in a condition which enabled him to make known his convictions to the world.

Luther experienced nothing, in the seclusion of the cloister, or in the perfection of the monastic state, of that peace of mind he had come in search of. He was anxious to obtain the assurance of his

* Summa disciplinæ severitate se ipse regit, et omnibus exercitiis, lectionum, disputationum, jejuniorum, precum, omnes longe superat. (Melanc. Vita Luth.)
 † Erat enim natura, valde modici cibi et potus: vidi continuis quatuor diebus, cum quidem recte valeret, prorsus nihiledentem aut bibentem. (Ibid.) ‡ Strenue in studiis et exercitiis spiritualibus militavit ibi Deo, annis quatuor. (Cochlæus.)
 § L. Op. (W.) xix. p. 2299.

own salvation; this was the grand object of his care—the welfare of his soul. Without the attainment of that happiness there was no rest provided for him. Now the same fears which had agitated his breast while he sojourned among men, disturbed his bosom in his cell. Nay more, his fears were rather increased, and the least whisperings of his uneasy mind resounded aloud through the silent vaults of the darkened cloister. God had led him to this miserable abode so that he might enjoy an opportunity of learning the true nature of his being, and of seeing how absolutely necessary it was for him to despair of his own strength or of his own virtues. His conscience, enlightened by the Divine word, had informed him of the qualifications requisite to complete a life of holiness; but he was overwhelmed with alarm when he could not find, either in his heart or in his life, this pattern of holiness which he had contemplated with so much admiration in the written word of God—a sad discovery, open to the observation of every sincere man. No righteousness is to be found within nor any righteousness to be gained from without; everywhere is visible the stains of sins alike of omission and commission—all is defiled. . . In proportion as the natural character of Luther was ardent, the more vigorous was that secret and constant resistance which the human mind opposes to the righteous doings of the heart found to exist within his frame, and to be the means of throwing him into the most abject despair.

The monks and theologians of the day required him to perform a course of works in order to satisfy Divine justice. But what good works, thought he, can possibly proceed out of a heart like mine? How shall I be able, with works polluted even in their origin, to stand before the holiness of my Judge. “I see myself to be, in the sight of God, a great sinner,” said he, “and I do not believe it is possible for me to appease his wrath by any merits of my own.”

He was uneasy, and, moreover, sad in his appearance, flying to escape from any share in the useless and indelicate conversation of the monks. These brethren, however, could not comprehend the causes of the storm which moved his soul with perturbation, looking upon him with amazement,* and casting reproach upon his gloomy deportment and obstinate silence. One day, we are told by Cochleus, whilst mass was being said in the chapel, Luther was frequently heard to sigh, and appeared among his brethren in the choir dejected and in deep sorrow. Already the priest had prostrated himself before the altar, the perfumes of incense scented the air, the *Gloria* had been sung, and the proper lessons in the gospel were being read, when the poor monk, unable longer to contain his tormenting thoughts, cried out in a pitiful voice, at the same time throwing himself down upon his knees—“It is not me! it is not me!”† All present remained in astonishment, and the solemn worship was for an instant stopped. Perhaps Luther imagined that he heard the imputation of some censure of which he felt himself innocent, perhaps he declared how unworthy he was to be one of those for whom the death of Christ had purchased eternal life. Cochleus relates that the passage read from the Bible referred to the history of the dumb man out of whom

* Visus est fratribus non nihil singularitatis habere. (Cochleus.) † Cum repente ceciderit vociferans—“Non sum! non sum!” Ibid.

Jesus cast a devil. It is, therefore, possible that the exclamation uttered by Luther, supposing the narrative to be correct, bore an allusion to that circumstance, and that, mute like the man spoken of, he protested by the cry he emitted that his silence proceeded from some other cause than the possession of a demon. In short, Cochleus informs us that the monks did, sometimes, attribute the anguish evinced by their brother to a private intercourse with the evil one, and the writer we have now named joined to a certain degree in the same opinion.

A very delicate conscience inclined Luther to regard the slightest fault in the light of a great sin. Scarcely had he discovered any dereliction in duty before he bound himself to make compensation by suffering the most severe mortifications; but such a practice served only to demonstrate to him the utter uselessness of all human remedies. "I have tormented myself," said he, "even unto death, in order to procure for my troubled heart and agonized conscience peace with God; but, surrounded with horrible darkness, I nowhere found that peace."

The customs of monastic holiness, that had sent to sleep so many evil consciences, and to which, in his agony, Luther had had recourse, very soon appeared to him as the worthless remedies of a religion invented by empirics and charlatans; "still, being a monk, I felt some temptation to impugn my own conduct: I am lost* . . . said I to myself. Immediately I would run to a thousand shifts in order to appease the accusations of my heart. I made confession of my sins every day; but that brought me no relief. Then, overwhelmed with sorrow, I harassed my soul by the multitude of my thoughts. Look here! I would cry to myself, behold you are still as envious as ever, as impatient, as passionate! . . . It has then been of no use to me, unhappy being that I am, to have entered into communion with this holy order."

And yet Luther, imbued with the prejudices of his times, had, from his youth, considered the practices, whose insignificance he now experienced, as certain cures for the malady of a soul diseased. What must he then have thought of the strange discovery which he had just now made in the seclusion of the cloister? Is it possible to dwell in the sanctuary and yet to carry within yourself the body of a man of sin? He had received another outward garment, but not a new heart. All his hopes were deceived. On what can he now repose? Must all these regulations and observances prove no more than the inventions of men? Such a supposition appeared to him at times a seduction of the devil, and sometimes a truth not to be controverted. Thus struggling by turns with the still small voice which spoke in his heart and with the venerable institutions sanctioned by the use of many ages, Luther passed his life in the business of a constant battle. The young monk, like a shadow, paced along the lengthened corridors of the cloister, making their vaults ring with the sounds of his groaning. His body wasted away, his strength forsook him, and he sometimes remained in a condition resembling the state of death.†

* Ex occulto aliquo cum dæmone commercio. (Cochleus.) † Sæpe eum cogitantem attentius de ira Dei, aut de mirandis pœnarum exemplis, subito tanti terrores concutiebant ut pine exanimaretur. (Melancthon, Vita Luth.)

On one occasion, his spirits crushed with care, he shut himself up in his cell, and, for many days and nights, forbade the approach of any one within its door. One of his friends, Lucas Edemberger, distressed with the conduct of the unhappy monk, and having some presentiment of the state of his mind, took with him one or two young boys accustomed to sing in the choir, and went to knock at the door of the cell. No one either opened the door or answered to the call thus made. The worthy Edemberger, still more alarmed, broke open the door. Luther lay extended on the floor, deprived of his senses, and without exhibiting any symptoms of life. His friend strove in vain to bring back the use of his faculties, even the resistance of motion. Then the boys began to sing a sweet hymn. Their innocent voices acted as a charm upon the deadened feelings of the poor monk for whom music had always possessed a singular pleasure. By degrees he recovered his strength, his senses, and his life.* Yet music could only for a few moments afford him a little relaxation, he required other and more powerful remedies to work on him a real cure. There was needed that calm and subtle sound of the gospel, which is the voice of God itself. Luther knew this fact well. Therefore his grief and his fainting fit induced him to renew with fresher zeal the study of the writings of the apostles and prophets.†

CHAPTER IV.

Pious Men in the Cloisters—Staupitz—His Piety—Conversations—The Grace of Christ—Repentance—Power of Sin—Pleasure of Repentance—Election—Providence—The Bible—The Old Monk—The Remission of Sins—Consecration—Dinner—The Feast—God—Vocation at Wittenberg.

Luther was not the first monk who had endured buffetings similar to those we have seen him subjected to. The cloisters often enclosed within the solitude of their walls many abominable vices, which would have caused the honest soul to shudder with horror, had their turpitude been laid open to view; but these cells often contained, also, an assemblage of Christian virtues which were fondly cherished in their obscurity, and which, had they been exhibited to the eyes of the world, would have called forth feelings of admiration. The individuals who possessed these virtues, living wholly by themselves and to God, did not attract attention, and were even unknown in the modest convents in which they were shut up: their mode of life was only known to God. Sometimes these humble hermits fell into that dream of mystic theology, the sad malady of some of the most noble spirits, which had formerly constituted the delight of the first monks on the borders of the Nile, and which uselessly consumes the soul infected with its fire.

Nevertheless, when any of these men were called upon to act in some conspicuous office, they there displayed many virtues, whose salutary influences were visibly seen at a distance, and continued long to exercise a happy impulse. The candle was put upon a candlestick, and it gave light to the whole house. Many were roused to look upon this light; and in this manner pious souls were propagated from

* Seeckend, p. 58. † Hoc studium ut magis expetatur, non solum doloribus et
payoribus movebatur (Melancthon Vita Luth.)

generation to generation. They were seen to burn like a single torch, at the very time even when the cloisters were often the impure receptacles of the most profound darkness.

A young man had, in this manner, made himself conspicuous in one of the convents of Germany. His name was John Staupitz, and he was descended from a noble family in Misnia. He had, from his tenderest years, evinced a taste for science and a love of virtue.* Ho soon perceived the necessity of retirement, with the view of devoting himself to the pursuit of letters. Nor was he less apt in discovering the worthlessness of philosophy or the study of nature as means to procure for him the blessings of eternal salvation. He consequently devoted his attention to the study of theology. But with these he sought, above all things, to reconcile the theory with the practice; for, says one of his biographers, it is in vain for a man to adopt the name of a theologian, if he does not confirm his title to this nice distinction by the manner of his life.† The study of the Bible and of the theological works of St Augustin, the knowledge of himself, and the warrings he had to encounter, like Luther, against the deceits and inordinate desires of his own heart, led this young man to the feet of the Redeemer. He found in faith in Christ the peace of his soul. The doctrine of election by grace more particularly took hold upon his mind. The uprightness of his life, the depth of his knowledge in science, the fluency of his speech, not less than a handsome exterior and manners full of dignity,‡ contributed to render him agreeable to his companions. The elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, chose him as his friend; employing him in various embassies, and founding under his direction the university of Wittemberg. This disciple of St Paul and of St Augustin was the first dean of the faculty of theology in this school, whence the flame, which was to enlighten the schools and churches of so many people, was appointed to shine forth. Staupitz assisted at the council of Lateran, in the name of the archbishop of Saltzburg, and became provincial of his order in Thuringia and in Saxony, receiving at a later date the title of vicar-general of the Augustin order throughout all Germany.

Staupitz felt grieved at heart on account of the corruption of manners and errors of doctrine which desolated the church. His writings upon the love of God, upon the Christian faith, upon the resemblance with the death of Christ, and the testimony of Luther, prove the fact. Still he regarded the first of these evils as much greater than the last. Moreover the quickness and indecision of his disposition, his desire of not going beyond the sphere of action in which he believed himself fixed, rendered him more fit to be the restorer of a convent than the reformer of the church. He was anxious for employing, in the discharge of several important matters, only men of distinguished character; but having difficulty to find suitable agents, he resigned himself to the alternative of choosing others. "We must work," said he, "with the horses at our command, and if we cannot find horses we must do with oxen."§

We have witnessed the agony and inward struggle endured by

* A teneris unguiculis, generoso animi impetu, ad virtutem et eruditam doctrinam contendit. (Melan. Adam. Vita Staupitzii.)
 † (Ibid.)
 ‡ Corporis forma atque statura conspicuus. (Cochleus.)
 § L. Op. (W.) v. 2819.

Luther in the convent at Erfurt. During the continuance of this tumultuous distress, a visit from the vicar-general was announced in the convent. Staupitz arrived, in fact, in the regular routine of his ordinary inspections. The friends of Frederick the Wise, the founder of the university of Wittenberg, and head of the Augustin order, acknowledged his sense of the good-will shewn to his authority by these submissive monks. Soon, however, one of the brethren attracted his serious attention. This was a young man of middling stature, whom study, abstinence, and watchings, had reduced so much as to shew the number of his bones at a glance.* His eyes, which were afterwards compared to those of the falcon, were cast down, his step was measured, and his look revealed the inward workings of an agitated soul, a prey to a thousand tortures, but strong nevertheless and determined to resist. There was in the whole bearing of this youth a decided air of gravity the most solemn, and yet deeply tinged with melancholy. Staupitz, whose long experience had matured his discernment, easily discovered what was passing within the cogitations of that abstracted soul, and distinguished the young mourner from among the rest of the brethren who stood around him. The vicar felt himself attracted towards the person of the youth, made forebodings of his grand destiny, and experienced for this subordinate an interest altogether paternal. Staupitz had had indeed to combat the same enemies as Luther, and, therefore, well knew how to estimate the trial. He could especially point out the road to peace which he himself had trod. The relation of the circumstances which had induced the young Augustin to enter the convent increased the sympathy of his superior. He requested the prior to treat him with more mildness, and he profited by the occasions which his office afforded him for gaining the confidence of the young brother. Drawing close to him with a benevolent expression, he endeavoured by every means to dissipate the evident timidity of the youth, which was augmented to a higher degree in consequence of the respect and awe naturally inspired by the presence of a person of such exalted station as Staupitz then enjoyed.

The heart of Luther, rendered until now callous by the harsh treatment he had been subjected to, was at last expanded, and rejoiced in the expression of the most amiable qualities of charity. *As in the water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man.* (Prov. xxvii. 19.)

The heart of Staupitz thus responded to the heart of Luther. The vicar-general entered into the feelings of his soul, and the monk felt for his superior a confidence which he had never entertained for any one before. He revealed to him the causes of his sorrow, he described the alarming thoughts that agitated his bosom, and from this moment there commenced within the walls of the convent of Erfurt a mutual intercourse full of the words of wisdom and instruction.

"It is in vain," said Luther, in sadness, to Staupitz, "that I make many promises to God; the sin is always the strongest." "Oh, my friend," replied the vicar-general, making a reference also to himself, "I have sworn more than a thousand times to our holy God to live piously, but I have never been able to keep my oath. Now

I have no desire to swear at all, because I know that I cannot keep these solemn promises. If God be not pleased to exercise grace in my behalf for the love of Christ, and to grant me a happy deliverance when I come to leave this earth, I shall not be able, with all my vows and all my good works, to stand before him. I must indeed then perish.”*

The young monk trembled at this thought of Divine justice. He expressed to the vicar-general the substance of all his fears. The ineffable holiness of God, and his sovereign majesty, overpowered the feelings of Luther. Who shall be able to abide the day of his coming? who shall be able to stand when he appears?

Staupitz once more led the conversation; for he knew where to find peace, and he wished to guide the young man on to the right path. “Wherefore,” said he, “do you torment yourself with all these vain speculations and these high thoughts? . . . Look to the sufferings of Jesus Christ, to the blood he has shed for you; it is in these things the grace of God will appear to you. In place of making yourself a martyr on account of your faults, throw yourself into the arms of the Redeemer. Trust you in him, in the uprightness of his life, in the expiation of his death. Do not draw back; God is not angry with you, it is you who art angry against God. Listen to the Son of God. He has become man in order to give you the assurance of the Divine favour. He has said to you, You are my sheep; you hear my voice, and no one shall be able to draw you out of my hands.”†

But Luther did not, in this form, recognise the repentance which he deemed necessary to secure salvation; he therefore replied, and it is the usual response made by agonized and fearful souls—“How dare I believe in the favour of God, if so be that there is not in me a real or thorough conversion? I must needs change to be accepted by him.”

His venerable guide demonstrated to him that it was impossible to hope for any true conversion so long as man was disposed to fear God as a severe judge. “What then will you say,” exclaimed Luther, “to so many consciences for whom a thousand insupportable ordinances have been prescribed in order that they may gain heaven?”

Then Luther heard the following answer from the vicar-general, or rather he could not believe the words proceeded from the mouth of man; for they sounded in his ears like the warnings of a voice coming forth from heaven.‡ “There is not,” said Staupitz, “any true repentance save that which begins with the love of God and of justice.§ That which many others imagine to be the end and accomplishment of repentance is, on the contrary, only the commencement of it. In order that you may be filled with the love of doing good, you must first of all be filled with the love of God. If you are anxious to be converted, do not seek it through the agency of all those mortifications and martyrdoms, but learn to love him who has first loved you!”

Luther listened so intensely, that the words seemed to reverberate in

* L. Op. (W.) viii. 2725. † Ibid. ii., 264. ‡ Te velut e cœlo sonantem accepimus, (L. Ep. i. 115, ad Staupitzium, 30 Mai 1518.) § Penitentia vero non est, nisi quæ ab amore justitiæ et Dei incipit, &c., 1518. (Ibid.)

his ears. Such consolations conferred on him inexplicable joy, and afforded to him the brightness of a new light. "This is Jesus Christ," thought he in his heart, "yes, it is Jesus Christ himself, who consoles me thus admirably with his mild and saving words."*

These words, in truth, pierced the bottom of the young monk's heart like a sharpened arrow from a strong man's bow.† To gain repentance we must love God! Instructed by this new doctrine, he set about comparing it with the language of the Scriptures. He examined all the passages which treat upon the subjects of repentance and conversion. These words, so dreaded until now, to use his own expressions, "have become for me an agreeable amusement, and the most pleasant of all recreations. All the passages of Scripture which formerly frightened me, appeared now to hurry towards me from all parts, to gladden me by their smiles, to leap about and to make merry with me."‡

"Formerly," exclaimed he, "although I strove to dissemble carefully before God the condition of my heart, and although I forced myself to express towards him a love which was nothing else than a feeling of fear and a fiction, there was not in all the Bible a word more bitter to my taste than that of *repentance*. But now there is not an expression in the holy book more sweet or agreeable to my perceptions.§ Oh how pleasant are the precepts of God, when they are read not only in the books, but also in the precious sufferings of our Saviour."||

Nevertheless Luther, thus consoled by the words of Staupitz, still fell at times into a state of dejection. Sin caused him anew to smart under the fears of conscience, and then the joy of salvation was succeeded by the tremours of his former despair. "O my sins! my sins! my sins!" exclaimed the young monk, one day in the presence of the vicar-general, in accents swelling with grief. "Eh! would you wish to be nothing more than a sinner in idea?" replied the vicar, "and to have also no more than a Saviour in idea?" Then Staupitz added, in a commanding tone—"Know that Jesus Christ is the Saviour, even of those who are great and wicked sinners, and deserving an entire condemnation."

The thoughts which agitated the mind of Luther were not exclusively turned upon the sins he felt within his heart; for to the troubles of his conscience there were joined the difficulties of reason. If the holy precepts of the Bible alarmed him, many of the doctrines of the divine book increased his distress beyond measure. The truth, which is the grand object with which God bestows peace upon the sons of men, must necessarily begin by relieving them from the thralldom of that false security, in which to remain is death. The doctrine of election especially harassed the imagination of Luther, and led him into a wilderness out of which it was difficult to escape.

* Memini inter jucundissimas et salutares fabulas tuas, quibus me solet Dominus Jesus mirifice consolari. (L. Ep. i., 115 ad Staupitzium du 30 Mai 1518.)

† Hæc hoc verbum tuum in me, sicut sagitta potentis acuta. (Ibid.)
‡ Hæc jucundissimum ludum, verba undique mihi colludebant, plerumque hæc sententia arridebant et assultabant. (Ibid.)
§ Nunc mihi dulcis aut gratius mihi sonet quam penitentia, &c. (Ibid.)
|| Hæc enim evalescent præcepta Dei, quando non in libris tantum, sed in vultu, in oculis, in voce, in gestu, in omni actione Salvatoris legenda intelligimus. (Ibid.)

Ought he to believe that it was man who had first chosen God for his portion—or was it God who had first chosen man? The Bible, history, daily experience, and the writings of Augustin, had all demonstrated to him the necessity of always and in all things ascending from the last conclusion up to that sovereign will through whose agency all things exist, and upon which all things depend. But his ardent spirit had longings after a more extended scope: he had earnestly desired to comprehend the secret councils of God, to unveil the mystery of his actions, to see the invisible, and to comprehend what was incomprehensible. Staupitz arrested Luther in his thoughtless career. He recommended him not to attempt to fathom the wisdom of the hidden God, but to pay attention to the proofs thereof manifested in the character of Jesus Christ. "Look to the sufferings of Christ," said he, "and you shall there behold explained with precision the counsel of God with regard to man. It is impossible to comprehend God otherwise than in Jesus Christ. 'In Christ you shall find what I am and what I require,' says the Lord. You can find him nowhere else, neither in the heavens nor on the earth."*

The vicar-general proceeded a step farther: he described to Luther the paternal design of the providence of God, in permitting these very temptations and various struggles against which his soul was appointed to combat. He represented them, too, in an aspect well adapted to reanimate his courage. God has prepared, by means of such trials, the souls of those whom he has destined for the accomplishment of some important work. It is necessary to try the stability of the ship before she is launched into the waters of the mighty deep. If a system of education be necessary for the good of all men, much more is training needful for those who are doomed to effect great changes in their day and generation. These were the views represented by Staupitz to the monk of Erfurt. "It is not in vain," said he, "that God exercises you in such accumulated conflicts: you shall yet be persuaded of this, for he will make use of you as one of his ministers."

These words, which Luther listened to with astonishment and humility, filled his mind with courage, and made him to recognise within himself strong resolutions of which he was not before conscious. The wisdom and prudence of an enlightened friend brought back by degrees the strong man to a sense of his own position. Staupitz was not satisfied with all that he had done. He communicated to Luther previous directions in the furtherance of his studies. He exhorted him, for the future, to ground all his theology on the doctrines of the Bible, leaving behind him the systems of the schools. "Let the study of the Scriptures," said he, "be your favourite occupation." And never was the best counsel better followed. But what most rejoiced the heart of Luther was a present of a Bible from his mentor Staupitz. It was, perhaps, the same Latin Bible, bound in a red skin, which belonged to the convent, and which it was all his care to possess and to carry along with him; because he was so well acquainted with its every leaf, and knew where to find in it every passage.† At last he was master of this coveted treasure. From this moment he studied the Scriptures, and especially the Epistles of St Paul, with a zeal constantly increasing. He joined no other work to his

* Seckend. p. 52.

† L. Op. (W.) xxii. p. 489.

study or the Bible save the writings of Augustin. All that he read was, moreover, deeply impressed upon his soul. The warrings he had undergone had prepared his heart for understanding the word. The soil had been dug deep into, and the incorruptible seed had been sown therein with power. When Staupitz quitted Erfurt, a new era had arisen in the life of Luther.

Still the good work was not yet finished. The vicar-general had provided the necessary preparations : God reserved its accomplishment for the labour of a more humble instrument. The conscience of the young Augustin had never yet found real repose. His bodily strength at last gave way under the efforts and application of his soul. He was attacked with a malady which brought him down to the gates of death. This occurred during the second year of his sojourn within the walls of the convent. All his agonies and fears were again awakened at the prospect of approaching dissolution. His own defiled condition, and the holiness of God, once more overwhelmed the emotions of his heart. One day, whilst the horrors of despair overwhelmed his soul, an old monk entered the darkened cell, and spoke some words of consolation to the helpless invalid. Luther opened his heart to his visitor, and acknowledged the fears that rent his breast. The worthy old man was incapable of following this dejected soul through the mazes of all its doubts, as Staupitz had so ably done ; but he knew his *creed*, and he had therein found enough to comfort his own soul. He therefore applied the same remedy to the diseases of the young brother. Leading him to the recollection of this creed, which Luther had learned when very young in the school of Mansfeld, the old man repeated with simplicity this article—*I believe in the remission of sins*. These unaffected words, which the pious brother recited with firmness, at this decisive moment spread over the agitated soul of Luther a covering of heavenly consolation. “*I believe*,” he quickly repeated to himself on his sick-bed—“*I believe in the remission of sins*.” “*Ah!*” said the monk, “it is not only necessary to believe in the case of David or Peter ; this is the belief of the devils. The commandment of God is that we must believe that they are remitted to ourselves.”* How consoling this commandment now appeared to poor Luther ! “Listen to what St Bernard said in his discourse upon the annunciation,” added the old monk. “The testimony which the Holy Spirit produces in your heart is this—Thy sins are forgiven thee.”

From this moment the true light shone into the heart of the young monk of Erfurt. The word of grace had been pronounced, and he had believed therein. He renounced all hope of meriting salvation, and gave himself over with confidence to the grace of God in Jesus Christ. He knew not, however, the consequences of the principle he had adopted, for he is still sincere in his attachment to the church. Nevertheless he has no longer any need of her protection ; for he has received salvation directly from God, and from that hour Roman Catholicism had virtually expired in him. He proceeds in his new course, he searches in the writings of the apostles and prophets for

**Davidi aut Petro. . . . Sed mandatum Dei esse ut singuli homines, nobis remitti peccata credamus. (Melancth. Vita Luth.)*

every proof that was fitted to strengthen the hope that now animated his heart. Every day he invoked help from on high, and equally every day was light increased within the chambers of his soul.

The health which had been thus imparted to his mind reached the malady of his body. He was soon able to rise from his sick-bed, and may be said to have received in double proportion the existence of a new life. The feast of Christ-mass, which happened soon afterwards, afforded him an excellent opportunity of tasting in abundance all the consolations of the faith. He took part in these holy solemnities with sentiments of a soothing nature, and when in the middle of the services of that day, he had to chant these striking words—*O beata culpa, quæ talem meruisti Redemptorem!** all his being said *Amen*, and leapt, as it were, with joy.

Luther had now remained two years within the walls of the cloister. He was, therefore, ready to be consecrated as a priest. He felt that he had received much, and he anticipated with joy the prospect presented to his imagination in the office of the priesthood, wherein he might freely give what he had freely received. He was desirous, also, of taking advantage of the ceremony about to be performed, in order to effect a complete reconciliation with his father. He therefore invited him to assist in these forms, and even to appoint the day of their confirmation. John Luther, who was not entirely restored to his former admiration of his son, accepted nevertheless the invitation sent him, and fixed Sunday, the 2d of May 1507, for the installation proposed.

Among the number of Luther's friends might be counted the vicar of Isenach, John Braun, who had continued a faithful counsellor during the days of Luther's residence in the city we have named. Luther wrote to this friend on the 22d April. It is the most ancient letter of the reformer's pen, and was addressed in the following manner:—"To John Braun, holy and venerable priest of Christ and of Mary." It is only in the two first letters written by Luther the name of Mary is mentioned.

"God, who is glorious and holy in all his works," said the candidate for the priesthood, "having deigned to raise me up in this magnificent manner, unhappy me, who am in every sense an unworthy sinner; and to call me, in his alone and most free mercy, to this sublime ministry, I ought, in testimony of my gratitude for all his kindness, so divine and liberal, (at least inasmuch as dust is able so to do,) to perform with all my heart the duties of the office conferred on me."

At last the day arrived; and the miner of Mansfeld did not fail to be present at the consecration of his son. He even bestowed upon him a significant mark of his affection and generosity, by presenting him on this occasion with a gift of twenty florins.

The ceremony was ably gone through. It was Jerome, bishop of Brandenburg, who officiated. At the moment when he laid upon Luther the power of celebrating mass, he put in his hand the cup, and pronounced these solemn words—"Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis." "Receive the power of making sacrifice for the living and the dead." Luther listened now with tranquillity to the

* O most happy offence, which has merited such a Redeemer. (Mathesius, p. 5.)

repetition of these words which granted him the power of performing the very work of the Son of God; but he afterwards shook at the remembrance of the deed he had done. "If the earth did not then open to swallow us both up," said he, "it was solely on account of the great patience and long-suffering of the Lord."*

The father dined afterwards in the convent along with his son, the friends of the young priest, and the monks. The conversation naturally turned upon the entrance of Martin within the seclusion of the monastery. The brethren highly lauded his resolution, as a work of exceeding merit. At which the inflexible John, looking in the face of his son, said, "Have you not read in the Scriptures, that one ought to obey their father and mother?"† These words affected Luther deeply; they represented to him in quite another light the features of the action which had induced him to secret himself within the precincts of the convent, and they resounded in his ears for long after they were pronounced in his hearing.

Luther, following the recommendation of Staupitz, made, soon after his consecration, little excursions on foot among the parsonages and convents of the neighbourhood, either with the view of enlivening his mind, and procuring some exercise for his body, or with the intention of habituating himself to the duty of preaching.

The feast of the Nativity was about to be celebrated with great pomp at Eisleben. The vicar-general had signified his intention of being present, and Luther resolved to meet him there. He had still great need of the friendship of Staupitz, and he availed himself of every opportunity of meeting with this enlightened guide, who had directed his soul into the paths of life. The procession was numerous and splendid. Staupitz himself carried the Corpus Christi, and Luther followed him, dressed in his priest's clothing. He thought that it was Jesus Christ himself whom the vicar-general supported in his arms; and the idea that the Lord was there in person, before him, suddenly darted into the imagination of Luther, and filled him with such deep consternation, that he could scarcely move forward; the sweat fell in drops from his face, whilst he shook so violently that he believed he was about to drop down dead in this transport of agony and fear. At last the procession was brought to a close. That sacrament which had so vividly aroused the fears of the monk, was solemnly deposited in the sanctuary; and Luther, finding himself alone with Staupitz, threw himself into his arms, and confessed to him the terrors of his mind. Then the worthy vicar-general, who had long known that good Saviour who does not break the bruised reed, replied with mild accents:—"It was not Jesus Christ, my brother; Jesus Christ never causes alarm; he only gives consolation."‡

But Luther was not doomed to remain hidden within the retirement of an obscure convent. The time was come when he should be transferred to the scenes of a more extensive theatre. Staupitz, with whom Luther had continued in constant amity, was well aware that there was in the constitution of the young monk a soul too active for

* Luther, Op. xvi. (W.) 1144. † Ei, hast du nicht auch gehört das man Eltern soll gehorsam seyn. (L. Ep. ii. 101.) ‡ Es ist nicht Christus denn Christus schreckt nicht, sondern troestet nur. (Luth. Op. (W.) xxi. pt 813 et 724.)



this constraint—how many sighs did it not draw from the bosom of Luther! “I am well, through the grace of God,” he writes to Braun, “were it not that I am necessitated to study with all diligence the science of philosophy. I had earnestly desired, since my arrival at Wittemberg, to exchange this kind of study for that of theology; but,” adds he, so that it might be understood he did not refer to the theology of the day, “it is of that theology which seeks for the kernel of the walnut, the pulp of the wheat, and the marrow of the bone, of which I speak.” But, however this may be, God is God,” continued he, with that confidence which formed the soul of his life. “Man deceives himself almost always in his judgments; but he is our God. He leads us on with kindness from age to age.” The labours now thrust upon Luther were of great utility to him in combating afterwards the errors of the divinity schools.

Still he could not content himself in his present avocation. The desire of his heart must be fulfilled. That same power which, a few years before, had driven Luther from the bar to devote himself to the duties of a religious life, now forced him away from philosophy to the study of the Bible. He set himself assiduously to gain a knowledge of the ancient languages, and especially of Greek and Hebrew, in order to follow out both the science and the doctrine along the very streams through which they had originally emerged. He was all his life indefatigable in his labours.† Some months after his arrival at the university, he requested to have bestowed on him the degree of bachelor in theology, and he obtained this honour at the end of March 1509, with the particular vocation of applying himself to the elucidation of biblical theology, *ad Biblia*.

Every day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Luther was called upon to lecture upon the Bible. This was an hour precious alike to the professor and his pupils, wherein they were constantly led to investigate deeper into the divine signification of those revelations which had been for long lost to the view at once of the people and of the schools.

He began his lessons with an exposition of the Psalms, and soon afterwards turned his attention to the Epistle to the Romans. It was more particularly while studying the meaning of this epistle the light of the truth shone into his heart. Shut up within his silent cell, he consecrated many hours to the contemplation of the Divine word, with the Epistle of St Paul open to his view. One day, looking over the seventeenth verse of the first chapter, he there read this passage taken from the prophet Habakkuk—*The just shall live by faith*. This precept attracted his notice. There is then for the just another life than that pursued by the rest of mankind, and this life is procured by faith. These words, which he received into his heart as if placed therein by God himself, unveiled to him the mystery of the Christian life, and increased the ardour of that life within his own bosom. Long afterwards, when occupied with the pressure of accumulated labours, he believed he heard this voice proclaim—“The just shall live by faith.”‡

* . . . Theologia quæ nucleum nucis et medullam tritici et medullam ossium scrutatur. (L. Ep. i. 6.) † In studiis literarum, corpore ac mente indefessus. (Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trid. i., 16.) ‡ Seeckend. p. 55.

The lectures thus composed by Luther bore very little resemblance to the instructions formerly delivered on similar subjects. It was not a mere, though eloquent, rhetorician, nor yet a scholastic pedant, who now spoke : it was a Christian who had experienced the power of revealed truths, who had drawn them from the pure source of the Bible, and who sent them forth from the treasury of his own heart, presenting them in the most animated colours to his enraptured audience. It was not the teaching of man, it was the mandate of God.

This perfectly new method of explaining the truth caused considerable noise, and the intelligence thereof reaching distant districts, a crowd of young foreign students were attracted to this university of recent establishment. Several professors even waited on the lectures of Luther, and among others Mellerstadt, often designated *The Light of the World*, first rector of the university, who had formerly at Leipsic, where he had been previously settled, briskly attacked the ridiculous teaching of the divinity schools, denying that "the created light of the first day was theology," and maintaining that the study of letters must form the basis of that science. "This monk," said Mellerstadt, "will vanquish all the doctors : he will introduce a new doctrine, and will reform the whole church ; because he rests his arguments upon the word of Christ, and no creature in the world can either question or controvert that word, at the same time that he defies them with all the weapons of philosophy, sophism, Scotastism, Albertism, or Thomatism, as well as with the complete armour of demons."*

Staupitz, who acted as the hand of Providence for exhibiting the gifts and graces hid within the character of Luther, invited him to preach in the church of the Augustins. To this proposition the young monk demurred. He desired to confine himself within the limits of academic employment ; he trembled at the thought of adding thereto the responsibility of preaching. In vain Staupitz urged his solicitations. "No, no," replied Luther, "it is not a small thing to speak to men in the place of God"†—an instance of marked humility in this great reformer of the church ! Staupitz still insisted ; but the ingenious Luther found out, says one of his historians, fifteen arguments, pretexts, or excuses, to protect himself against the performance of that important duty. At last the head of the Augustins, continuing importunately his entreaty—"Ah ! doctor," said Luther, "in insisting upon this point you take away my life ; I would not be able to endure such labour for three months." "Very well," replied the vicar-general, "let it be so in the name of God ! for our Lord God has as much care on high over devout and able men." Luther was at last constrained to accede to the urgent solicitations of his friend.

In the middle of the square at Wittenberg, there was situated an old wooden chapel, thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, whose partitions, supported on every side, seemed ready to fall in ruins. An old pulpit, composed of planks, and raised three feet from the ground, was the only accommodation for the preacher. It was in this miserable chapel the preaching of the great reformer commenced. God has planned that

* Melch. Adam. Vita Lutheri, p. 104.
Mathesius. n. 6.

† Fabricius, Centifol. Lutheri, p. 33.

those things which are to establish his glory shall proceed from the most humble beginnings. The foundation of the church of the Augustins had just been laid, and, while waiting for its completion, use was made of the petty temple we have spoken of. "This building," adds the contemporary of Luther who relates the circumstance,* "might well be compared to the stable in which Christ was born. It was in this miserable inclosure God has wished, so to speak, to cause a second time to be born his well-beloved son. Among the thousands of cathedrals and parish churches with which the world is filled, there was not then one wherein God desired to encourage the glorious preaching of eternal life."

Luther is now heard as a preacher, and everything about him attracts attention. His countenance beaming with expression, his noble air, his fine and sonorous voice, all captivate the minds of his hearers. Before his time, the greater number of preachers had endeavoured rather to secure the amusement than the conversion of their auditory. The great seriousness of thought which governed the preaching of Luther, and the happiness experienced in his own bosom by the knowledge he had acquired of the gospel, imparted at once to his native eloquence an authority, a warmth, and an unction, never before perceived in the gifts of his predecessors. "Endowed with a quick and lively perception," said one of his adversaries,† "and a retentive memory, added to an extraordinary freedom in the command of his maternal language, Luther was inferior to none of his age for the eloquence of his delivery. Discoursing loudly from the pulpit, as if he had been agitated by some strong passion, and accommodating his action to his words, he seized upon, in a remarkable manner, the minds of his auditors, and, like a torrent, he carried away their ideas along with him. So much vigour, and grace, and eloquence, have been but rarely witnessed among the inhabitants of the north." "He had," says Bossuet, "a lively and impetuous eloquence, which arrested the attention of the people and entranced their spirits."‡

Very soon the small chapel was insufficient to accommodate the crowds of people who thronged to its doors. The council of Wittemberg, therefore, elected Luther as their preacher, and called him to officiate in the town church. The impression made upon the audience in this new assembly was even stronger than before. The majesty of his genius, the eloquence of his diction, and the excellence of the doctrines he announced, equally astonished all who listened to his discourses. His reputation was spread abroad, far and near, and • Frederick the Wise made a special journey to Wittemberg in order to hear Luther preach.

A new course of life had begun with Luther. To the useless avocations of the cloister had succeeded an employment of active industry. Liberty, labour, and the lively and constant exercise in which he was uniformly engaged at Wittemberg, all contributed to complete the establishment of harmony and peace in his soul. Now he was in his proper place, and the work of God must soon exhibit its majestic approach.

* Myconius. † Florimond Raymond, *Hist. Hæres*, cap. 5. ‡ *Hist. des Variat.* L. 1st.

CHAPTER VI.

Journey to Rome—A Convent on the Po—Sickness at Bologna—Recollections in Rome—Superstitious Devotion—Profanation of the Clergy—Conversations—Disorders in Rome—Biblical Studies—The Stair of Pilate—Influence upon his Faith and upon the Reform—The Gate of Paradise—Confession of Luther.

Luther was thus engaged in imparting instruction at once in the academic hall and the holy temple, when he was suddenly arrested in his labours. In 1510, although, according to some authorities, it was in 1511 or 1512, he was sent to Rome. Some convents of the order to which he belonged had adopted, on certain points, views different to those entertained by the vicar-general.* The manly mind of Luther, the force of his words and his talent in discussion, pointed him out as the fittest representative of these seven monasteries at the court of the pope.† This divine dispensation was necessary for the improvement of Luther's knowledge. He needs must become acquainted with Rome. Full of the prejudices and delusions of the cloister, he had always imagined that capital to be the very seat of holiness.

He sets out on his journey, and crosses the Alps; but scarcely had he descended into the plains of the rich and voluptuous Italy before he discovered at every step he took subjects of astonishment and reproach. The poor German monk was received into a rich convent of the Benedictine friars, situated on the banks of the Po, in Lombardy. This convent possessed a yearly income of 36,000 ducats, 12,000 ducats being appropriated to the supply of the table, 12,000 to the buildings, and 12,000 to satisfy the other wants of these monks.‡ The splendour of the apartments, the elegance of clothing, and the delicacy of the viands, equally excited the astonishment of Luther. The polished marble and the soft silk, with every superfluity required to complete the refinements of luxurious life, formed a strange spectacle in the eyes of an humble brother of the poor convent at Wittenberg! He was amazed, but gave no utterance to the tenor of his thoughts, until the appearance of Friday, when the abundance of food which covered the board in the halls of the Benedictine friars created excessive surprise. Then he resolved to speak "The church," said he, "and the pope forbid such things." The Benedictine brothers were indignant at this sharp reprimand inflicted by the uncultivated German; but Luther having persisted in his complaints, and having perhaps threatened to report the circumstances of their gross infringement of the rules, some of the brothers suggested that the most simple remedy was to get rid of their importunate guest. The porter of the convent, therefore, hinted to him the likelihood of dangerous consequences should he remain longer in this abode. He then left in haste the Epicurean monastery, and went to Bologna, where he fell into a state of alarming sickness.§ Some were willing to attribute to poison the cause of this sudden illness. It is, however, more easy to suppose that the change in his mode of life affected the constitution of the frugal monk of Wittenberg, accustomed to live principally upon herrings and bread. But this sickness was not unto

* Quod septem conventus a vicario in quibusdam dissentirent. (Cochleus ii.)

† Quod esset acer ingenio et ad contradicendum audax et vehemens. (Ibid.)

‡ L. Op. (W.) xxii., p. 1468.

§ Matth. Dresser, Hist. Lutheri.

death, but to the glory of God. His natural sorrow and dejection under trouble seized upon his mind. To die in this manner, at a distance from Germany, under a burning sun, and in a foreign land, seemed a fearful fate. The agonies he had suffered at Erfurt returned upon him with virulence. The conviction of sin grieved, and the prospect of God's judgment alarmed, his troubled soul; but at the moment these terrors were pressing heaviest on his spirit, the following words of St Paul, so keenly felt by him before at Wittemberg, *The just shall live by faith*, (Rom. i. 17,) again reverted to his recollection with additional force, and served to cheer his soul as with a ray of light from heaven. Thus restored and consoled, he speedily recovered his health, and once more began his journey towards Rome, expecting to find there a very different place to what he had left in the convents of Lombardy, and eager to wipe away, with the charms of Roman sanctity, the sad impressions engraved upon his mind by his sojourn on the banks of the Po.

At last, after a painful journey, exposed to the burning sun of Italy, at the beginning of summer, he reached the city built upon seven hills. His heart palpitated within his bosom, and his eyes were strained to catch an extensive view of the queen city alike of the world and the church. At the first distant glance he got of this eternal city—the city of St Peter and St Paul—the grand metropolis of Catholicism—he threw himself upon the ground, exclaiming, “Holy Rome, I pay you homage!”

But Luther is now within the walls of the imperial city; the professor of Wittemberg stands amidst the eloquent ruins of the Rome that had been possessed by consuls and emperors, as well as by the followers of Jesus Christ, and where martyrs had attested the sincerity of their faith upon the scaffold. Here had lived the same Plautus and Virgil whose works he had carried with him into the seclusion of the cloister, and all those great men whose histories had so often caused his heart to beat with admiration. He gazed upon the statues and the rubbish of monuments that were raised to commemorate their glory. But all that glory and all their power had passed away. He treads under foot the dust of human grandeur. He remembers, at every step, the sad presentiments of Scipio, weeping in anguish at the sight of Carthage in ruins, of her burned palaces and cast down walls, crying with a loud voice—It shall one day thus be with Rome! “And in fact,” said Luther, “the Rome of the Scipios and Cesars had been changed into a dead body. There is here such a quantity of rubbish, that the present foundations of the houses now rest upon the elevation where, of old, the roofs appeared. It is underneath,” added he—casting a melancholy look towards these ruins—“it is there the riches and treasures of the world have once existed.”* The accumulated mass of fragments among which the steps of Luther wandered, told him, even within the walls of Rome, that those things which in the eyes of men appeared most powerful can easily be destroyed by the breath of the Lord.

But the ashes of the profane and of saints were mixed together—a fact he well remembered; for the burying place of the martyrs is not far from that of the generals of Rome and of her conquerors. Chris-

* Luth Op. (W.) xxii. pp. 2374, 2377.

tian Rome, with all her sorrows, had yet more effect upon the feelings of the Saxon monk than Pagan Rome in the midst of all her glory. It was here that letter was received, in which Paul declares *the just are justified by faith*. He is not far distant from the market-place of Appius and of the Three Taverns. On this hand stood the house of Narcissus, on the other the palace of Cesar, where the Lord had delivered the apostle from the mouth of the lion. Oh! how many reminiscences strengthened the heart of the monk of Wittenberg!

Rome presented, at the time we speak of, an aspect altogether different. The warlike Julius II. occupied the pontifical chair, and not Leo X. as has been related, without doubt unintentionally, by some distinguished historians of Germany. Luther has often repeated an anecdote touching the character of this pope. When he was informed of the news that his army had just been defeated by the French before Ravenna, he was employed in the performance of his stated devotions; and throwing the prayer-book upon the ground, he said, with a horrible oath, "Eh, well! behold you have now become a Frenchman. Is it in this manner you protect your church?" Then turning round in the direction of the armed country from which he hoped to receive assistance, he added, "Holy Switzerland! pray for us."* Ignorance, levity, dissipation, a profane spirit, the contempt of everything sacred, and a shameful bartering in divine matters, was the spectacle exhibited in the life of that unhappy city. And yet the pious monk remained for some time blinded by the delusions of his creed.

Close upon the period of the feast of St John, he heard the Romans around him repeating a proverb common among the people—"Very happy," said they, "is the mother whose son repeats a mass on the eve of St John."† "Oh! how I should wish to make my mother very happy!" said Luther to himself. The pious son of Marguerite then endeavoured to join in the performance of mass that day; but he could not accomplish his purpose, the crowd was so great.‡

Fervent and meek, he ran through all the churches and chapels; he listened to every falsehood therein rehearsed; and performed with devotion the many customs of sanctity that were required of him in these various places of worship—happy in the opportunity of completing so many pious works altogether beyond the accomplishment of his compatriots. "Oh! how do I regret," said the pious German to himself, "that my father and mother are still alive! How much pleasure would I experience in delivering them out of the fires of purgatory by means of my masses, my prayers, and so many other works equally admirable!"§ He has discerned the light; but still darkness was far from being cleared away from his understanding. His heart had been converted; but his mind was not yet enlightened. He had faith and love; but he had not knowledge. It was not an easy thing to escape out of that miserable darkness in which, for so many centuries, the earth had been enveloped.

Luther frequently attended at mass during his stay in Rome. He joined in the duty with all the grace and dignity consistent with the fulfilment of an action so solemn. But how severe was the affliction

* Sancte Swizere! ora pro nobis L. Op. (W.) xxii. pp. 1314, 1332.
Op. (W.) Dedicace du, 117 pages, vol. vi. L. G.

† Ibid.

‡ Luth.

imposed upon the mind of the Saxon monk when he witnessed the sad and profane formality of the Roman priests, in their celebration of the sacrament at the altar? These priests, on their part, laughed at his simplicity. One day, whilst officiating in this manner, he found that at the neighbouring altar seven masses had been read during the time he had taken to read one only. "Quick, quick," cried one of the priests to him, "send back speedily to our Lady her Son," thus making an impious allusion to the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. On another occasion, at the time when Luther had only reached the gospel, the priest who stood near him had completely finished the service of the mass: "Get on, get on!" cried he to him, "haste, haste, and have done for once!"

His astonishment was much increased when he discovered in the dignitaries of papacy the same frivolity which had characterised the doings of the simple priests. He had hoped better things of these high officials.

It was the fashion at the papal court to attack Christianity, and it was impossible to pass as a man of spirit unless you sported some heresy or erroneous opinion regarding the dogmas of the church.† It was attempted to prove to Erasmus, by some passages taken from Pliny, that there was no difference between the souls of men and those of beasts,‡ and many young courtiers of the pope pretended that the orthodox creed was merely a cunning invention spread abroad by a few saints.§

The rank of envoy from the Augustins of Germany held by Luther entitled him to the honour of several meetings with distinguished ecclesiastics. One day, in particular, he was present at table with divers prelates, when these dignitaries exposed themselves in the most ingenuous manner to Luther, by sallies of wit and instances of impious conversation. They did not even refrain from making in his presence a number of impious allusions, under the belief that he was of the same mind with themselves. They told among other stories before the monk, in a laughing mood and with much enjoyment, how at the altar, when repeating mass, in place of the sacramental words which ought to transform the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of the Saviour, they were wont to pronounce over the bread and wine the following words:—*Panis es et panis manebis, vinum es et vinum manebis*, (Bread thou art and bread thou shalt remain, wine thou art and wine thou shalt remain.) Then, continued they, we raise up the symbol, and all the people worship. Luther could scarcely believe his ears. His own mind, naturally possessed of much quickness and even gaiety while in the company of his friends, always assumed, when conversing on holy things, a serious impression. The idle talk he heard at Rome displeased him greatly. "I was," said he, "a young, grave, and pious monk. Words of such import, therefore, caused me much affliction. If this is the manner of speaking at table in Rome, without restraint and publicly, thought I to myself, what must be the real state of

* L. Op. (W.) xix., von der Winkelmesse. (Mathesius, 6.) † In quel tempo non pareva, fosse galantuomo e buon cortegiano colui che de dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinione erronea ad heretica. (Carraciola, Vita M. S. Pauli IV., quoted by Renke.) ‡ Burigny, Life of Erasmus, i. 189. § E medio Romanæ curiæ sectam juvenum . . . qui asserebant, nostram fidem orthodoxam, potius quibusdam sanctorum agutiis subsistere. (Paul Canensis, Vita Pauli, ii.)

matters, if actions are found in general to agree with the sense of these words, and if every one, pope, cardinals, and courtiers, repeat the mass in the fashion described! And as for me, who have listened so often to them reading this form with devout respect, how they would have deceived me.*

Luther frequently joined the associations of monks and citizens in Rome. And he found that if some individuals were willing to praise the pope and his adherents, the greater number of men gave free course to the expression of their complaints and sarcasms. What stories have there not been told regarding the reigning pope, upon Alexander VI., and a great many others! One day his Roman friends detailed to Luther the manner in which Cesar Borgia, having fled from Rome, had been taken in Spain. How he was about to be brought to trial, and cried for mercy in his prison, asking to see a spiritual confessor. A monk was of course sent to visit this Cesar, whom he slew with his own hands, and escaped under the concealment of his hood. "I have been told this story in Rome," said Luther, "and it is no doubt a fact."† On another day, passing along a wide street which leads to the church of St Peter, he stopped in utter amazement before a stone statue, representing the person of a pope under the figure of a woman holding a sceptre, clothed with papal robes and carrying an infant in her arms. It was a girl from Mentz, said the people to Luther, whom the cardinals elected as pope, who was delivered of a child on this spot; and, for this reason, none of the popes ever pass through this street. "I was astonished," said Luther, "that the popes should have allowed this figure to remain where it stood."‡

Luther fully expected to find the building of the church he approached surrounded with splendour and in a perfect condition; but its doors were broken open, and its walls destroyed with fire. He gazed upon the desolation of the sanctuary, and hurried away from the spectacle in affright. He had only thought of contemplating the realization of holiness, he beheld nothing but the proofs of profanation.

The disorder which reigned outside of the temple was not less shocking to the senses of Luther. "The police regulations at Rome," said he, "are severe and cruel. The judge or captain parades the streets every night on horseback with 300 attendants; he stops whomsoever he may meet in his passage; and should he fall in with any one carrying arms, he either hangs this individual or throws him into the Tiber. And yet the city is rife with disorder and murder: whilst in the places where the word of God is purely and correctly promulgated, order and peace are seen to prevail, independent of the restraints of the law and its severe enforcement.§ One could not have believed how many sins and how many infamous deeds are committed in Rome," said he again; "they must be seen and heard to be credited. Thus it was usual to hear people say—If there be a hell, Rome is built over it: it is an abyss out of which every sin issues forth."||

* L. Op. (W.) xix., von der Winkelmesse.

gewiss gehört. (L. Op. (W.) xxii. p. 1322.)

† Das habe Ich zu Rom fur

das die Pabste solches Bild leiden konnten. (Ibid. p. 1320.)

‡ L. Op. (W.)

xxii. p. 2376.

§ L. Op. (W.)

(Ibid. p. 2377.)

† Es nimmt nicht wunder

§ L. Op. (W.)

|| Ist irgend eine Helle, so muss Rom darauf gebaut sein.

This mournful show had already made a deep impression upon the mind of Luther, and such persuasions were wofully increased at a later period. "The nearer we come to Rome, the more bad Christians we find," said he, some years afterwards. "It is a common saying, that he who goes to Rome, goes for the first time to seek a rogue; that on the second visit, he finds one; and that on the third, he brings away with him a villain the moment he leaves the city. But now, persons have become so clever, that these three journeys are made in one."*

A real genius, the most sadly celebrated, but likewise the most profound of all Italy, Machiavel, who lived in Florence at the time Luther passed through that city on his way to Rome, has made the same remark. "The greatest symptom," said he, "of the approaching ruin of Christianity (by which he meant the Roman Catholicism) is this, that the nearer you approach the capital of Christendom, the less you perceive the signs of the spirit of Christianity. The scandalous example and positive crimes of the court of Rome are the reasons why Italy has abandoned every principle of piety and every religious feeling. We Italians," continues the great historian, "are indebted mainly to the church and to her priests for our character of impious and wicked wretches."†

Luther acknowledged, in after times, the value of this journey:—"Although one should have offered me a hundred thousand florins," said he, "I would not have wished to have lost the sight I had of Rome."‡

The journey we speak of proved likewise very advantageous on the score of acquirements. Like Reuchlin, Luther knew how to profit by his sojourn in Italy, in order to gain a deeper acquaintance with the contents of the Holy Scriptures. He there received lessons in Hebrew from a celebrated rabbi, called Elias Levita. He acquired in Rome the knowledge of that Divine word, under the attacks of which Rome was destined to fall.

But this journey was especially, on another account, of great importance to Luther. Not only was the veil withdrawn, and the sardonic smile, and stupid incredulity which lurked behind the forms of Roman superstition, disclosed to the view of the future reformer, but even the living faith, communicated to his soul by the power of God, was on the occasion strengthened in an extraordinary degree.

We have seen how Luther at first delivered himself over to the performance of all those vain practices at whose cost the church had rated the expiation of sin. One day particularly, wishing to receive a promised indulgence from the pope to whosoever should ascend upon their knees the stairs designated the Stair of Pilate, the poor Saxon monk humbly crawled up these steps, which were said to have been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome. But whilst engaged in the accomplishment of this meritorious deed, he thought he heard pronounced, with a voice of thunder that vibrated to his inmost soul, even as at Wittenberg and Bologna, *The just shall live by faith!* These words, which had already on two different occasions been sounded in his ears, as if by an angel of God, were

*Address to the noble Christians of the German nation.
prem. Dec. of Titus Livius.

† Dissert. sur la
xxii. p. 2374.)

‡ 100,000 Gulden. (L. Op. (W.)

re-echoed continually and distinctly within his brain. He rose abruptly off his knees on the steps over which he dragged his body. He was filled with horror at the remembrance of his own actions; nor less with shame at the degradation imposed on him by his reliance on these superstitious observances. He now fled to a distance from the scene of his stupid submission.*

This all-powerful voice had something mysterious in it as regarded the life of Luther. It delivered, as it were, a creating word on behalf of the reformer and the Reformation. It was through its meaning God then proclaimed—"Let there be light! and there was light."

It often happens that a truth must be presented at different times to our mind in order to produce the effect it is intended to ensure. Luther had carefully studied the Epistle to the Romans, and yet justification by faith, which is therein taught so forcibly, had never been thus clearly demonstrated to his perceptions. Now he fully understood that justice which can alone exist in the presence of God; now he received for himself from the hand of Christ that obedience which God gratuitously imputes to the sinner, from the moment that he humbly turns his eyes upon the man-God crucified for him. Here we see the decisive period of the change in the inward life of Luther. That faith, which has saved him from the terrors of death, became the active principle of his theology, his fortress against every danger, the power of his words, the strength of his charity, the foundation of his peace, the incitement to his labours, and his consolation through life and at the hour of death.

But this grand doctrine of a salvation emanating from God and not from man was not meant to demonstrate in him the power of God only for the salvation of Luther's own soul; for it also thus became the power of God for the reformation of the church. The same effective weapon that had been wielded by the apostles—a weapon too long left untouched—was now at last drawn forth, in its original brightness, from the armoury of the mighty God. At the instant when Luther rose from his knees in Rome, awakened and called to reason by the same words which Paul had addressed fifteen hundred years before to the inhabitants of the same metropolis, the truth, until then mournfully bound and kept captive in the church, was also relieved from bondage, never again to suffer imprisonment.

But we must here listen to his own words—"Although I was a holy and irreproachable monk," said he, "my conscience was nevertheless filled with trouble and despair. I could not suffer this expression, the righteousness of God. I did not love this just and holy God who punished sinners. I was affected against him with secret rage; I hated him because that, not content with alarming us by the terrors of the law and the miseries of this life, we poor creatures already lost in original sin, he still augmented our torments by the revelations of the gospel. . . . But when through the Spirit of God I was made to comprehend these words, when I learnt how the justification of the sinner proceeded from the pure mercy of the Lord by means of faith,† . . . then I found my nature refreshed like

* Seckend., p. 56. † Qua vos Deus misericors justificat per fidem. . . .
(Luth. Op. Lat. in Præf.)

a new man: I entered, as it were, at an open door into the very Paradise of God.* I from this time also looked upon the precious and holy Scriptures with eyes newly enlightened. I perused the whole Bible, and I selected from it a number of passages that clearly shewed me that it was the work of God. And as formerly I had with all my heart despised these words, 'the righteousness of God,' I began henceforth to love and admire them as the most soothing and consolatory of all words. In truth, these words uttered by St Paul became for me the real gate of Paradise."

Thus, when he was called upon on any solemn occasion to confess this doctrine, Luther always exhibited the warmth of his enthusiasm and positive energy. "I see," said he, at an important crisis,† "that the devil attacks without ceasing this fundamental article by means of his doctors, and that he cannot, in respect of it, either leave off or take any rest. Very well, for myself, Doctor Martin Luther, an unworthy evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ, I confess this article, that *Faith alone justifies in the sight of God, without works*, and I declare that the emperor of the Romans, the emperor of the Turks, the emperor of the Tartars, the emperor of the Persians, the pope, all the cardinals, the bishops, priests, monks, nuns, kings, princes, everybody else, with all devils, must allow it to continue upright, and admit that it shall for ever endure. Should they undertake to dispute this truth, they shall bring upon their own heads the fires of hell. It is found in the true and holy gospel, and in my declaration, of me Doctor Luther, according to the light of the Holy Spirit. . . . There is no other person," continued he, "who has died for our sins unless it be Jesus Christ the Son of God. I repeat, once more, that although all the world and all the devils were to tear one another to pieces, and burst with fury, this article is not the less true. And if it is he alone who can take away sin, it cannot be us who do so with our works. But good works follow redemption, as the fruit is seen upon the tree. This is our doctrine, it is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, received and taught by all holy Christians. We hold it in the name of God. Amen."

It is thus that Luther displayed a confidence, wanted, at least in a certain degree, even amongst the most illustrious doctors and followers of the Reformation. It was in Rome God vouchsafed to afford him this clear view of the one fundamental doctrine of Christianity. He had come to find in that city of pontiffs the solution of certain difficulties concerning the affairs of a monastic order; he carried away thence in his bosom the means of salvation for the church.

CHAPTER VII.

Return—Doctorship—Carlstadt—Oath of Luther—Principle of the Reform—Courage of Luther—First Views of the Reformation—The Schools—Spalatin—Affair of Reuchlin.

Luther quitted Rome and returned to Wittemberg with a heart oppressed with sorrow and indignation. Turning away his face with

* Hic me prorsus renatum esse sensi, et apertis portis in ipsum Paradisum intrasse. (Luth. Op. Lat. in Præf.) t. xx.) † Comment upon the Imperial Edict, 1531, (Ibid.)

disgust from the contemplation of the pontifical city, he fixed his eyes with hope upon the Holy Scriptures, and upon that new life which the word of God appeared at this time to promise to the world. This word engaged the affections of his heart in the same proportion as the church had lost all claim to his esteem. He tore himself away from the one in order to devote his life the more closely to the other. The whole spirit of the Reformation was comprehended in this single movement; for the Reformation put God in the place the priest had assumed.

Staupitz and the elector did not lose sight of the monk they had brought to the university of Wittemberg. It appeared as if the vicar-general had entertained some presentiment of the work that was to be done in the world, and that, finding it too weighty for him to accomplish, he was anxious to throw the burden upon Luther. Nothing indeed can be conceived more remarkable or even more mysterious than the ways of this personage, who was everywhere present in order to compel the monk to proceed in the road God had sanctioned for him, and then departed himself mournfully to finish his days in the seclusion of a monastery. The preaching of the young professor had made a deep impression on the mind of the prince; he had admired the force of his understanding, the spirit of his eloquence, and the excellence of the subjects he illustrated.* The elector, as well as his friend, therefore, wishing to promote the circumstances of a man who evinced such fitness for distinction, resolved to bestow on him the high rank of Doctor of Divinity. Staupitz consequently went to the convent. He invited Luther to take a walk in the garden of the monastery, and there, alone with him under a tree, which Luther long after delighted to point out to his pupils,† the venerable father said to him, "You must now, my friend, become Doctor of the Holy Scriptures." Luther hesitated at the proposal. An honour so eminent startled him. "Seek for one more more worthy of this honour," replied he, "for myself, I cannot consent to your offer." The vicar-general pressed his design. "The Lord God has much to do in the church, and he requires the use of young and vigorous doctors," (teachers.) "These words were perhaps spoken in joke," adds Melancthon, "nevertheless the sequel corresponded with the sense; for, in most cases, many presages have been found to shadow forth the disclosure of great revolutions.‡ It is not necessary to suppose that Melancthon here referred to miraculous prophecies. The most incredulous age, the age which has preceded our own, has seen the sentence quoted verified. How many forebodings announced, without any pretensions to miracles, the revolution that closed the termination of that century?

"But I am weak and sickly," replied Luther. "I have not long to live. Look for some strong man." "The Lord," added the vicar-general, "has work to do in the heavens, as well as on earth; dead or living, God has need of you in the counsel of his will."§

* *Vim ingenii, nervos orationis, ac rerum bonitatem expositarum in concionibus admiratus fuerat.* (Melancthon. Vita Luth.) † *Unter einem Baum, den er mir und andern gezeigt.* (Math. 6.) ‡ *Multa præcedunt mutationes præagia:* (Vita Luth.) § *Ihr lebet nun oder sterbet, so darff euch Gott in seinem Rathe.* (Mathes. 6.)

solemnly bestowed on him, in the presence of a numerous assembly, the insignia of a doctor in theology. He was made biblical doctor, and not a doctor of maxims, and was in this manner called upon to devote himself to the study of the Bible, and not to the consideration of human traditions.* He then took an oath, as he reports himself,† in favour of his well beloved and holy Scriptures. He promised to preach them faithfully, and to teach them purely; to make them his study all the rest of his life, and to defend them by means of all his arguments, and all his writings against every false teacher, so long as God shall enable him to do so.

This solemn oath proved, in Luther's case, his title of vocation as a reformer. In imposing upon his conscience the holy obligation of investigating freely, and of announcing courageously, the terms of Christian truth, this oath raised the new doctor beyond the narrow limits within which his monastic vow had, perhaps, confined his views. Chosen by the university, by his sovereign, in the name of imperial majesty, and of the throne of Rome itself, compromised before God by the stipulations of a most sacred oath, he was installed henceforth the intrepid herald of the word of life. On this memorable day Luther was invested with the knighthood of the Bible.

May not this oath also, pledged in support of the Holy Scriptures, be regarded as one of the causes of the renovation of the church? The only infallible authority of the word of God, such was the first and fundamental principle of the Reformation. All minor reforms of detail effected afterwards in doctrine, in manners, in government of the church, and in forms of worship, were only the natural consequences of this first principle. It is hardly possible now to imagine the sensation which must have been, at the time, produced by the announcement of this elementary truth, so simple in its meaning, yet so little understood during the course of so many centuries. Some men, with more enlarged views than the multitude, alone foresaw these stupendous consequences likely to result from the promulgation of the grand truth. Very soon the daring voice of all the reformers proclaimed the justness of this prevailing principle, at whose open manifestation Rome was doomed to quake. "Christians cannot receive any other doctrines save those which rest upon the express words of Jesus Christ, of the apostles, and of the prophets. No man, neither any assembly of doctors, has the right to add thereto in any sense whatever."

The situation of Luther was completely changed. The call he had received became for the reformer as if it were a type of one of those extraordinary vocations to which the Lord had dedicated the prophets under the old, and the apostles under the new, dispensation. The solemn engagement he had come under made so deep an impression upon his soul, that the recollection of this oath sufficed, in every after period of his life, to ensure consolation amidst the greatest dangers and fiercest conflicts. And when he beheld the whole districts of Europe shaken and agitated at the sound of the word he had spoken; when the accusations of Rome, the reproaches of several pious men, and the doubts and fears of his own heart, so easily moved, conspired

* Doctor Biblicus, and not sententiarius. (Melancthon.) † L. Op. (W.) xxi. p. 2061. Mathesius, p. 7.

to weaken his resolution, to create fear within his bosom, and to drive him to the verge of despair, he returned to the remembrance of the oath he had plighted, and remained firm, yea tranquil, and filled with joy. "I have come forward in the name of the Lord," said he, "at the pressure of a critical crisis, and I have put myself into his hands. Let his will be done. Who asked of him to make me a doctor? . . . If it be he who has thus created me, let him support me; or rather, if he repents of what he has done, let him dismiss me. . . . This tribulation, therefore, does not alarm me. I ask but for one thing, that the Lord may be favourable unto me in all that he requires I should do with him." Another time he said—"He who undertakes anything without a Divine calling, seeks his own glory. But for me, Doctor Martin Luther, I have been constrained to become doctor. Popery was anxious to stop me in the discharge of my office: but you see what has happened, and much worse shall yet be the consequence; for they shall not be able to defend themselves against me. I wish, in the name of God, to steal upon the lion, and to trample under foot the dragons and vipers. Such things shall be begun during my lifetime and shall be finished after I am dead."*

From the hour that Luther gave warrant of his troth, he no longer searched after the truth merely for his own improvement; he engaged in this search on behalf of the church. Still, imbued with many reminiscences of what he had witnessed in Rome, he distinguished, though faintly, before him a course, along which, however, he formed a resolution to advance with all the energy of his soul. That spiritual life which, until now, had manifested itself within his nature, was doomed to exhibit an outward appearance also. We have before us the third epoch of its development. The entrance within the gates of the convent had turned his thoughts towards God; the knowledge of the remission of sins and of the righteousness of faith had emancipated his soul; and the oath of doctor had conferred on him that baptism by fire in virtue of which he became the reformer of the church.

His ideas very soon directed their musings, in a general manner, upon the Reformation. In a discourse which he had written, as it would appear, to be delivered by the provost of Litzkau to the council at Lateran, he affirmed that the corruption of the world proceeded from the manner in which the priests, instead of preaching the pure word of God, were accustomed to teach the doctrines of so many fables and traditions. The word of life, in his opinion, was alone able to accomplish the spiritual regeneration of man. Thus, even at the period we speak of, it was the sure re-establishment of the holy doctrine, and not the mere reform of manners, that Luther looked to as the means of salvation for the world. He was not, it must be allowed, in complete consistency with himself, for he still entertained contradictory opinions. But a powerful mind was conspicuous in all his writings; he cut asunder, with a desperate hand, the cords with which the systems of the schools had enchained the minds of men; and he bounded beyond every boundary reared to such a height by the ages that had passed, clearing before him new pathways for intellectual pursuits. God was working in him.

The first adversaries he encountered were those famous schoolmen he had himself so deeply studied, and whose opinions then reigned supreme throughout the learning of every academy. He accused these high authorities of Pelagianism; and, setting himself with all his strength in opposition to Aristotle, the father of the school, and against Thomas d'Aquin, he resolved to hurl both the one and the other from off the thrones they severally occupied—the one as king of philosophy, the other as chieftain of theology.*

"Aristotle, Porphyry, and the theologians of maxims," (the divinity schoolmen,) wrote he to Lange, "are the useless or lost studies of our age. There is nothing I desire more ardently than to unveil before a multitude this nonsense, which has made a jest of the church, by taking advantage of a Greek covering, and to expose it in all its ignominy."† In all meetings of public disputation he was heard to repeat—"The writings of the apostles and prophets are more authentic and more sublime than all the sophisms and theology of the schools." Words of such import were new, but by degrees they were recognised as intelligible. About a year after the time now under our notice, Luther was able triumphantly to write these words—"God is at work. Our theology and St Augustin go forward admirably, and rule in all our universities. Aristotle declines; he already shews symptoms of his approaching and eternal ruin. The lessons upon precepts infect every one with ennui. No one need now hope to obtain pupils unless they profess to teach biblical theology."‡ Happy the university whose condition encouraged a testimony so salutary!

At the same time that Luther attacked Aristotle, he equally defended the writings of Erasmus and of Reuchlin against their enemies. He entered into a correspondence with these great men, and with other learned persons, such as Pirckheimer, Mutian, and Hutten, who belonged more or less to the same party. He formed also, at this time, another intimate friendship, which proved of great importance to him during the whole aftercourse of his life.

There appeared, at the period referred to, at the court of the elector, a man distinguished alike by his wisdom and his candour, namely, George Spalatin. Born at Spalatin or Spalt, in the bishopric of Eichstadt, he had formerly acted as priest of the village of Hohenkirch, near to the forest of Thuringia. He was afterwards chosen by Frederick the Wise to discharge the duties of his secretary, his chaplain, and the preceptor of his nephew, John Frederick, who was heir to the electoral crown. Spalatin was a modest man, even among the fascinations of a court; he appeared timorous under the pressure of great events, but circumspect and prudent, like his master,§ in the presence of the ardent Luther, with whom he carried on a daily exchange of sentiments. Like Staupitz, he was rather fitted to shine in peaceable junctures. Still such men are of eminent use; they may be compared to the more delicate frames in which jewels and fine crystals are deposited, to save them from destruction during the

* Aristotelem in philosophicis, sanctum Thomam in theologicis, evertendos susceperat. (Pallavicini, i. 16.) † Perdita studia nostri sæculi. (Ep. i. 15. 8 Feb. 1516.) ‡ Ep. i. 57. (18 May, 1517.) § Secundum genus heri sui. (Weismanni Hist. Eccl. i. p. 1434.)

joltings of the journey. These coverings seem worthless; but without them such precious valuables would inevitably be broken and lost. Spalatin was not a man capable of undertaking or accomplishing a daring enterprise; but he could faithfully complete, and without ostentation, the task given him to perform.* He was primarily one of the chief assistants his master possessed in gathering together those relics of saints so much and so long the admiration of Frederick; but by degrees he directed his attention, with this prince, towards the discovery of the truth. The faith which then reappeared in the precincts of the church, did not attract his notice in a manner so vivid as it had shone before the eyes of Luther. He was conducted, it may be said, by a process more gradual. But he became the friend of Luther at the electoral court, the minister through whose agency all affairs were transacted between the reformer and ruling princes, the mediator between the church and the state. The elector honoured Spalatin with marks of peculiar intimacy, in so much that they always travelled in the same carriage.† Still it is recorded that the air of the court often stifled the senses of the good chaplain, who languished there in sorrowful mood, and longed to quit all the honours of his high station, and to return to the duties of the simple pastor in the woods of Thuringia. But Luther consoled him, and exhorted him to remain steadfast at his present post. Spalatin enjoyed general favour. The princes and the learned men of his time gave proof of their sincere regard for him. Erasmus said—“I inscribe the name of Spalatin, not only among those of my principal friends, but even among those of my most revered protectors, and that not merely on paper, but upon the tablet of my heart.”‡

The question between Reuchlin and the monks created, at the date we have reached, a great sensation throughout all the provinces of Germany. The most pious men felt undecided with regard to the part they ought to take in this dispute; for the monks desired to destroy the Jewish volumes, wherein were found blasphemous expressions against the character of Jesus Christ. The elector commanded his chaplain to consult on this subject the doctor of Wittemberg, whose reputation had already acquired extensive fame. The reply made by Luther was to the following effect, and it was the first letter he wrote to the preacher of the court:—“What shall I say? these monks pretend to drive away Beelzebub, but it is not with the arm of God. I never cease to complain of, and to lament this fact. We Christians commence by being wise out of doors, whilst in our own houses we are beyond ourselves.§ There are in every corner of Jerusalem blasphemies a hundred times worse than those of the Jews, and every place is filled with spiritual idols. We should first, in good earnest, rise up to destroy these inward enemies. But we let alone that which oppresses us, and the devil himself persuades us to abandon what belongs to us, and at the same time prevents us from correcting the faults of others.”

* *Fideliter et sine strepitu fungens.* (Weismanni Hist. Eccl. i. p. 1434.) † *Qui cum principe in rheda sive lectico solitus est ferri.* (Corpus Reformatorum, i. 33.)
‡ *Melch. Ad. Vita Spalat. p. 100.* § *Foris sapere et domi desipere.* (Luther, Ep. i. p. 4.)

CHAPTER VIII.

The Faith—Popular Declarations—Academic Teaching—Moral Purity of Luther—German Theology or Mysticism—The Monk Spenlein—Justification by Faith—Luther upon Erasmus—Faith and Works—Erasmus—Necessity of Works—Practice of Works.

Luther did not compromise himself on the subject of this popular quarrel. A living faith in Christ—this was the object which especially filled his heart and actuated the motives of his life. "In my heart," said he, "reigns single, and ought to reign there alone, faith in my Lord Jesus Christ, who only is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all the thoughts which occupy my mind night and day."*

All his hearers heard with admiration the declarations he made respecting this faith in Jesus Christ, whether they were delivered from the professor's chair or from the pulpit in the temple. His instructions diffused abroad a knowledge of the true light; and wonder was felt that those truths, which appeared so distinct when rehearsed by Luther, had never until then been recognised. "The desire of justifying yourself is the source of all the agonies of the heart," said he. "But he who receives Jesus Christ as his Saviour enjoys peace; and not only peace, but also purity of heart. All sanctification of the heart is the fruit of faith; because faith is in us a divine work, which changes our nature, and bestows on us a new birth proceeding even from God. Faith destroys Adam in us; and by the influence of the Holy Spirit which she imparts, she procures for us a new heart, and causes us to become new men. It is not by means of empty speculations," exclaims he again; "but in this practical manner, we are able to obtain a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ."

It was now that Luther delivered, upon the ten commandments, some discourses, which have been preserved to us under the title of *Popular Declarations*. Without doubt, errors are to be found in these productions. Luther was, in reality, enlightened in his views only by slow degrees. *The path of the just is like the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.* And how many are the truths disclosed in these sermons! how redolent of simplicity—how stirring with eloquence! It is scarcely possible fully to comprehend the effect which the new preacher must have produced upon the feelings of his hearers and of his age.† We will quote but one passage, taken from the beginning of the discourse alluded to.

Luther ascends the pulpit in the church of Wittemberg and reads out these words—"Thou shalt have no other gods." Then, addressing himself to the multitude who filled the sanctuary, he said—"All the sons of Adam are idolaters and breakers of this first commandment."‡

No doubt this strange assertion must have surprised the audience. There is need to justify its averment; and the orator proceeds thus:—"There are two kinds of idolatry, the one an outward demonstration, the other an inward indulgence.

* Præf ad Gal.

† Non per speculationem, sed per hanc viam practicam.

‡ Omnes filii Adæ sunt idolatræ. (Decem Præcepta Wittembergensi populo prædicata per R. P. D. Martinum Luther, Aug. anno 1516.) These Discourses were delivered in German: we quote from the Latin edition, i. p. 1.

"Outward idolatry is concerned in those acts wherein men worship wood, or stone, or beasts, or the stars.

"The inward devotion is observable where men, fearing chastisement or seeking for ease, do not openly worship the creature, but inwardly love its enjoyments and trust for peace therein.

"What sort of religion is this! You do not bend the knee, it is true, before riches and honours, but you offer them your heart, the most noble part of your being. . . . Ah, you would worship God with the body, and with the spirit you would adore the creature.

"This idolatry reigns in the bosom of every man, until he is freely healed by the faith which is in Jesus Christ.

"And how must this cure be effected?

"The way is this. Faith in Christ relieves you from all confidence in your own wisdom, in your own justice, or in your own strength: it teaches you that if Christ had not died for you, and had not thus procured your salvation, neither you nor any other creature could have done so.* Thus you are taught to despise all those things which are no longer useful to you.

"Nothing remains with you but Jesus, Jesus alone, Jesus proving sufficient to gratify every longing of your soul. No longer hoping for any assistance from every creature, you look exclusively to Christ, from whom you hope to receive all, and whom you love more than all beside.

"Now Jesus is the only one true God. When you possess him for your God, you no longer respect any other gods."†

This is the style in which Luther demonstrates in what manner the soul is led back to God, its sovereign good, through the gospel, and in accordance with these words spoken by Christ—*I am the way: no one comes to the Father but by me*. The man who speaks in this strain to his contemporaries did not assuredly contemplate the mere reform of flagrant abuse; his anxious care was to establish, on lasting foundations, the practices of true religion. His work was not simply of a negative nature; it was primarily positive.

Luther in the sequel directs his observations against the many superstitions which then overspread the districts of Christendom, the signs and the mysterious characters, the observances of certain days and of certain months, the familiar demons, the phantoms, the influence of the stars, the witchcrafts, the metamorphoses, the incubuses, the succubuses, the patronage of the saints, &c. &c. &c., he assails one after another these idols, and boldly casts to the ground these false gods.

But it was more particularly in the academy, before an assembly of young men, well instructed, and eager to learn the truth, that Luther disclosed the full treasures of the word of God. "He so forcibly expounded the Scriptures," says his illustrious friend Melancthon, "that, in the opinion of every pious and enlightened man, the exposition resembled the fresh dawning of the light upon a doctrine which had continued hid in the profound darkness of a long night. He exhibited the difference that exists between the law and the

* Nisi ipse pro te mortuus esset, teque servaret, nec tū, nec omnis creatura tibi posset prodesse. (Decem Præ., Luther, 1516.) † At Jesus est verus, unus, solus Deus, quem cum habes non habes alienum deum, (Ibid.)

gospel. He refuted successfully this error, then dominant in the church and in the schools, that men merit, on account of their own works, the remission of their sins, and are made just in the sight of God in virtue of an outward discipline. He thus led back the hearts of men to a love of the Son of God.* Like John the Baptist, he pointed to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. He shewed clearly how sin was freely pardoned for the sake of the Son of God, and how man receives this gift through faith alone. He made no change in ceremonies. The established discipline had not, on the contrary, in its order, a more faithful observer or advocate. But he exerted himself to the utmost in reducing to the comprehension of all, those grand and essential doctrines of conversion, of the remission of sins, of faith, and of those true consolations which are found at the foot of the cross. Pious souls were enraptured and convinced by the meekness of this doctrine, and learned men received it with joy † It was said that Christ, the apostles, and the prophets, were brought forth out of darkness, and from a horrible dungeon. ‡

The steadfastness with which Luther rested all his arguments upon the Scriptures imparted to his system of teaching a positive authority. But other circumstances tended also to increase this extraordinary influence. With him the practices of his life were a transcript of his words. It was acknowledged that his discourses were not the manufacture of the lips,§ but proceeded from the heart, and were manifested in every action he performed; and when, at a later season, the Reformation burst out, many influential men, who beheld with great grief the rending of the church, won over beforehand by the holy manners of the reformer and the splendour of his genius, not only did not oppose his operations, but even embraced the doctrine so evidently confirmed by the example of his conduct. || The more Christian virtues were admired, the more sympathy was expressed in favour of the reformer. Every upright theologian espoused his cause. ¶ Such were the opinions of those who knew him best, and particularly of the wisest man of the age, Melancthon, and of the illustrious adversary of Luther, Erasmus. Envy and prejudice have dared to speak of his dissipations. Wittemberg was changed by his declarations of the faith. This city was converted into the focus from whose heat a fire was to be kindled that must overrun the whole provinces of Germany, and diffuse its light within the walls of every church.

It was in 1516 that Luther published the writings of an anonymous mystic theologian, (probably Ebland, priest at Frankfort,) entitled *German Theology*, wherein the author explains how man might arrive at perfection along the three channels of purification, illumination, and the communion. Luther never embraced any of the views of mystic theology, but he received some salutary impressions there-

* Revocavit igitur Lutherus hominum mentes ad Filium Dei. (Melancth. Vit. Luth.) † Hujus doctrinæ dulcedine pii omnes valde capiebantur, et eruditissimum erat. (Ibid.) ‡ Quasi ex tenebris, carcere squalore, educi Christum, prophetas, apostolos. (Ibid.) § Oratio non in labris nasci, sed in pectore. (Ibid.) || Eique propter auctoritatem, quam sanctitate morum antea præpererat, adsenserunt. (Melancth. Vita Luth.) ¶ Puto et hodie theologos omnes probos favere Lutheri. (Erasmii, Ep. i., 652.)

from. They strengthened him in that disgust inspired by the barren systems of the divinity schools, in his contempt for the works and practices that were so much lauded by the church, in the conviction he felt of the spiritual incapacity of man, and of the necessity of grace, and in his attachment to the Bible. "I prefer before the schoolmen," he writes to Staupitz, "the Mystics and the Bible ;" * placing thus these latter teachers next in place to the sacred writers. Perhaps, also, this *German Theology* assisted him in forming a more correct idea of the sacraments, and especially of the mass ; for the author insists upon the notion that the eucharist gives Christ to man, but does not offer Christ to God. Luther accompanied this publication with a preface, in which he declared that, next to the Bible and St Augustin, he had never met with any book wherein he had learned more concerning God, Christ, man, and all other things. Already many teachers begin to speak evil of the professors of Wittemberg, and accuse them of innovations. "It has been asserted," continues Luther, "that there never were, before this time, men who taught as we have done. Yes, truly, there have been such men ; but the wrath of God, which our sins have deserved, has prevented us from either seeing or hearing them. For long the universities have pushed aside into a corner the word of God. Let this book be read, and then let me know whether our theology be new or not ; for this book is not new." †

But if Luther recognised in mystic theology whatever good was to be gathered therein, he did not adopt any of the evil. The grand error of the Mystics was the denial of gratuitous salvation. And we are about to contemplate an instance of the purity of Luther's faith in this respect.

Luther, possessed of an affectionate and tender heart, desired to see those whom he loved in the enjoyment of that light which had guided him in the paths of peace. He, therefore, took advantage of every opportunity afforded him in his capacity of professor, or of preacher, or of monk, as well as by means of an extensive correspondence, to communicate to others a share in the treasure he had himself acquired. One of his former brethren in the convent of Erfurt, the monk George Spenlein, had now transferred his abode to the monastery of Memmingen, after having, perhaps, passed some time at Wittemberg. Spenlein had entrusted the doctor with the sale of various articles which he had left with him—a tunic of cloth from Brussels, a work of a doctor in Isenach, and a hood. Luther carefully executed this commission. "I have got," said he to Spenlein, in a letter, dated 7th April 1516, "one florin for the tunic, a half-florin for the book, a florin for the hood, and the whole has been remitted to the father vicar, to whom Spenlein owed three florins." But Luther passes quickly from his account of monastic clothing to a subject of much higher importance.

"I would very much like to know," says he, to brother George, "what has become of your soul. Is it not wearied with the ease of its own righteousness? In short, does it not breathe, and put all its confidence in the righteousness of Christ? In our day pride has

* *Illis præfero mysticos et Biblia.* (L. Ep. i. 107. † *Die Deutsche Theologie, Strasbourg, 1519; Præf.*

seduced many, and especially those who apply themselves with all their strength to become just. Not comprehending the righteousness of God, which is freely given to us in Jesus Christ, they wish to stand before him in the strength of their own merits. But this can never be. When you lived along with us you were sunk in this error, and so was I. Indeed I am still fighting against its power unceasingly, and have not yet gained the victory.

"Oh, my dear brother! learn to know Christ, and Christ crucified. Learn to sing for him a new song, and say—'Thou, Lord Jesus, thou art my righteousness: as for me, I am thy sin. Thou has taken what attaches to me, and hast given me that which belongs to thyself.* That which thou wert not thou hast become, in order that I might become that which I was not.' Take care, O my dear George! not to pretend to possess a purity so clear, that you would not wish to acknowledge yourself a sinner. For Christ only dwells in the heart of sinners. He has descended from heaven, where he lived among the just, so that he might likewise dwell in the bosom of sinners. Meditate seriously upon this love of Christ, and you will reap from it ineffable consolation. If our own works and our afflictions were sufficient to secure for us peace of conscience, wherefore has Christ died? You can only find peace in him by despairing of yourself and all your works, and by learning the force of that love with which he opens his arms to receive you; laying on him the burthen of all your sins, and receiving from him all his righteousness."

In this manner the same all-powerful doctrine which had before saved the world in the time of the apostles, and which was destined a second time to save it in the days of the reformers, was exposed by Luther with force and clearness. Passing over many centuries of ignorance and superstition, he here, as it were, joins hands with St Paul.

Nor was Spenlein the only friend Luther endeavoured to persuade into the belief of this fundamental doctrine. The little truth he found on this subject among the writings of Erasmus gave him much uneasiness. He, therefore, strove to enlighten the mind of a man whose authority was so extensive and whose genius was so splendid. But how could he accomplish this purpose? His friend at court, the chaplain of the elector, was greatly respected by Erasmus; and it is to this person Luther addresses himself. "What displeases me in the works of Erasmus, that man of astonishing erudition, my dear Spalatin," writes he to his friend, "is, that by the justice of works or of the law, spoken of by the apostle, he understands the accomplishment of the ceremonial law. The justification of the law does not consist alone in the fulfilment of these ceremonies, but in all the commandments of the Decalogue. When these works are performed independent of any faith in Christ, they may, it is true, come up to the standard of a Fabricius or of a Regulus, or of many other men of perfect integrity in the eyes of the world, but they as little deserve even then to be called justice, as the fruit of a medlar tree deserves

* Tu Domine Jesu, es justitia mea; ego autem sum peccatum tuum; tu assumpsisti meum, et dedisti mihi tuum. (Luth. Ep. i., p. 17.)

to be called a fig : because we do not become just, as Aristotle pretends, by accomplishing acts of justice ; but when we become just, we then perform deeds of that description.* The person must first be changed, and after that his works. Abel was, in the first instance, pleasing in the sight of God, and then his sacrifices were acceptable." Luther continues, "I pray you fulfil the duty of a friend and of a Christian, by making these things known to Erasmus." This letter bears the following date—"In haste, from the corner of our convent, the 19th of October 1516." It placed in the proper light the connexion between Luther and Erasmus. It plainly shewed the sincere interest the former took in that which he believed to be for the real advantage of this illustrious author. No doubt, at an after period, the opposition exhibited by Erasmus to the truth forced Luther to oppose his doings more openly ; but he did not adopt such a course without first seeking to enlighten his antagonist on the subject of their dispute.

Ideas at once clear and profound on the nature of real good were now carefully given to the public. The following principle was at the same time proclaimed, that what constitutes the real worth of a work, is not its exterior form, but the spirit in which it is performed. And this proved a death-blow to all the superstitious observances which for so many centuries had stifled the church, and prevented therein the growth and prosperity of every Christian virtue.

"I read Erasmus once more," writes Luther ; "but from day to day he loses credit in my opinion. * I admire his assault, carried on with so much firmness and science, against the priests and the monks, touching their morbid ignorance, but I fear he will not be found to render much service to the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Those things which regard mankind have more influence over his heart than the things which belong to God.† We live in dangerous times ; and one cannot be considered a good and judicious Christian because he understands Greek and Hebrew. Jerome, who was acquainted with five languages, is a man of less note than Augustin, who only knew the use of one, even though Erasmus thinks otherwise. I conceal with great care my sentiments respecting Erasmus, for fear of advancing the cause of his enemies. Perhaps the Lord will give him understanding in his own good time."‡

The impotence of man and the sovereign power of God, these were the two truths Luther was anxious to establish. No religion or philosophy can be more sad than those which send man back to the resources of his natural powers. Bygone ages have brought these powers to the test in all their pride ; and whilst man has, by his own faculties, arrived at an admirable height of knowledge concerning his terrestrial existence, he has never yet been able either to dispel a single cloud of that darkness which covers from his intelligence the knowledge of the true God, or yet to change one thought of his heart. The most exalted wisdom attained by the spirits of loftiest ambition, or by souls burning with a desire to reach perfection, has

* Non enim justa agendo justī efficiuntur : sed justī fiendo et essendo, operantur justā. (Luth. Ep. i., p. 22.) † Humana prævalent in eo plusquam divina. ‡ Dabit ei Dominus intellectum suo forte tempore. (Ibid., p. 32.)

been to despair of themselves.* No doctrine, therefore, can be more generous, more consoling, or more true, than that which discloses our own weakness, in order to exhibit the power of God, whereby we are enabled to do all things. This reformation is truly grand in asserting upon earth the glory of heaven, and pleading in behalf of man the rights of an omnipotent God.

But no person knew better than Luther the intimate and indissoluble connexion which exists between the gratuitous salvation bestowed by God and the free works of man. No person ever demonstrated more clearly than him, how it was only by receiving all things from Christ, man was able to confer many benefits upon his brethren of mankind. He always represented these two agencies, that of God and that of man, in the same picture. It is in this manner that, after having exposed to brother Spenlein the nature of that righteousness which alone has power to save, he adds—"If you firmly believe those things, as you ought to do, (for cursed is every one that believes them not,) receive kindly still your ignorant and erring brethren, as Jesus Christ has also received you; bear them with patience; make their sins your own; and if you have any good thing in possession, communicate its interest to them. Receive you one another, says the apostle, as Christ has also received us for the glory of God. No justice is more mournful than that which wishes not to assist others, because it has found them in an evil condition, and which only seeks to obtain the solitude of the desert, in place of doing good to such by patient treatment, by prayers, and by example. If you are the lily and the rose of Christ, remember that your dwelling is among thorns. Only be careful that, by your impatience, your rash judgments, and your hidden pride, you may not yourself become a thorn. Christ reigns in the midst of his enemies. Had he only chosen to live in the midst of the good, and only to have died for those who loved him, for whom, I ask you, has he died, and in the midst of what associates did he live?"

It is affecting to contemplate how Luther enjoined upon himself the practice of these precepts of charity. An Augustin of Erfurt, George Leiffer, was exposed to many trials. Luther became acquainted with the fact, and eight days after he had written the letter to Spenlein, he composed a compassionate address to Leiffer. "I hear that you are buffeted about by many tempests, and that your spirit is driven here and there by the waves. . . . The cross of Christ is divided over the whole globe, and he casts to every one his share of it. Do not you then reject the portion allotted you. Receive it, rather as a holy relic, not indeed in a vase of silver or gold, but, what is much more preferable, in a heart of gold, in a heart full of meekness. If the wood of the cross has been sanctified to such a degree by the blood and body of Christ, that we regard it as the most splendid of all relics, how much more ought injuries, persecutions, and the hatred, of men to become for us like holy relics, seeing that they were not only borne by the flesh of Christ, but that they have been embraced, and kissed, and blessed by his immense charity for man."†

* *Τί σὺν ; δυνάμει δυνάμενός σου εἶναι ἥδη ;* How ! is it possible not to sin ? asks Epictetus (iv. 12, 19.) *Διμύχανον* Impossible! replied he. † . . . *Sanctissimæ reliquie . . . deificæ voluntatis suæ charitate amplexæ osculatæ.* (L. Ep. i. 18.)

CHAPTER IX.

First Theses—The Old Man and Grace—Visit to the Convents—Dresden—Erfurt—Tornator—Peace of the Cross
—Results of the Journey—Labour—Fest.

The instructions of Luther were productive of much good. Many of his pupils felt themselves already constrained to profess openly the truths which the lessons of their master had revealed to them. Among these students there was included a young scholar, Bernard de Feldkirchen, professor of natural philosophy, as taught by Aristotle, in the university, and who five years afterwards became the first evangelical clergyman who entered into the bonds of matrimony.

Luther directed Feldkirchen to maintain, under his presidency, certain theses in which his principles were exposed. The doctrines professed by Luther acquired in this manner a fresh publicity. These disputations took place in the year 1516. And in them we find the first attack made by Luther against the sway of sophists and against Popery, as he has himself declared. However weak this assault may have been, it caused him much disquietude. "I agree that these propositions may be printed," said he, many years after, when they were about to be published along with his other works, "principally in order that the grandeur of my cause, and the success with which God has crowned my labours, may not elevate my spirits. Because they (the expositions) plainly discover my ignominy, that is to say, the weakness and ignorance, the fear and trembling, in which I began this struggle. I was alone; I threw myself imprudently into the vortex of this affair; and, not being able to escape, I yielded many important points to the pope, and even worshipped him."*

The following are some of the propositions alluded to:—†

"The old man is the vanity of vanities; he is the universal vanity; and renders vain all other creatures, however good they may be.

"The old man is called *the flesh*, not only because he is led by the inordinate desires of the senses, but also because that, even were he chaste, prudent, and just, he is not born again, of God, by the Spirit.

"A man who is without the pale of the grace of God cannot observe the commandments of God, nor prepare himself in whole or in part to receive this grace; but necessarily remains under sin.

"The will of man without grace is not free, but is a slave, and is one according to its own pleasure.

"Jesus Christ, our strength, our righteousness, he who tries the hearts and the reins, is alone the searcher and judge of our merits.

"Seeing that all things are possible by means of Christ, to him who believes, the believer is scrupulous of seeking any other succour, whether it be from the human will or from saints."‡

The disputation spoken of created an astonishing sensation, and has been considered by many as the commencement of the Reformation.

The moment approaches wherein that Reformation was about to

* Sed etiam ultro adorabam. (Luther, Op. Lat. i. p. 50.) † Luth. Op. (L.) xvii. p. 142, and in the Latin works, vol. i. p. 51. ‡ Cum Credenti omnia sint, auctore Christo, possibilia, superstitiosum est, humano arbitrio, aliis sanctis, alia deputari auxilia. (Ibid.)

write letters during the whole course of every day. I am the preacher to the convent, speaker at the table, pastor and preacher of the parish, director of studies, vicar of the prior, (that is to say, eleven times prior!) inspector of the pools of Litzkau, protector of the lodging-houses of Herzberg at Torgau, lecturer of St Paul, commentator on the Psalms. . . . I have rarely time left to say my stated prayers or to sing, without talking of the combats with flesh and blood, and with the devil, and with the world. . . . Learn by these details what an idle man I must be." . . . *

About this time the plague was declared as raging in Wittemberg. A great proportion of the students and teachers quitted the place. Luther remained at his post. "I am not sure," writes he to his friend at Erfurt, "if the plague will permit me to finish the Epistle to the Galatians. It makes, promptly and vigorously, great ravages, especially among the young. You advise me to fly—whither shall I fly to? I hope the world will not tumble over although brother Martin should fall.† If the plague gains strength, I will disperse the brethren in all directions. But for me, I am placed here; discipline forbids me to flee, until he who has called me here recalls me from my present position. Not that I do not fear death, (for I am not the apostle Paul—I am no more than his commentator;) but I hope the Lord will deliver me from this fear." Such was the constancy of the doctor of Wittemberg. He whom the plague could not compel to draw back one footstep, will he recoil before the walls of Rome? Will he yield to the fears of the scaffold?

CHAPTER X.

Relations between Luther and the Elector—Luther and the Elector—Councils to the Chaplain—The Duke George—His Secretary—Luther before the Court—Dinner at the Court—The Evening in the House of Emser.

The same courage displayed by Luther in the face of the most formidable evils he also exhibited before the powers of this world. The elector was much pleased with the conduct of the vicar-general. This functionary had secured in the Netherlands an excellent assortment of relics. Luther gives an account of them to Spalatin. It is indeed curious to observe how this affair of the relics had engaged attention at the very moment when the Reformation was about to commence. Most assuredly the reformers little knew where they should begin in this important business. A bishopric appeared to the elector as the only recompense worthy of the services of the vicar-general. Luther, to whom Spalatin communicated this proposal, strongly disapproved of the meditated promotion. "There are many things which are agreeable to your prince," replied he, "that are, nevertheless, displeasing to God. I do not deny that he is clever with regard to the things of this world; but in what concerns God and the salvation of souls, I consider him as seven times blinded, and so I also think of his counsellor Pfeffinger. I do not use these words like a calumniator behind their backs, and I pray you do not hide their meaning from them; for I am ready myself now, and on all occasions,

* Ep. i., p. 41, to Lange, 26th Oct. 1516. † Quo fugiam? Spero quod non corruet orbis, ruente fratre Martino. (Ep. i., p. 42, of 26th Oct. 1516.)

to tell both of them as much before their faces. Wherefore would you desire," continues he, "to surround that man (Staupitz) with all the turmoil and the obligations of episcopal solitudes?"*

The elector did not take amiss the freedom of speech used by Luther. "The prince," writes Spalatin, "often speaks of you, and in the most honourable terms." Frederick sent to the monk a habit of his order made of very superior cloth. "It would be too fine," said Luther, "were it not the gift of a prince. I am not worthy of being remembered by any one, much less by a prince, and by so great a prince. Those that are most useful to me, are those who think worst of me.† Return my best thanks to our prince for his kindness; but know that I do not desire to be praised, either by you or by any other man, all the applause received from men being vain, and the only true approbation being that which comes from God."

The worthy chaplain was anxious not to limit his exertions within the confines of his duties at court; but, like many others in all ages, he wished to act so as not to wound the feelings of any, or to cause anger in the mind of a single individual, but rather to conciliate general approbation. "Point out to me," he writes to Luther, "some writings to translate into the vulgar tongue, but writings that will both be useful and ensure general favour."—"Agreeable and useful!" replied Luther: "This request exceeds my power to fulfil it. The more excellent things are, the less they please. Who has been more salutary than Jesus Christ? and yet, he is for the greater number of men like the offensive smell of death. You acknowledge that you only wish to be useful to those who admire that which is good; then spread abroad nothing else save the knowledge of Jesus Christ: you shall then be useful, you may depend upon it, but only to a very small number; for the sheep are few in this region of wolves."‡

Luther, at same time, recommended to his friend the sermons of the dominican Tauler. "I have never seen," says he, "neither in Latin nor in our own language, theology more sound or more conformable with the maxims of the gospel. Taste then, and see how pleasant the Lord is, but after you shall have first seen and tasted how very bitter we ourselves are."§

It was in the course of the year 1517 Luther entered into connexion with duke George of Saxony. The house of Saxony had at this time two heads. Two princes, Ernest and Albert, carried away in their youth from the castle of Altenbourg by Kunz of Kaufungen, had become, by the treaty of Leipsic, the founders of two houses, which still bear their names. The elector Frederick, son of Ernest, was, at the date we now speak of, the head of the Ernestine, while his cousin, the duke George, was that of the Albertine branch. Dresden and Leipsic were situate within the state of the duke, who resided, in general, in the former of these cities. His mother, Sidonia, was a daughter of the king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad. The long conflict which Bohemia had sustained against Rome, since the days of John Huss, had exercised a certain influence over the temper of the

* Multa placent principi tuo, quæ Deo displicent. (L. Ep. i. 26.) † Si mihi maxime prosunt, qui mei pessime meminerint. (Ibid. 45.) ‡ Quo sunt aliqua salubriora eo minus placent. (L. Ep. i. p. 46.) § Quam amarum est quicquid nos sumus. (Ibid. p. 46.)

prince of Saxony. He had often expressed himself desirous of witnessing a great reformation. "He had been nursed by his mother, it was said, in this feeling. He is by nature an enemy to the clergy."* He sought to annoy, in various ways, the bishops, abbots, canons, and monks; whilst his cousin, the elector Frederick, was more than once urged to interfere in their favour. It would appear, indeed, as if duke George was doomed to be the warmest partisan of a Reformation, and that the devout Frederick, on the contrary, who had but lately put on, within the holy sepulchre, the spur of Godfrey; who had girded on the large and weighty sword of the conqueror of Jerusalem, and taken an oath to fight for the church, in imitation of the valiant knights of old, was equally fated to be the most ardent champion of Rome. But when the gospel is concerned, all the predictions of human wisdom are often deceptive. The very opposite of what had entered the imaginations of men really occurred. The duke had taken pleasure in humbling the church and the persons belonging to the church, and to cast down bishops whose princely train far surpassed the splendour of his own; but to receive within his heart the evangelical doctrine which taught him to humble himself, to acknowledge himself a sinner, guilty, and incapable of being saved but through the means of grace, was a very different matter. He had willingly striven to reform others, but he had made no progress in the accomplishment of his own reform. He had, perhaps, undertaken such enterprises in order to oblige the bishop of Mentz to content himself with only one bishopric, and to have no more than fourteen horses in his stables, as the duke had more than once declared:† but when he saw another in his stead become reformer too; when he saw a simple monk engaged in the work, and beheld the Reformation gaining numerous adherents among the people, the proud grandson of the Bohemian king became the most violent adversary of the same reform whose cause he had before so ardently espoused.

In the month of July 1517, duke George commanded Staupitz to send him an able and eloquent preacher. Staupitz sent Luther, recommending him as a man of great knowledge and unimpeachable conduct. The prince consequently invited Luther to preach at Dresden, in the chapel of the castle, on the saint's day of the Elder James.

The day arrived, and the duke with his court attended at church with the purpose of there hearing the preacher of Wittenberg deliver a discourse. Luther accepted with joy this opportunity of bearing witness to the truth before such a distinguished assembly. He chose for his text the gospel of the day—*Then came to him the mother of Zebedee's children, with her sons.* (Saint Matth., ch. xxix. 20-23.) He reasoned upon the foolish desires and requests of men; and afterwards continued with a forcible address upon the assurance of salvation. He made this latter doctrine to rest upon the following ground, that those who hear the word of God with faith are the true disciples of Jesus Christ, elected to everlasting life. He also referred to the doctrine of free election. He shewed that this principle, when presented in its union with the work of Christ, possessed a happy in-

* Luth. Op., (W.) xxii., p. 1849:

† (Ibid.)

fluence in dissipating the fears of conscience, so that men, instead of fleeing to a distance from the holy God, at the recollection of their own unworthiness, are led with calmness to seek in him their only portion and certain refuge. Lastly, he repeated a parable of three virgins, from which he drew a lesson of edifying instruction.

The word of truth made a deep impression upon the minds of his auditors. Two of them, in particular, seemed to pay marked attention to the discourse of the monk of Wittemberg. The first of these personages was a lady of respectable appearance, who sat upon the seats occupied by the court, and upon whose countenance it was easy to distinguish the workings of profound emotion. Her name was Madame de la Sale, and she was the grand mistress of the duchess. The next was a licentiate in canon law, the secretary and counsellor of the duke Jerome Emser. Emser was endowed with superior talents, and had acquired extensive information. He was a man of the court, politic and clever, and longed to please at the same time the two opposing parties; to be considered at Rome the defender of Popery, and to shine simultaneously in Germany among the learned men of the age. But under cloak of this flexible spirit there was concealed the germ of violent passions. It was in the chapel of the castle at Dresden Luther and Emser first met each other, who, in after times, were fated to break more than one lance in the conflict that ensued.

The hour of dinner was announced to the inhabitants of the castle; and immediately the ducal family and the individuals attached to the court were assembled together around the table. The conversation naturally turned upon the merits of the preacher of the morning. "How did the sermon please you?" said the duke to Madame de la Sale. "Could I but be privileged to hear such another discourse," replied she, "I should die in peace." "And as for me," retorted George, in anger, "I would give a great deal of money not to have heard it; because discourses like it are only good for making people sin with assurance."

The master having thus openly disclosed his opinion, the courtisans at his table expressed their discontent on the subject without constraint. Every one had their remark fully prepared. Some asserted that in the parable of the three virgins Luther alluded to three ladies of the court: giving rise to interminable babblings. They make jokes upon the three ladies to whom the monk of Wittemberg had thus, they were sure, publicly referred.* He is an ignorant fellow says one, and he is a proud monk cries out others. Each person talks of the sermon after their own fancy, and reports the preacher to have said whatever they chose to imagine. The truth had been declared in the middle of a court little prepared to receive its solemn warnings. Every one attacks its precepts at their pleasure. But whilst the word of God had thus given occasion for many to stumble thereat, it proved, in the case of the grand mistress, a wall of protection. A month after the time we speak of, she was taken ill, and in sickness embraced with confidence the offered grace of the Saviour, in whose faith she died with gladness in her soul.†

With regard to the character of the duke, it was not perhaps in

* Has tres postea in aula principis a me notatas garrierunt. (L. Ep. i. 86.)

† Keith, Leb. Luther, p. 22.

vain that he had listened to this bold witness in favour of the truth. Whatever might have been the opposition he evinced during his lifetime towards the cause of the Reformation, it is known that at the hour of his death, he declared he encouraged no other hope save in the merits of Jesus Christ.

It was natural for Emser to shew tokens of respect for Luther in the name of his master. He, therefore, invited the monk to sup with him. Luther refused the invitation; but Emser insisted, and obliged him to come to his house. Luther supposed he should be called upon merely to meet with a few friends; but he very soon discovered that a snare had been laid for him.* A master of arts from Leipsic and several Dominicans were present in the house of the prince's secretary. The master of arts, full of high ideas of his own talents, and with hatred for Luther, addressed the latter at first with a friendly and affected air; but very soon adopted another sort of manner, and spoke at the top of his voice.† The conflict waxed warm. The dispute referred, says Luther, to the fooleries of Aristotle and St Thomas.‡ At last, Luther defied the master of arts to define, with all the erudition of the Thomites, what was meant by fulfilling the commandments of God. The master of arts in embarrassment assumed a dignified look, and said, holding out his hand, "Pay me my fees, *da pastum*." It was suggested that he wished to begin a series of lessons upon the rules, securing the guests at table as his scholars. At this stupid reply, adds the reformer, we began to laugh, and soon after left the house of the secretary.

During the conversation we have noticed above, one of the Dominicans had listened to the dispute outside of the door. He wished to enter the room for the purpose of spitting in Luther's face.§ He kept back, however, from the presence of the company, but boasted of his intentions afterwards. Emser, delighted with the scene of contention carried on between his guests, whilst he appeared to observe a happy neutrality, was eager to offer a hundred apologies to Luther for the manner in which he had been treated during the evening's entertainment.|| Luther returned immediately afterwards to his residence at Wittemberg.

CHAPTER XI.

Return to Wittemberg.—Theses.—Nature of Man and Rationalism Question at Erfurt.—Fek.—Urban Regius.—Modesty of Luther.

Luther resumed, with his wonted zeal, the labours of his office. He prepared six or seven young theologians, who were soon to undergo their examinations in order to obtain licenses to teach. The chief cause of Luther's joy on this occasion was, that the promotions now contemplated were calculated to bring infamy upon the works of Aristotle. "I am most desirous how quickly his enemies may be multiplied,"¶ said he; and with this view he then published some theses which deserve our attention.

* Inter medias me insidias conjectum. (L. Ep. i. 85.) † In me acriter et clamose invectus est. (Ibid.) ‡ Super Aristotelis et Thomæ nugis. (Ibid.)
§ Ne prodiret et in faciem meam spueret. (Ibid.) || Enixe se excusavit.
¶ Cujus vellem hostes cito quam plurimos fieri. (Ibid. 59.)

Liberty, this was the grand subject to which he directed his expositions. He had already glanced at this sublime object in the theses of Feldkirchen; but he now more thoroughly examined its qualifications. There has existed, from the commencement of the Christian era, a conflict, more or less active, between the two doctrines of the liberty of man and of his subjection. Some schoolmen have averred, like Pelagius and other teachers, that man possessed in himself full liberty, or the power of loving God and of doing good. Luther denied the force of this liberty, not with the view of depriving man of its benefits, but, on the contrary, with the desire to shew how it might be obtained. The question, then, in this grand struggle, is not, as is usually supposed, between liberty and servitude; it is between a liberty proceeding from man himself and a liberty proceeding from God. Those who constitute themselves the partisans of liberty say to men—"You have the power to do good or right, and you have no need to possess any greater liberty than this." The individuals, on the other hand, who have been designated the partisans of servitude, say to men on the contrary—"You are wanting true liberty, but God offers it to you in the gospel." On the one side, mention is made of liberty to ensure servitude; whilst on the other, notice is taken of servitude in order to procure liberty. Such was the nature of this quarrel equally in the times of St Paul, of Augustin, and of Luther. Those who say, Do not change anything! are the champions of servitude. The others who say, Let your chains fall! are the champions of liberty.

But it would be a grievous error to suppose that the whole subject of the Reformation is contained in the terms of this particular question. It is one of the numerous doctrines contended for by the doctor of Wittemberg; and this is all that can be said of it with reference to the cause of the Reformation. It would, indeed, be a strange delusion to imagine that the Reformation was no more than an instance of fatality—an opponent of liberty. It was, in truth, a magnificent emancipation of the mind and spirit of man. Breaking to pieces the numerous cords with which the hierarchy had bound in fetters the human understanding. Reinstating the ideas of liberty, of right, and of inquiry, the Reformation set free from bondage at once the spirits of her own age, of our particular epoch, and of posterity to the end of time. And although it may be asserted, it is true, by the man of supreme human despotism, that the Reformation does not set him free, but that she rather binds him in the chains of slavery by proclaiming the absolute sovereignty of grace, it is allowed, without hesitation, that her purpose is to lead back the human towards the Divine will—to bring the former into subjection to the latter—to amalgamate them together. But where is the philosopher who is ignorant of the fact that full conformity to the will of God is the only sovereign, perfect liberty, and that man can never be truly free but when supreme justice and eternal truth are born anew in him, and have regenerated his whole being?

The following are some of the ninety-nine propositions exhibited to the church by Luther in opposition to the Pelagian rationalism of scholastic theology:—

"It is true that man, who has become a bad tree or evil agent, can only wish or do that which is evil.

"It is not true that the will, left to herself, is able to perform the good as well as the evil; for she is not free, but captive.

"It is not in the power of the will of man to choose or not to choose everything that is offered to its acceptance.

"Man cannot naturally wish that God should be God. He would prefer to be God himself, and that God were not God.

"The excellent, the infallible, the only preparation for grace, is election and the eternal predestination of God.*

"It is false to say that if man does all that he can he destroys the obstacles to grace.

"In a word, nature neither possesses a pure reason nor a good will.†

"On the part of man there is nothing that precedes grace, if it is not weakness, and even rebellion.

"There is no moral virtue without pride or without sorrow; that is to say, without sin.

"From the beginning to the end we are not the masters of our own actions, but we are their slaves.

"We do not become just by doing the things that are just; but having become just, we perform just deeds.

"He who says that a theologian who is not a logician is a heretic and a prevaricator, upholds an heretical and captious proposal.

"There is no form of reasoning (of syllogism) which agrees with the things of God.‡

"If the form of syllogism could be applied to divine objects, the article of the Holy Trinity would be explained, and not believed in merely.

"In a word, Aristotle is to theology as darkness is to light.

"Man is more an enemy to the grace of God than he is even to the law itself.

"He who is beyond the pale of the grace of God, sins without ceasing, even although he neither kills, nor steals, nor commits adultery.

"He sins, because he does not fulfil the law in a spiritual sense.

"Not to kill, nor to commit adultery outwardly only, and as regards the action, is the justice of hypocrites.

"The law of God and the will of man are two opponents which, without the grace of God, cannot be made to agree.§

"That which the law enjoins, she will never acquiesce in, unless through fear or love she may make a show of willing it.

"The law is the execution of the will; but the former only receives as master the Child who has been born for us.|| (Isaiah, ix. 6.)

"The law forces the abandonment of justice through Jesus Christ, who makes the law a delight.

"All the works of the law appear good without; but they are sins in the inner man.

* Optima et infallibilis ad gratiam præparatio et unice dispositio, est æterna Dei electio et prædestinatio. (L. Op. Lat. i. 56.) † Breviter, nec rectum dictatum habet natura nec bonam voluntatem. (Ibid.) ‡ Nulla forma syllogistica tenet in terminis divinis. (Ibid.) § Lex et voluntas sunt adversarii duo, sine gratia Dei implacabiles. (Ibid.) || Lex est exactor voluntatis, qui non superatur nisi per Parvulum qui natus est nobis. (Ibid.)

"The will, when it turns towards the law without the grace of God, only does so for its own interest.

"Cursed are all those who do the works of the law.

"Blessed are all those who do the works of the grace of God.

"The law which is good, and in which we have life, is the love of God which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit. (Rom. v. 5.)

"Grace is not given in order that works may be more frequently and more easily performed, but because that without grace it is impossible to do any work of love.

"To love God is to hate oneself and to know nothing without God."*

Thus Luther attributes to God all the good that man can do. He does not use his exertions to remodel or to patch up, if we may so speak, the will of man; it is absolutely requisite to procure for him a new will. God alone is able to say so, because God alone has power to accomplish the promise. And this is one of the greatest and most important truths which the human mind is able to acknowledge.

But Luther, in proclaiming the impotence of man, does not fall into the opposite extreme. He says, in the eighth thesis—"It does not follow from this that the will must be naturally bad; that is to say, that its nature must be that of evil itself, as the Rationalists have insinuated."† The nature of man was originally and essentially good; it has turned away from the good, which is God, and inclined towards evil. Nevertheless its holy and glorious origin remains, and it is capable, by the power of God, of recovering this original. The work of Christianity is to bestow it anew. The gospel shews us, it is true, man sunk into a state of humiliation and impotence, but between two conditions of glory and of grandeur—namely, a glory that is past, from which he has been precipitated, and a future glory, to which he has been called to look as awaiting him. This is the truth; man knows it; and however little he may be given to think, he easily discovers that all the assurances given him of his purity, of his power, and of his actual glory, are nothing else than lies forged to lull his pride asleep.

Luther in his admirable theses, does not merely assail the pretended goodness of the will of man, but also, with equal force, the pretended light of his reason with regard to divine objects. In fact, the divinity schools had exalted reason as unnaturally as they had exalted the will. Their theology, as explained by some of their teachers, was no more in reality than a kind of Rationalism. The propositions we have quoted demonstrate this truth. We might almost be led to suppose that they were directed against the Rationalism of our own day. In the theses which formed the signal of the Reformation, Luther lays to the charge of the church and to the popular superstitions the adding of indulgences, purgatory, and many other abuses to the gospel. In those we have just referred to, he accuses the schools and Rationalism of having taken away from the same gospel the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, of his revelation,

* L. Op. Lips. xvii., p. 143, et Op. Lat. i.

† Nec ideo sequitur quod sit naturaliter mala, id est natura mali, secundum Manichæos. (Ibid.)

and of his grace. The Reformation directed its attacks upon Rationalism before assailing the defences of superstition. She proclaimed the rights of God before cutting off the excrescences of man. She adopted the positive ere she assumed the negative propositions. This is a fact which has not been sufficiently recognised; and yet, while it is neglected, it is impossible to arrive at a just appreciation of that religious revolution or of its nature.

However this may be, the truths which Luther had just expressed with so much energy in the times we allude to, were indeed new. It was for him an easy thing to support his opinions in Wittemberg, where his influence so much prevailed. It had been asserted that he had made choice of a field of battle in which he knew no combatants dared to appear. In offering a conflict within the confines of another university, he secured for his opinions a greater publicity; and it was by means of publicity the Reformation was destined to operate. Luther turned his attention upon Erfurt, where the theologians of the day had exhibited a strong feeling against his propositions.

He, therefore, sent a copy of his theses to John Lange, the prior at Erfurt, and thus addressed him—"My expectation of how you will decide upon these paradoxes is great, extreme, perhaps too urgent, and full of anxiety. I strongly suspect you theologians consider as paradox and *even kakodor*,* that which appears to me as indeed truly orthodox. Let me know, then, as soon as possible how matters stand. Be so good as let it be known to the faculty of theology, and to all, that I am ready to come to Erfurt, and to support publicly these same propositions, whether it be in the university or in the monastery." It does not appear that this challenge from Luther was accepted. The monks of Erfurt contented themselves with telling him that his theses were highly displeasing to their order.

But Luther felt desirous to publish, in another part of Germany, the substance of his propositions. He, with this intention, turned his observation upon a man who afterwards played a conspicuous part in the history of the Reformation, and with whom it is necessary to become acquainted.

A distinguished professor, named John Meyen, at this time delivered lectures in the university of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria. He had been born at Eck, a village in Swabia, and was usually denominated Doctor Eck. He was a friend of Luther, who highly appreciated his talents and acquirements. Full of energy, Eck had read a great deal, and was possessed of an excellent memory. To his erudition he joined the accomplishment of eloquence. His action and his voice imparted a brilliancy to the vivacity of his genius. Eck was in the south of Germany, with respect to talents, the same example as Luther was in the north. They were the two most remarkable theologians of the period, although displaying tendencies quite opposed to each other. Ingolstadt was almost the rival of Wittemberg. The reputation of these two teachers drew from all parts, to the universities wherein they taught, a crowd of students eager to receive information from their instructions. Their personal qualifications, not less than their knowledge, rendered them dear to their pupils. The character

* Imo caco oxa (bad doctrine) videri suspicor. (L. Ep. i. 60.)

of Doctor Eck has been severely commented upon ; but one trait of his life will shew that in this age of monks his heart was not shut against generous practices.

Among the number of students whom his fame had attracted to the university of Ingolstadt, there was found a young man called Urban Regius, born upon the borders of a lake on the Alps. This young person had formerly studied at the college of Fribourg, in Brisgau. Arrived at Ingolstadt, whither he had been attracted by the celebrity of Doctor Eck, Urban there prosecuted his studies in philosophy, and conciliated the favour of his professor. Obligated to procure for himself the necessaries of life, he undertook the superintendence of the studies of some young noblemen. He was intrusted, in this occupation, not merely with the surveillance of their conduct and their learning, but also with the purchase of the books and clothes required by the youths under his charge. These youths were wont to dress themselves in the most approved style of fashion, and to live somewhat luxuriantly. Regius, distracted by such extravagances, besought the parents to recall their sons. "Take courage," it was said to Regius. Still his debts increased, his creditors were urgent, and he knew not what to do. The emperor at the moment was assembling together an army to oppose the Turks. Officers of the recruiting service arrived at Ingolstadt. In an instant of despair Urban enlisted. Dressed in a military jacket, he appeared among the ranks at the hour when the examination of those who were ready to depart was announced. At this very crisis Eck arrived, with several of his colleagues, at the square where the young soldiers were drawn out. With surprise he recognised his student in the middle of this line of recruits. "Urban Regius!" said he, casting his piercing eye upon the young man. "I am here," replied the recruit. "What, I pray you, is the cause of this change?" The youth rehearses his story. "I take upon myself the management of this affair," replied Eck. Then taking hold of his arms, he restored them into the hands of the recruiting party. The parents of the young noblemen, threatened by the doctor with an exposure before the prince, remitted the money necessary to defray the extravagant outlay of their children. Urban Regius was thus preserved to become in after life one of the strenuous supporters of the Reformation.

It was to Doctor Eck Luther resolved to communicate his theses upon Pelagianism and Scholastic Rationalism, in order to ensure their diffusion throughout the southern districts of Germany. He did not, however, send them directly to the professor at Ingolstadt, but he addressed his correspondence to their mutual friend, the excellent Christopher Scheurl, secretary of the city of Nuremberg, requesting him to forward the propositions to Eck, at Ingolstadt, a town not far distant from Nuremberg. "I send you," said Luther, "my propositions entirely paradoxical, and even kakistodoxical, (κακιστοδοξας) as they have appeared to many. Forward them to our dear Eck, to that very learned and very able man, so that I may learn and see what he thinks of them."* It is in this manner Luther then spoke

* *Eccio nostro, eruditissimo et ingeniosissimo viro exhibete, ut audiam et videam quid vocet illas. (Luth. Ep. i v. 63.)*

of Doctor Eck. Such was the friendship which united them together at first; and it was not Luther who dissolved this close connexion.

But it was not in an instant the conflict was doomed to commence. These theses had reference, perhaps, to doctrines of higher importance than those which, two months afterwards, succeeded in setting the church in a blaze; and nevertheless, in spite of the urgency of Luther, they were passed over unattended to. They were read more or less within the walls of the schools, but they created no sensation on the public mind. The reason was, that in the propositions immediately under our notice, doctrines of theology fitted for the use of universities were alone referred to, whilst the theses which followed them treated upon an evil that had grown up in the middle of the people, and which then overflowed every quarter of the German empire. So long as Luther contented himself with exposing the want of forgotten doctrines all were quiet. But when he pointed to abuses which wounded the feelings of every one, all ears were open to his proclamations.

Nevertheless, Luther did not in either of the cases alluded to, propose to himself any object beyond the agitation of one of those theological discussions at the time so frequent in the heart of all the universities. This was the circle within which he confined his thoughts. He never dreamt of becoming a reformer. He was humble in his ideas, and his humiliation reached the very verge of diffidence and timidity. "I only deserve, in respect of my ignorance," said he, "to be hid in a corner, without being known to any one under the sun."* But an all-powerful hand drew him out of the corner, in which he desired to remain unknown to the world. A circumstance beyond the control of Luther's will, sufficed to bring him forward into the field of battle, and the war commenced. It is this providential circumstance which the continuation of events calls upon us hereafter to relate.

BOOK III.

THE INDULGENCES AND THE THESES—1517 1518.

CHAPTER I.

Retinue—The Discourses of Tozel—Confession—Four Graces—Sale—Public Penance—A Letter of Indulgence—Exceptions—Diversions and Debauch.

A GREAT agitation at this time prevailed among the people in Germany. The church had opened a grand bazar upon the earth. Crowded with customers, and resounding with the cries and jokes of the vendors, it was likened to a fair, but a fair instituted by monks. The merchandise which was exposed for sale and offered to competition, they said, was the salvation of souls.

The merchants of this commodity travelled over the country in a handsome equipage, accompanied by three cavaliers at the head of a

* Luth. Op. (W.) xviii. v. 1944.

numerous retinue, and living at a lavish expense. The cortege was, in fact, talked of as the procession of some clerical dignitary on his circuit, with his officers and suite, and not the train of a common dealer or of a mendicant monk. The cavalcade, when it approached a town, despatched a deputy to wait upon one of the magistrates of the place. "The grace of God and of St Peter is at your gate," said the envoy. Immediately all was in a bustle within the city. The clergy, the priests, the nuns, the council, the schoolmasters, the scholars, corporation bodies with their flags, men and women, young and old, sallied forth to meet these merchants, holding in their hands lighted wax tapers, and marching to the sound of music, whilst the bells of the town were rung, "so that," says an historian, "it were impossible more gorgeously to have received God himself." The salutation of welcome performed, the united procession directed its course towards the church. The bull of grace from the pontiff was carried in front upon a velvet cushion, or upon cloth of gold. The chief dealer in indulgences followed next, holding in his hand a grand red wooden cross. The whole assemblage proceeded in this manner, enlivened with songs, prayers, and the incense of perfumes. The sound of the organ, with its swelling music, greeted the entrance into the temple of the trading monk and those who accompanied him.

The cross which he carried was placed before the altar, where the arms of the pope were suspended; and, during the whole time these ensigns were there displayed, the clergy belonging to the place, the penitentiaries, and the sub-commissaries, came each day, after vespers, or before the evening prayers, to pay their devoirs to the sign of authority, carrying in their hands little white batons.* Such magnificent exhibitions created a lively sensation in the quiet cities of the German provinces.

One individual particularly attracted the attention of the spectators in this public traffic. It was the person who supported the grand red cross, and who transacted the principal part. Dressed in the habit of the Dominican order, he comported himself in an arrogant fashion. His voice was commanding, and still seemed to retain its natural strength, although he had already reached the sixty-third year of his age.† This man, who was the son of a goldsmith in Leipsic, named Diez, was called John Diezel or Tezel. He had prosecuted his studies in his native town, had received the degree of bachelor in the year 1487, and had, two years afterwards, become a member of the order of Dominicans. Numerous honours had been accumulated on his head. Bachelor in theology, prior of the Dominicans, apostolic commissioner, an inquisitor, (*hæreticæ pravitatis inquisitor*,) he had not ceased since the year 1502 to fulfil the office of dealer in indulgences. The ability he had acquired in a subordinate situation, had very soon procured for him the office of commissioner-in-chief. He had a salary of twenty-four florins per month; all his expenses were paid, and he was supplied with a carriage and three horses; but his concomitant gains, it will be readily believed, exceeded much his stated allowances. In 1507, he gained in two days, at Freiberg, two thousand florins. If

* Mit weissen Stäbchen. (Instruction of the Archbishop of Mentz to his sub-commissaries of indulgence, &c., Art. 8.) † Ingenio ferox, et corpore robustus. (Cæcil. 5.)

he were intrusted with the functions of a hypocrite, he had also the manners of a quack. Convicted at Inspruck of adultery and of dishonest conduct, he had nearly expiated his vices with his life. The emperor Maximilian had issued orders for having him put into a sack and thrown into the river. The elector Frederick of Saxony came happily to intercede for the criminal, and obtained his pardon.* But the warning he had received did not teach him to be more modest. He carried along with him two of his children. Miltitz, the pope's legate, relates the fact in one of his letters.† It would have been difficult to have found, in all the cloisters of Germany, a man better fitted than Tezel to undertake the charge imposed upon him. To the theology of a monk, and the zeal and spirit of an inquisitor, he united the most shameless effrontery; and what still more facilitated the despatch of his errand, was the art he possessed of inventing fantastical stories, whereby he cajoled the minds of the people. Every artifice was patent to him for replenishing the coffers of his money box. Raising his voice, and adopting the eloquence of a mountebank, he offered to all comers the sale of his indulgences, and knew better than most dealers how to enhance the value of his goods.‡

When the cross had been elevated, and the arms of the pope suspended in its former place, Tezel mounted the pulpit, and, with a self-confident air, began to extol the worth of his indulgences, in presence of the crowd whom the ceremony had drawn within the walls of the holy edifice. The people listened, and were amazed to hear the report of the many admirable virtues he attributed to his commodity. A Jesuit historian, in speaking of the religious Dominicans with whom Tezel was associated, has said—"Some of these preachers do not fail, as in common practice, to aggravate the subject on which they treat, and exaggerate so enormously the price of indulgences, that they persuade the people to believe that the salvation of their souls is secured, and their deliverance from purgatory made certain, so soon as the purchase-money shall have been paid over to the vender of indulgences."§ If the pupils were thus skilled in their occupation, it is easy to suppose that the master must have been. Look only to one of the harangues which he pronounced after the elevation of the cross—

* "These indulgences," said he, "are the most precious and most sublime gifts of God.

"This cross (pointing to the red cross) possesses as much efficacy even as the cross of Jesus Christ itself.||

"Come to me, and I will give you letters furnished with the great seal, by means of which the very sins you have a desire to commit hereafter shall be freely forgiven you.

"I would not wish to exchange my privileges for those of St Peter in heaven, because I have saved more souls by my indulgences than the apostle by his discourses.

"There is no sin so great that an indulgence cannot remit; and

* Welchen Churfurst Friederich vom Sack, zu Inspruck erbeten hatte. (Mathes.)
+ L. Op. (W.) xv., 862. ‡ Circumferuntur venales indulgentie in his regionibus

a. Tecelio Dominicano impudentissimo sycophanta. (Melanct. Vita Luth.)

§ History of Lutheranism by P. Maimbourg, of the company of Jesus, 1681.

|| L. Op. (W.) xxii., p. 1393.

even if any one, which is, no doubt, impossible, had done violence to the holy Virgin Mary, the mother of God, let him pay, let him only pay well, and he shall be freely pardoned.*

"Only think, then, that for each mortal sin it will be necessary for you, after confession and repentance, to do penance for the term of seven years, whether it be in this life or in purgatory. Now, how many mortal sins are there not committed in a day, how many in a week, how many in a month, how many in a year, and, oh, how many in a whole lifetime! . . . Ah! these sins are almost infinite, and they ensure infinite endurance of pain in the flames of purgatory. And now, by means of these letters of indulgence, you can at once, in your life, in every case excepting four, which are reserved for the apostolic tribunal, and afterwards in the article of death, obtain a full remission of all your sufferings and all your sins." . . .

Tezel even entered into the calculations of disbursements. "Do you not know," said he, "that if any one wishes to go to Rome, or into some other country wherein the travellers are exposed to danger, they send their money to the bank, and for every hundred florins they wish to transfer, they give five, or six, or ten to the bargain, in order that, by means of letters sent by this bank, the money may be safely restored to the owner at Rome or elsewhere. . . . And you, for the quarter of a florin, do not seek to receive these letters of indulgence, through means of which you might introduce into the dominions of Paradise, not a sum of vile silver or gold, but the divine and immortal soul, without its being exposed to any danger whatever." . . . †

Tezel afterwards passes on to another subject.

"And more can yet be advanced in favour of these indulgences," said he; "for they do not only ensure the salvation of the living, they equally make certain that of the dead.

"For this, repentance itself is not necessary.

"Priest, noble, tradesman, woman, girl, youth! listen to your parents and other friends who are dead, and who cry to you out of the bottom of the deep abyss—'We are suffering a horrible martyrdom! A small pittance by way of alms will deliver us; you are able to give it, and yet you do not wish to do so!'"

One shudders at the rehearsal of these words, uttered from the mouth, in loud accents, of the mountebank monk.

"At the very moment," continued Tezel, "when the piece of money tinkles on the bottom of the money-box, the soul takes its departure out of purgatory, and directs its free flight towards heaven.‡ O silly people, and almost as stupid as the beasts that perish, who do not comprehend the grace that is so richly presented! . . . Now the heavens are everywhere open! . . . Refuse you this hour

* Tezel defended and maintained this assertion in his *Anti-Thesis*, published in the same year. (Th. 99, 100, and 101.) "Sub-commissariis in super ac prædicatoribus veniarum imponere, ut si quis per impossibile Dei genitricem semper Virginem violasset, quod eundem indulgentiarum vigore absolvere possent luce, clarius est." (*Positiones fratris J. Tezelii quibus defendit indulgentias contra Lutherum.*)

† Si contingat aliquem in Romam, vel ad alias periculosas partes, mittit pecunias suas in banco, et ille pro quolibet centum dat quinque aut sex aut decem. (*Loscher's Reformation, acten i. p. 418.*) ‡ *Theses 56. (Positiones fratris J. Tezelii quibus defendit indulgentias contra Lutherum.)*

to enter therein? When, then, shall you find an entrance? . . . Deaf and heedless man! with twelve drachms you can release your father from purgatory, and yet you are so ungrateful as not to purchase his deliverance! I shall be justified in the day of judgment; but as for you, you shall be punished so much the more severely for having neglected so great a salvation. . . . I declare to you, the time shall come when you shall have no more than one coat, and shall be obliged to sell it in order to obtain this grace. . . . The Lord our God is no longer God. He has transferred all power into the hands of the pope."

Then, trying to avail himself of additional artifices, he added—"Do you know wherefore our very holy Lord distributes thus a grace so munificent? He is anxious to rebuild the overturned church of St Peter and St Paul, so that there may not be its equal upon the earth. That church contains the bodies of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, as well as those of a multitude of martyrs. These holy bodies, on account of the actual condition of the edifice, are now, alas! continually crushed, deluged, defiled, dishonoured, and reduced to a state of putrefaction by the rain and the hail. . . . Ah! these sacred ashes, shall they remain much longer in the mire and in disgrace?"*

This description did not fail to make an impression upon the minds of many. Multitudes were eager to come forward to the assistance of poor Leo X., who had not sufficient funds to shelter from the rain the bodies of St Peter and St Paul.

Then the orator addressed himself to the cavillers and traitors who were opposed to his transactions—"I declare all such to be excommunicated," cried he.

Afterwards referring to the people of a more docile and tractable disposition, he said, making an impious use of the words of Scripture—"Happy are the eyes which have seen what you see; for I say unto you, many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which you see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which your hear, and have not heard them!" And, in conclusion, pointing to the strong box wherein he kept the money, he usually ended his pathetic address by making, three distinct times, the following appeal to the people:—"Bring! bring! bring!" "He uttered these words in a voice so awfully bellowing," writes Luther, "that it might be said a furious bull had made an attack upon the people with his horns."† When the discourse had been thus terminated, Tezel descended from the pulpit, walked towards the strong box, and, in presence of all the people, threw therein a piece of money, which he took good care to make resound with force upon the bottom of the chest.†

Such were the discourses astonished Germany heard delivered in the ears of her people at the time when God prepared the heart of Luther for the work of the Reformation.

The discourse was closed, and the indulgence considered as "having established its throne in this place in a solemn manner." Several

* Instruction of the Archbishop of Mentz.

† Tentzel, Reformationsgesch. Myconii Ref. Hist. of Mentz to the Sub-Commissioner of Indulgence.

† Resolut. upon Theses 32. Instruction of the Archbishop of Theses of Luther.

confession-seats, ornamented with the arms of the pope, were afterwards set in order. The sub-commissaries, and the confessors whom they chose, were looked upon as representing the apostolic penitentiaries of Rome during the time of a grand jubilee; and upon each of their confession-seats might be seen, in large characters, their names, proper names, and titles.*

Then dense crowds were seen to push on towards these confessors, each person holding in his hand a piece of money. Men, women, and children, with the poor, even to the class that were supported by alms, were all able to procure the needful piece of money. The penitentiaries, after having explained afresh to each individual the great worth of the indulgence, put the following question to the penitents:—"How much money can you conscientiously spare, in order to obtain a remission thus complete?" This request, says the instructions of the archbishop of Mentz to the commissioners, ought to be made at the moment specified, so that the penitents may in this way be better disposed to contribute.

Four grand graces were promised to those who were willing to assist in raising the church of St Peter. "The first grace which we announce to you," said the commissioners, in conformity with the letter of their instructions, "is the complete pardon of all sins."† Afterwards followed three other graces; the first, the right of choosing a confessor who, every time the hour of death seemed at hand, would give absolution of every sin, and even of the greatest crimes reserved for the judgment of the apostolic tribunal;‡ the second was a participation in all the good works and merits of the Catholic church, and of prayers, fasts, alms, and pilgrimages;§ and the third was the redemption of souls that were in purgatory.

In order to obtain the first of these graces, it was necessary to experience contrition of heart, and to make confession with the mouth, or at least to entertain the intention of confessing. But with regard to the other three, they could be acquired without any confession, and simply by making payment of their price.

Already, Christopher Columbus, appraising the value of gold, had very seriously asserted that "whoever possessed this metal was able to introduce souls into Paradise." Such were the doctrines taught by the cardinal-archbishop of Mentz, and by the commissioners of the pope. "With reference to those," said they, "who are anxious to deliver souls from the pains of purgatory, and procure the pardon of all other offences, let them pay money into the treasury; but it is not necessary for them to experience any contrition of heart, or to make confessions with the mouth.|| Let them only make haste to bring the money; for they will thus perform a very useful work to the souls of the dead, and towards the construction of the church of St Peter." Greater benefits could not be offered at a lower price.

The confession finished, and it was soon accomplished, the faithful hurried to approach the seat of the vender. One individual alone was intrusted with the sale. He held his counter near the cross. He

* Instruction, &c., v., 69.

† Ibid. 19.

‡ Ibid. 30.

§ Ibid. 35.

|| Auch ist nicht nothig, dass sie in dem Herzen zerknirscht sind, und mit dem Mund gebsichtet haben. (Ibid. 38.)

cast a scrutinizing glance upon all those who bent their steps towards his position. He carefully examined their looks, their carriage, and their cloths; and he demanded a sum proportionable to the appearance of the person who came forward. Kings, queens, princes, archbishops, and bishops, were supposed, according to the regulations, to pay for an ordinary indulgence twenty-five ducats. Abbots, counts, and barons, paid for the same privilege ten ducats. The other classes of nobility, along with the rectors, and all those who enjoyed a revenue amounting to five hundred florins, paid six ducats. Those who possessed an income of two hundred florins a-year, paid one ducat, and all others only half a ducat. Moreover, if this tax could not be levied in correspondence with the letter of the law, full powers were given to the apostolic commissioners to manage matters, and everything fell to be settled according to the dictates of "sound reason" and the generosity of the giver.* For particular sins Tezel had a particular list of taxes. Polygamy had to pay six ducats; sacrilege and perjury were rated at nine ducats; murder was fixed at eight ducats; and magic was charged with two ducats. Samson, who prosecuted in Switzerland the same commerce as that carried on by Tezel in Germany, had a schedule of taxes somewhat different. He exacted for the crime of child murder four livres; for parricide or fratricide he demanded one ducat.† The apostolic commissioners encountered sometimes considerable difficulty in the completion of their transactions. It often happened, both in some of the towns and in certain villages, that the husbands were opposed to all dealings in this scandalous traffic, and forbade their wives to take anything for the purpose of ingratiating the favour of these merchants. What then could the devout wives do? "Have you not your marriage portions, or any other property at your own disposal?" said the venders to them. "In such a case you can dispose of your goods for an object so holy against the will of your husband."‡

The hand which had given the indulgence could not receive the money—such double dealing was forbidden under the most severe penalties—and there were good reasons for doubting the fidelity of the former hand. The penitent was, in fact, understood to deposit, with his own hands, the price of his pardon into the money box§ that stood open for the purpose. An angry look was cast on those who boldly kept their purses shut.||

If, among those who hurried towards the confession-seats, there were found some men whose crimes were of a public nature, without having been subjected to the exactments of the civil law, they were constrained, in the first place, to undergo the infliction of public penance. They were immediately conducted inside of a chapel or vestry; there they were stript of their clothing, their shoes being taken off, and no covering left upon them save their shirts. Their arms were placed across their chests, and a light was put into one hand, a wax taper being held in the other. Then the penitents walked in front of the procession, which directed its course towards the red

* Nach den Satzen der gesunden vernunft, nach ihrer Magnificenz und Freigebigkeit. (Instruction, &c., 26.) † Muller's reliq. iii. p. 264. ‡ Instr. 27. Wieder, den Willen ihres Mannes. § Ibid. 87, 90, 91. || Luth. Op. Leips. xvii. 79

cross. They kneel down until the singing and collect have been finished; then the commissioner began to sing the psalm *Miserere mei*. The confessors likewise draw near to the station of the penitents, and conduct them across the apartment towards the commissioner, who, taking the wand out of their hands, and striking them softly three times upon the back, says to them—"May God have pity upon you and pardon your sins." He begins afterwards to sing the *Kyrie Eleison*. The penitents are led back to the front of the cross, and the confessor pronounces over them the apostolic absolution and declares them reinstated in the field of the faithful. Sad mummeries terminated by a holy sentence, which, at such a moment, must be considered profanation.

The following is the form of the letters of absolution. It is worth while to know the contents of those documents which were the occasion of bringing about the reform of the church:—"May our Lord Jesus Christ have pity upon you, N. N.,* and absolve you through the merits of his very holy passion. And I, in virtue of the apostolic power which has been confided to me, I absolve you from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and penalties, which you have deserved; besides of all the excesses, sins, and crimes which you may hereafter commit, however great and enormous they can possibly be, and from whatsoever cause, were they even reserved to our very holy father the pope or to the apostolic tribunal. I efface all the stains of incapacity and all the brands of infamy which would have been able to attach to you on that occasion. I remit for you the pains which you should have endured in purgatory. I make you anew participant of the sacraments of the church. I unite you afresh in the communion of the saints, and I re-establish you in the innocence and purity in which you were at the hour of your baptism, so that, at the moment of your death, the gate through which one enters into the place of torments and of sufferings shall be shut against you, and that, on the contrary, the gate which leads to the Paradise of joy shall be open before your face. And if you are not destined to die very soon, this grace shall remain in force and immoveable until the time of your last end.

"In the name of Peter, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Brother John Tezel, commissioner, has signed this letter with his own hand."

With what aptitude are many presumptuous and lying words herein mixed along with holy and Christian expressions!

All the faithful were ordained to come and make confession at the very site whereon the red cross was planted. There were no exceptions allowed, save in the instances of sickness, extreme age, and women with child. If, however, there was dwelling in the neighbourhood, within his castle, any nobleman, or some great personage in their palace, there was an exemption made on their behalf,† because they could not be solicitous of joining themselves among the crowds of people assembled, and their money was well worth the trouble incurred by going to their houses in order to receive their donations.

There were some convents whose heads were opposed to the com-

* Dreimal gelind auf den Rücken. (Instruction.)

† Instruction, 9.

merce carried on by Tezel, and who forbade their monks to visit the places wherein the indulgence had erected its throne; but means were devised for remedying this evil, by sending to such convents some confessors intrusted with the duty of absolving the monks, in spite of the rules of their order or the will of their heads.* Not one strata of the mine was left without some means of being explored.

At last arrived the business which constituted the sum and substance of the affair, namely, the computation of the money. For the greater safety, the chest was provided with three keys; the one intrusted to the keeping of Tezel, the second to the care of the delegated treasurer from the house of Fugger in Augsburg, to whom had been committed the superintendence of this vast enterprise, whilst the third key was confided to the custody of the civil authorities. When the important moment had arrived, the strong box was opened in presence of a notary-public, and the whole money duly counted over and entered in the proper register. Must not Christ arise to drive out of the sanctuary these profane jugglers?

The mission terminated, the numerous dealers enjoy rest from their fatigues and sufferings. The instructions of the general commissioner forbade them, it is true, from frequenting either public houses or suspected places,† but they paid little regard to this interdiction:

Sins must have appeared in a very trifling light to persons so accustomed to make such an easy traffic therein. "The mendicant friars led a bad life," says a Roman Catholic historian. "They squandered in public house, at gaming-tables, and other infamous resorts, whatever was gathered from the retrenchments of the necessities due to the people."‡ It has even been asserted, that when they were present in these public houses, they were in the habit of playing at dice for the salvation of souls.

CHAPTER II.

The Franciscan Confessor—Ghost of the Churchyard—The Shoemaker of Hagenau—The Students—Myconius—Conversation with Tezel—Stratagem by a Gentleman—Conversations of the Learned and of the People—A Miner of Schneeberg.

But let us see to what scenes this sale of the pardon of sins then conducted in the provinces of Germany. It is to the character of these scenes we must look for a faithful representation of the times. We have also much pleasure in recording the identical opinions of the men whose history we have undertaken to compose.

In Magdebourg, Tezel refused to grant the benefits of absolution to a rich lady, at least he said it would be necessary for her to pay in advance the sum of one hundred florins. The lady applied for advice to her usual confessor, who was a friar of the order of St Francis. "God gives gratuitously the remission of sins," replied the friar, "he does not sell them." At the same time he requested the lady not to repeat in any way to Tezel the counsel she had received from him. But the dealer in indulgences became nevertheless acquainted with the expression of this sentiment, so detrimental to his proper interests.

* Instruction; 69.

† Ibid. 4.

‡ Sarpi. Conc. di Trent.

"Such a counsellor," cried he, "deserves to be either expelled or burned."*

Tezel but rarely encountered men sufficiently enlightened, and yet more rarely sufficiently courageous to resist his proceedings. He commonly made excellent bargains with the crowds of superstitious worshippers with whom he had to deal. He had erected in Zwickau the red cross of indulgences, and the good parishioners hastened to throw into the strong box, with tinkling force, the money requisite for the purchase of their deliverance, and the merchant took his leave with a well filled chest. On the evening of his departure, the chaplains and their acolytes requested him to entertain them with a farewell supper. The proposal was perfectly just in itself; but how to acquiesce in its demands was the question, for the money had been all counted over, and sealed up in the strong box. Early the next morning, Tezel ordered the large bell to be rung. The multitude ran to the temple with impatience, every one supposing that some extraordinary event had taken place, seeing that the assize had terminated its meeting. "I had resolved," said Tezel, "to depart from Magdebourg this morning; but last night I was awakened by the sound of deep and frequent groanings. I listened anxiously . . . it was from the churchyard the sounds proceeded. . . . Alas! it was a poor soul that called to me, and implored me instantly to deliver it from the tortures in which it was wasting away! I have, therefore, remained another day, in order to stir up the compassion of all Christian hearts in favour of this wretched soul. For myself, I feel eager to be the first who shall subscribe my gift; whoever will not follow my example shall be worthy of condemnation." What heart could be proof against such an appeal as this? Who knew, moreover, to whom the soul belonged that sighed forth its complaints from the churchyard? An abundant subscription was procured, and Tezel spread out before the chaplains and their acolytes a rich repast, for which the offerings presented in behalf of the perishing soul of Zwickau served to defray the expenses.†

The merchants of indulgences had established themselves in Hagenau in 1517, and the wife of a shoemaker, taking advantage of the sanction, implied in the instructions of the commissary-general, had procured, in spite of the will of her husband, a letter of indulgence, for which she had paid one florin in gold. This woman soon afterwards died. Her husband, at same time, neglecting to obtain the repetition of masses for the rest of her soul, the curate accused him of displaying an unwarrantable contempt for the ordinances of religion, and the judge at Hagenau summoned the shoemaker to appear before him. The supposed delinquent put the indulgence purchased by his wife into his pocket, and presented himself at the bar of the court. "Is your wife dead?" inquired the judge. "Yes," replied the shoemaker. "What have you done on her behalf?" "I have buried her body and recommended her soul to the mercy of God." "But have you caused mass to be said for the salvation of her soul?" "I have not done so, considering such an observance useless, seeing that she entered into heaven at the moment of her death." "How

* Seultet *Annal. Evangel.* p. 4.
Op. xv. 443, &c.)

† Löschner's *Ref. Acten* i. 404. (Luther,

can you know that?" "Look, here is proof of the fact." On uttering which words, he drew from his pocket the letter of indulgence already alluded to, and the judge, in presence of the curate, therein read, in so many words, that, at the moment of her death, the woman who had received this document shall not go into purgatory, but shall enter immediately into the regions of heaven. "If the reverend curate asserts that the repetition of mass is still necessary," added the tradesman, "my wife has been deceived by our very holy father the pope; if she has not been deluded, then it is his reverence the curate who tries to beguile me." Nothing farther could be urged in reply, and the accused person was dismissed as innocent of the crime laid to his charge. In this manner the good sense of the people acquired a just defence against the consequences of these pious frauds.*

One day when Tezel was preaching in Leipsic, and while he was enlivening his discourse with the rehearsal of some of those stories of which we have given an example, two indignant students abruptly left the church, exclaiming—"It is impossible we can listen longer to the recital of the conceits and puerilities of this foolish monk."† One of these young men, it has been asserted, was the youth Camerarius, who afterwards became the intimate friend of Melancthon, and who wrote the life of this distinguished acquaintance.

But of all the young men of the period the one upon whom Tezel had made the deepest impression was, undoubtedly, Myconius, celebrated in after years as an ardent reformer and able historian of the Reformation. He had been privileged to receive a truly Christian education. "My son" often had his father, a pious citizen of Franconia, said to him, "be constant in prayer; for everything is gratuitously bestowed upon us by God alone. The blood of Christ," added he, "is the only ransom offered for the sins of the whole world: O my son, when there shall remain no more than three men who ought to be saved by the blood of Christ, believe, and believe with assurance that thou art one of these three individual men.‡ It is an affront offered to the blood of the Saviour only to doubt that it can save." Then putting his son upon his guard against the snares of that curious traffic which was then seeking to establish an open practice in Germany—"These Roman indulgences," said he again, "are nets thrown out to catch money, which serve to deceive the simple. The remission of sin and eternal life cannot be bought."

When thirteen years old, Frederick was sent to school at Anna-berg, there to finish his studies. Soon after his arrival at this place, Tezel took up his abode in the same town, and remained there for two years. Crowds flocked to hear the discourses delivered by the vender of indulgences. "There is not," exclaimed he, in accents loud as thunder, "there is not any other means whereby eternal life can be obtained but by the satisfaction of works. But this satisfaction it is impossible for men to give. They can only, therefore, purchase this boon at the hands of the Roman pontiff."

As the time approached when Tezel proposed to quit his residence

* Musculi Loei Communes, p. 362.

† Hoffman's Reformationsgesch. v. Leips. p. 32.

‡ Li tantum tres homines essent salvandi per sanguinem Christi, certo statueret unum se esse ex tribus illis. (Melch. Adaur Vita Mycon.)

in Annaberg, the discourses he delivered became more importunate. "Very soon," exclaimed he, in threatening tones, "I will take down the cross, I will shut fast the gates of heaven,* and I will extinguish the splendour of that sun of grace which now shines before your eyes." Then assuming the mild accents of exhortation—"Now is the day of salvation," said he, "now is the accepted time!" And once more in stentorian voice,† the pontifical commissary, who addressed the inhabitants of a country whose mines produced their means of wealth, exclaimed—"Bring to me money, citizens of Annaberg! contribute largely in favour of indulgences, and your mines and your mountains shall be filled with pure silver." At last, on Whitsunday, he declared that he would distribute letters of indulgences gratuitously to the poor and for the love of God.

The young Myconius was among the number of Tezel's hearers. He felt within himself an ardent desire to profit by the proposals now offered. "I am," said he, in Latin, to the commissioners to whom he applied, "I am a poor sinner, and I have need of gratuitous pardon." "Those only," replied these dealers, "can procure an interest in the merits of Christ who hold out to the church a strong helping hand—that is to say, those who give money." "What means, then," said Myconius, "these promises of a free gift posted on the doors and the walls of the temple?"

"Give us at least one drachm," said the servants of Tezel, after having in vain interceded with their master in favour of the young man. "I cannot do it." "Only six pennyweight." "I have not even that to give." The Dominicans, fearing now that he had only come to entrap them—"Listen," said they, "we are willing to make you a present of these six pennyweights." Then the young man, with loud and angry tones, replied—"I do not wish to procure indulgences which can be bought. If I were wishful to purchase such favours, I would merely have to sell one of my school-books. I wish to receive a free pardon for the love of God alone. You shall have to render an account to God for having, for the want of six pennyweights, allowed to let slip the salvation of an immortal soul." "Who has sent you to entangle us thus?" retorted the dealers. "The desire of receiving the grace of God could alone have encouraged me to appear in the presence of such mighty lords," answered the young man, and took his leave of the place.

"I was much saddened," said Myconius, "at being thus dismissed without pity. But I felt nevertheless within my bosom a comforter, who assured me that there was a God in the heavens who would pardon, without money and without price, the sins of penitent souls, for the love of his Son Jesus Christ. As I bade farewell to these men, the Holy Spirit touched my heart. I wept bitterly, and I prayed to God while sobbing audibly. 'O God,' cried I, earnestly, 'since men have refused to grant the remission of my sins because I want money to pay for it, have thou, Lord, pity upon me, and forgive them by thy free sovereign grace.' I went home to my own room, and, taking my crucifix off my desk on which it stood, I placed it on a chair, and knelt down before it. It would be impossible for me to

* Clausurum januam cœli. (Melch. Adam.) † Stentor pontificius. (Ibid.)

describe the sensations I then experienced. I beseeched God to become my father, and to do with me whatever was well-pleasing in his sight. I felt my nature changed, converted, transformed. Those things which had formerly made me rejoice were now turned into objects of disgust. To live with God and to please him was my most ardent and single desire.”*

In this manner Tezel himself made way for the Reformation. By means of flagrant abuses, he cleared the road for the reception of a purer doctrine; and the indignation his work excited within the breast of high-minded youths was doomed to burst forth one day with powerful retribution. The following anecdote will afford an opportunity for judging of the truth of this assertion:—

A Saxon gentleman, who had attended the lectures of Tezel at Leipsic, had been highly irritated at the import of the fearful lies he shamelessly expressed. This gentleman went up to the monk, and demanded to know whether he assumed the right of pardoning sins which it was the intention of any one thereafter to commit. “Certainly,” replied Tezel, “I have received for that purpose full powers from the pope.” “Very well,” answered the Saxon knight, “I would like to exercise a certain degree of revenge upon one of my enemies, without making any attempt against his life. I will give you ten crowns if you will be so good as grant me a letter of indulgence which shall fully justify my crime.” Tezel started several objections; but the bargain was nevertheless concluded, in consideration of the receipt of thirty crowns. Very soon after this transaction was completed, the monk took his departure from Leipsic. The gentleman referred to, accompanied by his servants, laid wait for Tezel in a wood situated between Juterboch and Treblin, and, falling upon him, inflicted on his back several blows with a stick, at same time seizing hold of the strong box attached to the commission of indulgences, which the inquisitor carried along with him. Tezel cried mournfully when he received this punishment, and laid a complaint before the proper tribunals. But the Saxon gentleman exhibited the letter issued and signed by Tezel himself, and which exempted the knight, beforehand, from all penal consequences. Duke George, whom this action had at first greatly enraged, commanded, at sight of the writings exposed, the accused to be sent away absolved.†

Everywhere this singular traffic engaged the attention of the people, everywhere its merits were openly discussed. It became alike the subject of conversation in the castles of the rich, the schools of the learned, the houses of the citizens, in the rooms of the inns or public houses, and in every place of general resort among the people.‡ Opinions were much divided on this ingrossing topic. Some believed in the virtue of these indulgences; but others were much scandalized at their effrontery. With regard to the thinking portion of the nation, they rejected with disgust the idea of these impudent frauds. Such a doctrine was so entirely contrary to the spirit of the Holy Scriptures or of morals, that every man who had acquired the slightest knowledge of the Bible, or possessed any common information whatever,

* Letter of Myconius to Eberus, in Hechtii Vita Tezelii. Wittemb. p. 114.

† Albinus Meissn. Chronick. L. W. (W.) xv. 446, &c. Hechtius in Vita Tezelii,

‡ L. Op. (Leipsic), p. 111 and 116.

condemned the scheme without exception, and only waited a fitting opportunity to oppose its progress. On the other side, scoffers enjoyed ample means of extending their raillery. The people, besides, who had been long provoked with the shameful conduct of the priests, and whom the fear of punishment alone still restrained within the bounds of a guarded respect, were ready to indulge in strong expressions of their pent-up aversion. Everywhere complaints and sarcasms were launched out against the love of money which now corroded the hearts of the clergy.

Nor was this the whole length to which opposition was carried. The power of the keys, and the authority of the sovereign pontiff, were equally assailed. "Wherefore," it was said, "did not the pope deliver at once every soul out of purgatory, in the spirit of a holy charity, and on account of the great misery endured by these suffering souls, seeing that he relieves so large a number of them for the love of money which perisheth, and for the benefit of the cathedral of St Peter? Wherefore are feasts and anniversaries celebrated in favour of the dead? Wherefore does not the pope restore or forbid that the profits and the prebends that have been founded for the good of the dead, should now be recovered, seeing that it is at present useless and even reprehensible to pray for those whom the indulgences have for ever released from pain? What means this new holiness of God and the pope, which, for the love of money, they grant in possession to an impious man and an enemy to God, in order that he may deliver from purgatory pious souls beloved of the Lord, rather than that they should deliver them themselves in the feelings of love, and on account of their great misery?"*

Many notorious and immoral tales were told regarding the conduct of these traffickers in indulgences. By paying, it was said, the hire of the carriages which transported these dealers and their effects from place to place, or the bills due to the landlords in whose inns they lodged, or making retribution to whoever did them a service, was a sufficient favour to procure from them letters of indulgences on behalf of four, five, or for any other number of souls, according to the circumstances of the case in question. In this manner the patents of salvation were current in hotels and in the market, like the circulation of bank bills or pieces of paper money. "Bring, bring!" said the people; "this is the beginning, the middle, and the end of their sermons."†

A miner of Schneeberg, upon meeting with a vender of indulgences, inquired of him—"Is it necessary to add faith to what you have so often affirmed of the power of indulgences and of the authority of the pope, and to believe that one can, by throwing a penny into the strong box, purchase a soul out of purgatory?" The merchant of indulgences agreed with the proposition put. "Ah, then," retorted the miner, "what an unmerciful man the pope must be, to allow this, for a miserable penny, a poor soul to be so long tormented in the flames! If he has no ready money, let him collect some hundred thousands of crowns, and let him relieve all these miserable souls at

* Luther's Theses upon the Indulgences. (Th. 82, 83, and 84.) † Luther Op. Leipsic) xvii., 79.

once. We, poor creatures, will willingly pay him both the interest and the capital sum."

Thus was Germany harassed and weary of the shameful traffic carried on in the middle of her provinces. It was impossible longer to support the impostures effected by these master villains of Rome, as expressed by Luther.* Nevertheless, not a single bishop or student of theology dared to oppose their inventions and frauds. The minds of men were agitated with suspense. Every individual put the question to himself, whether or not God would now raise up some powerful man to complete the work there was to do; but no one discovered in any quarter the appearance of that strong man.

CHAPTER III.

Leo X.—Wants of the Pope—Albert—His Character—Farm of Indulgences—The Franciscans and Dominicans.

The pope who, at this time, occupied the pontifical throne, was not Borgia: the envied sceptre had passed into the hands of Leo X., a member of the illustrious house of Medicis—an individual distinguished by the possession of excellent talents, and a sincere heart, replenished with mildness and benevolence. His demeanour was courteous, his liberality excessive, and his personal behaviour superior to that of his numerous courtiers; but Cardinal Pallavicini, at same time allows that his conduct was not completely beyond the imputations of reproach. To the amiableness of his character he joined many of the qualifications of a great prince. He shewed himself the friend of the arts and sciences. It was in his presence that the first Italian comedies were performed; and there were few of those productions, composed in his own day, whose performance he did not witness. He was passionately fond of music. Every day his palace rang with the melodious sounds of numerous instruments, whilst he himself was frequently heard to hum over the airs which had been played in his hearing. He delighted in the exercise of magnificent display, and was profuse in his expenditure when he regaled his friends with the pleasures of a feast, or of any sports, or of the theatre, or bestowed on favourites either presents or rewards. No other court surpassed in gaiety or splendour the palace of the sovereign pontiff. Moreover, when it was understood that Julian Medicis intended to fix his abode in Rome with his young wife, "God be praised," exclaimed Cardinal Bibliena, the most influential counsellor of Leo X., "for we are in want of nothing here but a court of ladies."† A court of ladies was the necessary complement of the court of the pope. But religious feeling was a sentiment wholly unknown to the mind of Leo. "He possessed so many agreeable accomplishments in manners that he would have been considered a perfect man had he acquired any knowledge of religious matters, or had exhibited a somewhat stronger inclination for deeds of piety, concerning which he gave himself but little trouble," said Sarpi.‡

* *Fessi erant Germani romnes, ferendis explicationibus, nundinationibus, et infinitis imposturis Romanensium nebulonum.* (L. Op. Lat. in Præf.) † Ranke, *Römische Pæbste*, i. 71. ‡ Council of Trent, p. 4. Pallavicini, in trying to refute Sarpi, confirms, and even aggravates, his testimony: *Suo plane officio defuit, (Leo.) . . . Venationes, facetias, pompas adeo frequentes.* (Conc. Trid. Hist. i., p. 8, 9.)

Leo had need of much money. He had to provide funds for his own enormous outlay, for the expenses of his abounding liberality, for filling the purse of gold he every day scattered among the people, for the support of the licentious spectacles displayed within the Vatican, as well as to satisfy the numerous demands of his relations and courtesans wallowing in luxurious excess. Besides, he had promised to bestow upon his sister an ample wedding portion on her marriage with Prince Cibo, a natural son of Pope Innocent VIII., and had to keep in hand sufficient means to discharge occasional obligations incurred by his patronage of literature and the fine arts, in addition to the demands of his incessant pleasures. His cousin, Cardinal Pucci, equally clever in the art of collecting money as Leo was in squandering it away, advised his relative to have recourse to the expedient of indulgences. The pope, in consequence of this suggestion, issued a bull, proclaiming a general indulgence, the produce of which was to be applied, it was said, to the construction of the church of St Peter, that monument of priestly magnificence. In a letter dated in Rome, under the ring of the sinner, in November 1517, Leo demands from his commissioner of indulgences 147 ducats in gold, for the purpose of paying the cost of a manuscript of thirty-three volumes, written by Titus Livius. Of all the uses to which the money of the Germans could be put this was no doubt the best. But still, was it not a strange thing to deliver souls from purgatory, in order to purchase a history of the wars carried on by the Roman people of old?

There was also at this time in Germany a young prince who in many respects resembled closely the character of Leo X. We allude to Albert, the younger brother of the elector Joachim of Brandenburg. This said prince, when twenty-four years old, had been chosen archbishop and elector of Mentz and of Magdebourg, and, two years afterwards, he was made cardinal. Albert had neither the virtues nor the vices that were so often met with in the homes of the high dignitaries of the church. Young, sprightly, and fond of the world, he nevertheless entertained many generous sentiments, and beheld clearly a number of the abuses then prevalent in the church, while he paid little attention to the horde of fantastic monks who surrounded his dwelling. His love of justice, induced him to acknowledge, at least in part, the rectitude of those things contended for by the friends of the gospel. In the secret desires of his heart, he was not strongly opposed to the views of Luther. Capito, one of the most distinguished reformers, was long the chaplain, counsellor, and intimate friend of Albert, who regularly assisted at his preachings. "He does not in any way despise the gospel," said Capito; "on the contrary, he highly esteems the subject of these writings, and for a length of time has hindered the monks from making attacks upon Luther." But he felt anxious that Luther should not expose his order, and that, while detecting the errors in doctrine and vices of the inferior ranks of the clergy, the reformer should be very cautious in bringing forward before the public notice the faults observable in the conduct of bishops and princes. Albert exceedingly dreaded the chance of seeing his own name inserted in the catalogue of offenders. "Look," said, at an after period to Luther, the confident Capito, encouraged to deceive himself, as many have been in similar circumstances, "Look

to the example of Jesus Christ and the apostles: they have blamed the Pharisees and the incestuous person of Corinth; but they have never mentioned the name of the guilty. You do not know what is passing within the hearts of the bishops. There may be many more good intentions fostered therein than you are perhaps aware of." Still the profane and frivolous mind of Albert was calculated, yet more than the susceptibilities or fears of his self-esteem, to keep him at a distance from any participation in the work of the Reformation. Affable, intellectual, handsome, sumptuous, and dissipated, taking delight in the delicacies of the table, pleased with the glitter of rich equipages and magnificent buildings, while he revelled in licentious mirth, as well as in the society of men of learning, the young archbishop elector played in Germany the same part which Leo X. supported in Rome. His Court was one of the most splendid known within the confines of the empire. He was ready to sacrifice, at the call of pleasure and ambition, every presentiment of the truth which might have touched his understanding or his heart. Nevertheless there were visible in his character, even to the last, certain stiflings of evil passions, and the encouraging of better convictions. More than once he exhibited manifest proofs of his moderation and justice.

Albert, like Leo, stood in need of money. Some wealthy merchants in Augsburg, the Fuggers, had advanced him certain sums, and he was called upon to pay his debts. Moreover, although he had succeeded in obtaining the revenues of two archbishops and one bishoprick, he had not wherewithal to pay in Rome the legal cost of his pall. This robe of honour, composed of white linen, sewed over with black crosses, and consecrated by the pope, which was remitted to the archbishops as an emblem of their dignity, cost from 26,000 to 30,000 florins. Albert very naturally conceived the notion of having recourse, in order to obtain this money, to the same means as those adopted by the pope. He, therefore, made application for a general farm of Roman indulgences, or, as it was called in the city of Rome itself, a lease of "the sins of the Germans."

Sometimes the popes farmed these indulgences themselves; at other times they were licensed in the manner which certain governments are found at the present day to license gambling-houses. Albert offered to divide with Leo the profits of his new establishment; and Leo, in accepting of the proffered lease, demanded immediate payment of Albert's pall. Albert, who directly trusted to the sale of indulgence for discharging this debt, addressed himself anew to the Fuggers, who, considering the speculation a good one, at once advanced, on certain terms, the requisite funds, and were appointed cashiers to the anticipated adventure. These individuals were the bankers of princes at the time we speak of. They were afterwards raised to the rank of counts, in remembrance of the services they had done.

The pope and the archbishop having thus disposed of, before hand, the spoil to be gained from the good souls of Germany, busied themselves next in deciding who ought to be intrusted with the realization of these settled affairs. This trust was, in the first instance, offered to the order of Franciscans, and their guardianship was joined to that of Albert. But the monks belonging to the order mentioned

were not over solicitous about the matter, because the exactments referred to had already got into bad reputation among all classes of respectable men. The Augustins, who included within their numbers men of more enlightened minds than the members of other religious orders, were still less inclined to engage in the undertaking proposed. Nevertheless, the Franciscans were fearful of giving umbrage to the pope, who had just conferred on their general De Forli the hat of a cardinal—a hat which had cost this poor mendicant order 30,000 florins. Their guardian, therefore, judged it most wise not to refuse openly the proposals made; but he suggested to Albert a vast number of difficulties which must interfere with the prosecution of his intentions. They could, in this way, never come to a proper agreement, nor was the elector in haste to accept of the proposition whereby he was requested to take upon himself the whole management of the affair. The Dominicans, on their part, however, coveted a share in the general license that was about to be established, and Tezel already famous in the art, hurried to Mentz with the purpose of offering his services to the elector. A vivid recollection was still extant of the ability Tezel had displayed in announcing the benefits to be derived from these indulgences on account of the knights of the Teutonic order of Prussia and Livonia, and his propositions were acceded to, so that this notorious traffic passed thus into the hands of his order.*

CHAPTER IV.

Tezel's Approach—Luther at the Confessional—Anger of Tezel—Luther without a Plan—A Jealousy of Orders—Discourse of Luther—Dream of the Elector.

Luther, as far as we are informed, first heard of the doings carried on by Tezel at Grimma in the year 1516, at the time when he was preparing to undertake his visitation of the churches. Staupitz had just then received intelligence, while he was still in the company of Luther, of there being then present in Vurzen a merchant of indulgences called Tezel, who had excited a wonderful sensation among the people. Some of the extravagant words made use of by this person were also reported; and Luther, waxing wroth, exclaimed—“If God will permit, I will make a hole in this man's drum.”†

Tezel returned from Berlin, where he had received the most friendly reception from the elector Joachim, brother of the former-general, and came to fix his abode in the city of Juterboch. Meanwhile Staupitz, taking advantage of the confidence reposed in him by the elector Frederick, had often spoken to this prince of the abuses of indulgences, and of the scandalous conduct pursued by their exacters.‡ The rulers of Saxony, enraged at the proceedings of this shameful commerce, had interdicted its dealers from entering within the limits of their provinces. Tezel was thus compelled to dwell upon the territories of his patron, the archbishop of Magdebourg; but he came as near as possible to the confines of Saxony, Juterboch being only four miles distant from Wittenberg. “This great beater of purses,” said Luther, “has commenced bravely to beat the country, so that

* Sackendorf, 42.

† Lingke, Reisesesch. (Luther, p. 27.)

‡ Instillans ejus pectori frequentes indulgentiarum abusus. (Cochleus, 4.)

§ In German,

it is to thrash, dreschen. (Luther, Op. xvii.)

money begins to jump up and down, and make a noise in the strong box." The people hurried off in crowds from Wittemberg to the market of indulgences at Juterboch.

Luther was still, at the date we have reached, filled with respect for the church and the pope. "I was then," said he, "a monk, a Papist of the most senseless description, so desperately intoxicated, and even drowned in the doctrines of Rome, that I would willingly have assisted, if I could, to have killed any one who had had the audacity to refuse, in the slightest degree, obedience to the pope.* I was a real Saul, of whom there are still many alive." But, at the same time, his heart was ready to embrace every principle he acknowledged as containing the truth, as well as to reject every idea he believed invested with error. "I was a young doctor, recently emancipated from the forge, and ardent and rejoicing in the word of the Lord."†

Luther was one day seated upon the confessional chair at Wittemberg. Several of the citizens of the town came before him in regular routine, and confessed themselves guilty of dire offences—of adultery, debauchery, usury, and ill-acquired wealth; such were the subjects referred to before the minister of the word by those souls of whose condition he was one day bound to render an account. Luther reprimands, corrects, and instructs; but what was his astonishment when he heard those people reply to his admonitions with an assertion that they had no wish to abandon their sins! . . . Awfully amazed, the pious monk declared to them that since they were unwilling to promise amendment, he could not grant them absolution. The unhappy confessors then call to their recollection their letters of indulgences; they exhibit them to the monk, and claim protection in virtue of their authority. But Luther replied that he troubled himself little concerning the contents of these pieces of paper shewn to him, and added—"If you do not turn away from your sins, you shall all likewise perish." Declamations and retorts are made, but the doctor remains immovable; they must cease from evil, and learn to do well, otherwise there can be no absolution granted. "Take heed to yourself," added Luther, "and do not listen to the clamours made by these venders of indulgences. You have better things to mind than the purchase of such licenses as they sell to you at the most villainous price."‡

Much alarmed, these inhabitants of Wittemberg returned with speed towards Juterboch, and related to Tezel how an Augustin monk had held their letters of indulgences in contempt. At the recital of such news, the vender became red with rage. He denounces vengeance from the pulpit, he uses insulting language, and stoops to the employment of oaths;§ while, with the purpose of increasing the terror of the people, he caused, on several occasions, a fire to be lighted in the grand square, and declared that he had received orders from the

* In præf. Op. Witt. i. Monachum, et Papistam insanissimum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus papæ, &c. † L. Op. (W.) xxii. ‡ Cœpi dissuadere populis et eos dehortari ne indulgentiarum clamoribus aurem præberent. . . . (L. Op. Lat. in Præf.) § Wutet, Schilt, und maledict grœulich auff dem Predigstuhl. (Myconius.)

pope to burn all those heretics who dare to offer resistance against the authority of his very holy indulgences.

Such was the circumstance which formed, not the cause, indeed, but the first occasion of the Reformation. A pastor, seeing the sheep of his flock wandering in a path wherein they must inevitably perish, exerts himself to draw them out of their perilous position. No thought of reforming either the church or the world had, as yet, entered into the cogitations of Luther. He had visited Rome, and witnessed the mournful corruption of her manners; but he was not intent on displaying any ardent opposition to the errors of Rome. He exposed to light certain abuses under which the whole provinces of Christendom groaned; but he did not meditate upon the reform of these abuses. He cherished no intention of becoming a reformer.* He had organized no plan for the reformation of the church, but only dreamt of accomplishing his own reform. God proposed to carry out a reform, and chose Luther for the execution of his work. The same remedy which had proved so successful in the cure of his individual misery, the hand of God applied, through him, to the full-blown miseries of Christendom. He continued tranquil in the round of duties assigned to him. He walked with a single heart wherever his Master pointed out the way. He fulfilled meekly in Wittenberg his duties of professor, of preacher, and of pastor. He was seated in the temple where the members of his church had assembled in order to offer him their homage. It is in this position, it is upon such ground, evil desires to make her first attack upon him, and where error comes to expose her own deformity. Attempts are made to obstruct him in the execution of his charge. His conscience knit, as it were, to the word of God, opposes such interference. Is it not God who calls him? To resist is therefore a duty; it is, moreover, equally a right. He was constrained to speak. In this manner were events directed by that God who designed the recovery of Christendom by means of the son of a master of forges, and thus to make the impure doctrine of the church pass through his furnaces, in order to purify it, says Mathesius.†

After the details we have just related, it is, doubtless, unnecessary to refute a false imputation, invented by some of Luther's enemies, but not till after he was dead. It has been asserted that a jealousy concerning his order, a feeling of regret at seeing a shameful and reprobate commerce intrusted to the care of the Dominicans rather than to the Augustins, who had enjoyed the privilege up to that hour, had encouraged the doctor of Wittenberg to attack Tezel and his doctrines.

The well-established fact of this traffic having been first offered to the acceptance of the Franciscans, who were unwilling to engage in it, is sufficient refutation of this fable, repeated by many writers who merely copied it from each other. Cardinal Pallavicini himself affirms that the Augustins never took charge of the affairs in question.‡ Besides, we have seen the travail of Luther's soul; and his conduct does not stand in need of any other explanation. He was constrained

* *Hæc initia fuerunt hujus controversiæ, in qua Lutherus nihil adhuc suspicans aut somnians de futura mutatione rituum.* (Melaneth. Vita Luth.) † *Die ver-seurte Lehr durch den ofen. gehen.* (P. 10.) ‡ *Falsum est consuevisse hoc munus injungi Erimitanis S. Augustini.* (P. 14.)

to confess aloud that doctrine to which he was himself indebted for all his happiness. It is the peculiar nature of Christianity that when we find in it a sovereign cure for our own wretchedness, we are animated with a desire to communicate the same benefits to others. In our own days we ought to abandon these unworthy and puerile expositions with reference to the causes of the grand revolution of the sixteenth century. A more powerful lever was required to raise a whole world. The Reformation was not confined within the bosom of Luther only: his age was destined to be its cradle.

Luther, whose obedience to the truth of God and whose charity towards men were equally conspicuous, mounted the pulpit. He beforehand strengthened his audience, but with calmness,* as he has himself said. His prince had obtained from the pope, in favour of the church attached to the castle at Wittemberg, certain particular indulgences. Some of the blows he was about to inflict upon the body of indulgences granted by the inquisitor might fall upon those issued on behalf of the elector; but this matters not—he will run the risk of courtly disgrace. If he sought to please men, he could not be the servant of Christ.

“No one can prove from the Scriptures that the justice of God requires a single penalty or satisfaction from the sinner,” said the faithful minister of the word to the people of Wittemberg. “The only duty these Scriptures impose is a true repentance, a sincere conversion, the resolution to bear the cross of Jesus Christ, and to apply oneself to good works. It is a great error to suppose that of yourself you can give satisfaction for your sins to the justice of God, because God constantly pardons sin gratuitously, through inestimable grace.”

“The Christian church, it is true, demands something from the sinner; and, consequently, she can restore the same again. But this is all. . . . And, moreover, these indulgences of the church are only tolerated on account of slothful and imperfect Christians, who do not choose to exercise themselves with zeal in the performance of good works; for these indulgences never excite in any one the desire of sanctification, but leave every person in a state of imperfection.”

Then, assailing the pretensions upon which indulgences were granted—“It would be much better,” continued he, “to contribute, for the love of God, towards the construction of the church of St Peter than for this purpose to make a purchase of indulgences. . . . But, you will say, shall we then never buy any of them? I have already said, and now repeat it, my advice is, that no person should purchase these letters. Leave them to the possession of Christians who are asleep; but for you, walk in your own way and by yourselves. We must turn away the faithful from looking upon indulgences, and urge them on to the fulfilling of those works which they neglect.”

At last, directing his attention upon his adversaries, Luther concluded by saying—“And should some individuals assert that I am a heretic, (for the truths which I preach are very hurtful to the interests of their strong box,) I am little affected by their abuse. Such persons are infected with sickly and cloudy brains, men who

* Sauberlich.

have never felt the spirit of the Bible, who have never studied the doctrine of Christianity, never understood their own teachers, and who are rotting enveloped in the torn rags of their vain opinions.* . . . May God grant unto them and us a right judgment! . . . Amen." Having uttered these words, the doctor descended from the pulpit, leaving his auditors in astonishment at the boldness of his language.

This sermon was printed, and made a deep impression upon the minds of all who read it. Tezel published an answer to it, and Luther made a reply to this attack; but these discussions did not take place until the year 1518.

The Feast of All Saints drew near. Some chronicles of the times relate here a circumstance which, although of little moment as regards the history of the period, serves nevertheless to describe the character of the age. We allude to a dream of the elector, the main subject of which was, no doubt, true, although some circumstances may have been added to it by those who have reported the particulars thereof. Seckendorf makes mention of the fact.† The fear of having it reported by his adversaries that the doctrines of Luther were founded upon dreams, has, perhaps, prevented several Christian historians from taking notice of this event, remarks the respectable writer we have named.

The elector Frederick of Saxony was at his castle of Schweinitz, six leagues distant from Wittemberg, say the chronicles of the times, and, on the 31st of October, finding himself in company with his brother, duke John, who was at the time co-regent, and who reigned alone after the death of Frederick, as well as with his chancellor, the elector said, addressing himself to the duke—

"I must, brother, repeat to you the details of a dream which I had last night, and of which I should like to know the interpretation. This dream is so engraved upon my mind, that I shall never forget it, although I were to live a thousand years; for it three times returned upon me, and always with some new circumstances."

Duke John—"Is it a good or a bad dream?"

The Elector—"I do not know: God knows."

Duke John—"Do not disturb yourself about it; but have the goodness to let me know the particulars."

The Elector—"On going to bed yesterday night, weak and weary, I fell asleep soon after I had said my prayers, and I rested comfortably for the space of two hours and a-half. Having then awoke, I experienced till midnight a conflict of all sorts of thoughts. I reflected in what manner I should commemorate the Feast of All Saints, I prayed for the poor souls that were in purgatory, and I asked God to lead me, my counsellors, and my people, in the ways of truth. I once more went to sleep: and then I dreamt that the omnipotent God had sent me a monk who was the true son of the apostle St Paul. All the saints accompanied this monk, in conformity with the command of God, in order to bear him witness before me, and to declare that he did not come to hatch some fraud, but that whatever he should

* Sondern in ihren locherichen, und zerrissenen opinien, viel nahe verwessen. (L. Op. (L.) xvii. p. 119.) † It is also recounted in Loscher, i. 46, &c., in Tenzel's *Anf. u. Fortg. der Ref.*; Junker's *Ehrendged.*, p. 148; Lehmann's *Beschr. d. Meissn. Erzgeb.*, &c.; and in a manuscript of the Archives of Weimar, written from the dictation of Spalatin. It is in the words of this manuscript, published at the period of the last jubilee, we have reported this dream.

do would be according to the will of God. They requested me graciously to allow that he should write some words upon the door of the church attached to the castle of Wittemberg, which request I granted through means of the chancellor. Thereupon the monk began to write, and made use of such large letters, that I was able from Schweinitz to read what he wrote. The pen he held in his hand was so long, that the end of it reached as far as Rome, where it pierced the ears of a lion that was sleeping there, and made the triple crown to shake upon the head of the pope. All the cardinals and princes ran in haste and exerted themselves to keep the crown steady in its place. Myself, and you, my brother, were also willing to assist. I extended my arms; . . . but at that moment I awoke, with my arms stretched out in the air, quite alarmed, and much in anger against this monk, who knew not better how to manage his pen. I recovered myself somewhat. . . . It was only a dream.

"I had had only half my usual sleep, and I again shut my eyes. The dream once more commenced. The lion, constantly disturbed by the pen, began to roar with all his force, so that the whole city of Rome and all the states of the holy empire were eager to learn what had happened. The pope gave orders that this monk should be opposed, and addressed himself particularly to me, because it was in my dominions he had taken up his station. I again awoke. I repeated 'Notre Pere,' praying God to preserve his Holiness, and I a third time turned myself round to sleep. Then I dreamt that all the princes of the empire, and ourselves among them, hastened to Rome, and endeavoured, one after the other, to break this pen; but the more such efforts were made, the more the pen became inflexible: it sounded as if it had been made of iron, and we at last became tired with our exertions. I then thought of asking the monk, (for I was, as it were, present both in Rome and in Wittemberg,) from whence he brought this pen, and how it happened to be so strong. 'This plume,' replied he, 'once belonged to an old goose in Bohemia, one hundred years old.* I received it from one of my former schoolmasters. As to its strength, it arises from its being impossible to take out of it either the heart or the marrow, and I am quite astonished at it myself.' . . . All at once I heard a wonderful cry; for from the long plume of the monk a great many other plumes had sprung out. . . . I awoke again, and daylight had appeared."

Duke John—"Well, my Lord Chancellor, what do you think of this? Have we not here a Joseph or a Daniel instructed by God?"

The Chancellor—"Your Highness is acquainted with the popular proverb, that the dreams of young girls, of learned men, and of great lords, have generally some hidden meaning; but the signification of this dream shall not be known for some time to come, when the matters to which it has a reference shall have happened, for which reason do you intrust the accomplishment of it to God, and leave everything in his hands."

Duke John—"I think with you, my Lord Chancellor, it is not becoming in us to rack our brains in order to discover the signifi-

* *John Huss.* There is here a circumstance which may have been added at a later period, to make allusion to the words of John Huss which we have quoted. See First Book.

tion of this dream. God well knows how to direct everything for his own glory."

The Elector—"May our faithful and true God do so! Nevertheless I shall never forget this dream. I have indeed thought of an interpretation of it, . . . but I will keep that to myself. Time will perhaps discover whether or not I have rightly guessed."

In this manner was passed, according to the manuscript at Weimar, the morning of the 31st of October in Schweinitz: let us now see what occurred in the evening of the same day at Wittemberg. And in our relation we here return to the legitimate course of history.

CHAPTER V.

Feast of All Saints—The Theses—Their Force—Moderation—Providence—Letter to Albert—Carelessness of the Bishops—Dissemination of the Theses

The words of Luther had produced results of insignificant consequence. Tezel, at his ease, continued his impious commerce and discourses.* Will Luther succumb to the force of these glaring abuses, and will he be silent? As a pastor, he had fondly exhorted those who had recourse to his ministry; as a preacher, he had loudly proclaimed from the pulpit the message of warning; but it remains for him still to speak as a theologian; it is no longer sufficient for him to address himself to a few souls in the confessional, nor in the temple to the assembly of the faithful at Wittemberg, but likewise to all those who are, like himself, the teachers of the word of God. And his resolution is taken.

It is not the church he designs to attack; it is not the pope he resolves to bring to judgment. On the contrary, it is his respect for the pope which will no longer permit him to hold his tongue with reference to many pretensions, by means of which his Holiness is grievously wronged. It is necessary to take part with the pope against numbers of audacious men, who dare to join his venerable name in connexion with their shameful traffic. Very far from meditating a revolution that should overturn the pre-eminence of Rome, Luther counted upon the pope and the Roman Catholic church as allies to aid him in his enterprise against the frauds of impudent monks.†

The Feast of All Saints was a very important day for the city of Wittemberg, and particularly for the church which the elector had there erected and filled with a quantity of relics. These elegant relics were now undergoing their destined arrangement; and, composed of silver, gold, and precious stones, they were exposed to the inspection of an astonished multitude, whose eyes were dazzled with the glitter of so much splendour. Whoever should, on that day, visit this church, and make their confessions therein, were entitled to receive a valuable indulgence. Thus, on this grand anniversary, the pilgrims arrived in crowds within the walls of Wittemberg.

Luther, now determined in his mind, set out bravely, on the 31st

* *Cujus impiis et nefariis conscionibus incitatus Lutherus, studio pietatis ardens, edidit propositiones de indulgentiis.* (Melanc. Vita Luth.) † *Et in iis certus mihi videbar, me habiturum patronum papam, cujus fiducia tunc fortiter nitebar.* (L. Op. Lat. in Præf.)

of October 1517, towards the same church to which the superstitious horde of pilgrims were directing their steps, and there, on the door of this temple, he fixed ninety-five theses or propositions against the doctrine of indulgences. Neither the elector, nor Staupitz, nor Spalatin, nor any other of his friends, even the most intimate, had been advised of this bold action.*

Luther, in the temple, declared, in a sort of preface, that he had written these theses with the express desire of exposing the truth to the full light of day. He announced his readiness to defend them on the morrow, within the university even, and in the face and against all opposers. The attention which these propositions attracted was great. They were read, they were committed to memory, and speedily the pilgrims, the university, along with the whole inhabitants of the town, were in an uproar.

The following are a few of the propositions alluded to, written with the pen of the monk, and posted on the door of the church at Wittenberg:—

1. "When our Master and Lord, Jesus Christ, said, 'Repent ye,' he wished that the whole life of his faithful followers upon earth should be a constant and continual repentance.

2. "This saying cannot be attended to or understood in the sacrament of penitence—that is to say, of confession and satisfaction—as it is administered by the priest.

3. "Nevertheless, the Lord does not mean to speak here only with regard to inward repentance; the inward repentance is null and void if it does not produce outwardly all sorts of mortifications of the flesh.

4. "Repentance and sorrow—that is to say, true penitence—continues as long as man is grieved within himself—that is to say, until he shall have passed from this life into life eternal.

5. "The pope neither can, nor desires to, remit any other penalty than that which he has imposed according to his good pleasure, or in conformity with the canons—that is to say, the papal ordinances.

6. "The pope cannot remit any condemnation, but can only declare and confirm the remission which God himself has made in reference thereto, unless he should do so in cases that belong to his own prerogative. If he does otherwise, the condemnation remains entirely the same.

8. "The laws of ecclesiastical penance should not be imposed except upon the living, and do not regard at all the condition of the dead.

21. "The commissioners of indulgences are deceived when they say that, by means of the indulgences of the pope, man is delivered from all punishment, and saved.

25. "The same power which the pope has over purgatory throughout all the church, each bishop has in his own particular diocese and each priest in his own parish.

27. "Those persons preach human fallacies who pretend that at the very moment when the money rings in the strong box the soul takes its flight out of purgatory.

Quia hujus disputationis nullus etiam intimorum amicorum fuerit conscius.
(L. Ep. p. 186.)

28. "This is certain, namely, that as soon as the money sounds, avarice and the love of gain spring up, grow, and multiply. But the reliefs and prayers of the church depend alone upon the will and good pleasure of God.

32. "Those who imagine themselves sure of their salvation by means of indulgences shall go to the devil along with those who have thus instructed them.

35. "They teach anti-Christian doctrines who pretend that, in order to deliver a soul from purgatory, or to make purchase of an indulgence, there is neither need of sorrow nor repentance.

36. "Every Christian who experiences a true repentance for his sins, has an entire remission of the penalty as well as of the fault, without requiring in that respect the aid of indulgences.

37. "Every true Christian, dead or alive, has a share in all the benefits of Christ or of the church, through the gift of God, and without any letter of indulgence.

38. "Nevertheless, the dispensations and pardon of the pope must not be despised, because his pardon is a declaration of the pardon of God.

40. "Repentance and true sorrow look for and cherish punishment; but the mildness of the indulgence relieves from punishment, and engenders a hatred against it.

42. "Christians must be taught that the pope neither thinks nor wishes that any comparison should be made between the action of purchasing indulgences and any work whatever of mercy.

43. "Christians must be taught that he who gives to the poor, or who lends to the needy, does more good than he who purchases a letter of indulgence.

44. "For the work of charity causes charity to increase, and renders man more pious; whilst that an indulgence makes man no better, but only more confident in himself, and better sheltered from punishment.

45. "Christians must be taught that he who sees his neighbour in want, and who nevertheless determines to buy an indulgence, does not purchase the indulgence of the pope, but brings upon himself the anger of God.

46. "Christians must be taught that, if they are not possessed of superfluous means, they are obliged to preserve for their families wherewithal to procure the necessities of life, and must not squander their substance in the purchase of indulgences.

47. "Christians must be taught that, to purchase an indulgence is a work of freedom, and not of command.

48. "Christians must be taught that the pope, having more need for prayers made in faith than for money, desires the return of prayers more than money when he distributes indulgences.

49. "Christians must be taught that the indulgence of the pope is good if one does not place his confidence therein; but that there is nothing more hurtful, if such indulgence causes the loss of piety.

50. "Christians must be taught that, if the pope were aware of the exactions made by the preachers of indulgences, he would rather prefer to see the metropolis of St Peter burned and reduced to ashes, than to behold that city built at the expense of the skin, the flesh, and the bones of his sheep.

51. "Christians must be taught that the pope, as it is his duty, should distribute from his own purse money to the poor people whom the preachers of indulgences now deprive of their last halfpenny, should he be obliged even for this purpose to sell the metropolis of St Peter.

52. "To hope to be saved by means of indulgences is a false hope without effect, even although the commissioner of indulgences, and, what do I say? the pope himself, were willing, in order to assure salvation, to put their souls in pledge.

53. "They are enemies of the pope and of Jesus Christ who, on account of the preaching of indulgences, forbid the preaching of the word of God.

55. "The pope can have no other idea than this, that if the announcement of the indulgence, which is least, is celebrated with the ringing of a bell, with pomp and ceremony, it is necessary, and for much better reason, to honour and celebrate the announcement of the gospel, which is greater, with the ringing of a hundred bells, and a hundredfold observance of pomps and ceremonies.

62. "The true and precious treasure of the church is the holy gospel of the glory and grace of God.

65. "The treasures of the gospel are nets in which it was wont of old to fish in a number of people, rich and at their ease.

66. "But the treasures of indulgence are nets with which at this hour the riches of the people are dragged away.

67. "It is the duty of bishops and pastors to receive with all respect the commissioners of apostolic indulgences.

68. "But it is still more their duty to assure themselves, with their own eyes and ears, that the said commissioners do not deliver the dreams of their own imaginations instead of the orders of the pope.

71. "Let him who speaks against the indulgence of the pope be accursed.

72. "But let him who speaks against the imprudent and extravagant words of the preachers of indulgences be blessed.

76. "The indulgence of the pope cannot take away the least daily sin, as regards the trespass or offence.

79. "To say that the cross, ornamented with the arms of the pope, is equally powerful with the cross of Christ is blasphemy.

80. "The bishops, pastors, and divines, who allow such things to be spoken in the hearing of the people, ought to render an account of their conduct.

81. "This dishonest preaching, these impudent panegyrics on the benefits of indulgences, render it difficult for learned men to defend the dignity and honour of the pope against the calumnies of preachers and the subtle and harsh questions of the body of the people.

86. "Wherefore, say they, does not the pope build the metropolis of St Peter with his own money, rather than with that of poor Christians, he whose fortune is larger than that of the richest Cræsus?

92. "Let us, therefore, strive to be rid of all those preachers who call out to the church of Christ—Peace! Peace! when there is no peace.

94. "It is necessary to exhort Christians to set themselves to follow Christ, their head, through the cross, death, and hell.

95. "For it is better they should enter through much tribulation

into the kingdom of heaven than acquire a carnal security by means of the consolations of a false peace."

Behold, then, the commencement of the work. The seeds of the Reformation were enveloped within the folds of these theses drawn out by Luther. The flagrant abuses of indulgences were therein assailed, and it was their overthrow which attracted special attention; but under these attacks there was couched, besides, a principle which, although less ostentatiously inviting the notice of the multitude, was destined one day to destroy the proud edifice of Popery. The gospel doctrine of a free and gratuitous remission of sins was for the first time publicly professed in these propositions. Now the work of reform must advance. In truth, it was evident that whoever should adopt this faith in the remission of sins announced by the doctor of Wittemberg, and that whoever should experience that repentance, conversion, and sanctification, of which he urged the necessity, would no longer regard the authority of human ordinances, but would escape from the restraints and fetters of Rome, and acquire the freedom of the children of God. All errors were fated to fall down before the majesty of this truth. It was by means of it the light had begun to penetrate the soul of Luther; it was equally by it the light was destined to reach within the deepest recesses of the church. An imperfect knowledge of this truth was what marked the indigence of preceding reformers. Thence arose the sterility of their exertions. Luther himself afterwards acknowledged that, in proclaiming justification by faith, he laid the axe to the root of the tree. "It is the doctrine we attack in the followers of Popery," says he; "Huss and Wickliffe have only assailed their lives: but in assaulting their doctrines we seize the goose by the throat. Everything depends upon the word, which the pope has taken away from us and has adulterated. I have conquered the pope, because my doctrine is conformable with the will of God, while his is in unison with the desires of the devil."

We have likewise forgotten in our own day this principal doctrine of justification by faith, although in one sense opposed to that of our fathers. "In the times of Luther," one of our contemporaries has said, "the remission of sins at least cost a sum of money; but in our day every one administers this remission gratuitously to himself." These two whims resemble each other greatly. There is perhaps more forgetfulness of God in our own than in that of the sixteenth century. The principle of justification through the grace of God, which drew the church out of such dismal darkness at the period of the Reformation, can alone also renew the generations of the present time, put an end to their doubts and oscillations, destroy the egotism that gnaws at their heart, and establish morality and justice among the people: in a word, bring back to God that world which has separated itself from his care.

But if the theses of Luther were powerful by means of the force of truth therein apparent, they were not less strong on account of the faith of him who declared himself their defender. He had courageously thrown down the glove in the cause of the word. He had done this deed in the faith and power of the truth. He had felt that in placing his stay upon the promises of God, it was possible to risk something, according to the language of the world. "Let he who wishes to

begin some good enterprise," said he, in speaking of this bold attack, "undertake it confiding in the goodness of his cause, and not in looking for shelter in the help or consolations of men. Nay, more, let him neither fear any man, nor yet the whole world. For this passage does not speak falsely: *It is good to put your trust in the Lord. And assuredly not one who puts his trust in thee shall ever be confounded.* But let him who neither wishes, nor can hazard anything in throwing all his care upon God, be well aware of undertaking a foolish toil. No doubt Luther, after having fixed his theses on the door of the church of All Saints, retreated to his tranquil cell, filled with that peace and joy bestowed on those who do a work in the name of the Lord and for the love of eternal truth.

However daring may be the boldness which reigns throughout the expressions of these theses, there is still evident therein the spirit of the monk who refuses to admit a single doubt to be entertained against the authority of the bench at Rome. But in attacking the doctrine of indulgences, Luther was inveigled, without perceiving it, into the commission of many errors, whose discovery could not be agreeable to the pope, seeing that they must have, sooner or later, put in jeopardy his darling supremacy. Luther did not enjoy at present so extended a view of the Reformation; but he was sensible how bold the step was which he had just taken, and he, therefore, believed it a duty equally to moderate the spirit of audacity and to uphold the respect due to the maintenance of the truth. He did not, therefore, present his theses but in the character of doubtful propositions, upon which he solicited the views of learned men; and he affixed thereto, in conformity with established custom, a solemn protestation, in which he declared that he was not wishful to say or affirm anything which was not grounded on the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the fathers of the church, and the rights and decrees of the tribunal of Rome.

Often in the sequel, Luther, at sight of the stupendous and unexpected consequences of this courageous attack, felt astonished at himself, and could not comprehend how he had dared to make the intrepid assault. It was because an invisible and more powerful hand than his own held the governing rein, and directed the herald of the truth towards a path which was as yet hid from his perceptions, and before the difficulties of which he would, perhaps, have recoiled, had he been aware of them, or had he been advancing altogether in his own strength. "I entered," said he, "into this dispute without any fixed purpose, without anticipating or wishing it; I was altogether taken by surprise. I take God, who searcheth all hearts, to witness on this point."

Luther had become acquainted with the source of these abuses. A small book, ornamented with the arms of the archbishop of Mentz and Magdebourg, had been brought to him, containing the rules to be observed in the sale of indulgences. It was, then, this young prelate, this elegant prince, who had prescribed, or at least sanctioned, the practice of all this quackery. Luther regarded him still in the character of a superior of whom he ought to stand in awe and treat with reverence. And not wishing vacantly to beat the air, but rather to address himself to those who had the charge of governing the church, Luther sent a letter to Albert, in whose strain freedom

and humility were nicely blended. This letter was composed the very same day on which the theses had been posted upon the door of the church.

"Pardon me, very reverend father in Christ, and very illustrious prince," said he, "if I, who belong to the dregs of men, have with temerity presumed to address your sublime greatness. The Lord Jesus is my witness that, feeling how insignificant and despicable I am, I have a long time postponed this task. . . . May your Highness nevertheless be pleased to cast a look upon a grain of dust, and, in conformity with your episcopal meekness, graciously receive my request.

"Papal indulgences are being carried about the country here and there, in the name of your Grace." I am not so much desirous of accusing the clamours of these preachers, for I have not heard them, as of reprobating the false ideas of simple and ignorant people, who, in purchasing indulgences, imagine themselves to be sure of their salvation. . . .

"Great God! the souls confided to your care, very excellent father, are prepared not for life but for death. The just and severe account which shall be demanded of you with reference to these souls grows and increases from day to day. . . . I cannot longer hold my peace! No! man is not saved through the work or the office of his bishop. . . . The just, even, are with difficulty saved, and the road which leads to life is strait. Wherefore, then, do the preachers of indulgences, by means of unmeaning fables, fill the minds of the people with thoughts of a carnal security?

"The indulgence alone, to believe these preachers, ought to be proclaimed, or ought to be exalted. . . . How is this? . . . Is not the principal and only duty of the bishops to teach the people the gospel and the charity of Jesus Christ? Jesus Christ has nowhere prescribed the preaching of indulgences; but he has with authority commanded the preaching of the gospel. How horrifying then, and how dangerous, must it be for a bishop, if he permit silence to be kept upon the subjects of the gospel, and suffer the clamour of indulgences alone, and without ceasing, to assail the ears of his people.

"Very worthy father in God, in the instructions of the commissioners, which have been published in the name of your Grace, (no doubt without your knowledge,) it is said that the indulgence is the most precious of all treasures, that through means of it man is reconciled with God, and that to repent is not necessary for those who make a purchase of these indulgences.

"What can I, and what ought I, then to do, very worthy bishop and most serene prince? Ah! I pray your Highness, through the Lord Jesus Christ, to direct towards this affair the eye of paternal vigilance, to order the immediate and entire suppression of this book, and to command preachers to deliver in the hearing of the people another kind of discourse. If you do not follow this advice, have a fear of hearing one day some strange voice arise which will refute the sayings of these preachers, to the great shame of your very serene Highness."

Luther sent, at same time, to the archbishop a copy of his theses, and invited him in a postscript to read them, so that he might be

convinced of the little assurance there was to be attached to the doctrine of indulgences.

Thus the whole desire of Luther was to see the guardians of the church roused to a sense of their duty, and active in their exertions to stop the evils that were hastening on her desolation.

Nothing could be more noble or more respectful than this letter of a monk to one of the greatest princes of the church and of the empire. Never has an epistle been dictated more in the spirit of the precepts of Jesus Christ—"Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." There is nowhere visible in this production the audacity of violent revolutionists, who despise dominion and accuse the authorities. It is especially the conscientious effusion of a Christian and a priest, who honours all men, but who, before all, fears God. Still all the prayers and supplications it contained were fruitless. The young Albert, pre-occupied in the pursuit of his pleasures and ambitious designs, took no notice of an appeal thus solemnly prepared. The bishop of Brandenburg, the ordinary of Luther, a wise and pious man, to whom a copy of the theses was likewise sent, replied that they attacked the power of the church; that Luther would draw down upon himself a weight of duty and vexation; that the thing was beyond his strength; and that he strongly advised him to remain tranquil. The princes of the church closed their ears to the voice of God, which was so clearly audible in tones of energy and feeling thus repeated through the agency of his servant Luther. They did not wish to comprehend the signs of the times; they were struck with that mournful blindness which has so often ensured the ruin of so many sovereign states and nobles. "They both then thought," said Luther afterwards, "that the pope would prove much too strong against a miserable mendicant such as I was."

But Luther could form a better judgment than the bishops of the disastrous effects these indulgences were calculated to have upon the manners and life of the people, because he was in constant communication with them. He saw frequently, and before him, those things which were only known to the bishops by means of faithless reports. If the bishops neglected his propositions, God did not fail in his support. The Head of the Church, who sits in the heavens, and to whom alone all power is given upon earth, had himself prepared the ground, and placed the grain in the hand of his servant. He had given wings to the seed of the truth, and it was in an instant spread over the whole boundaries of his church.

No person appeared next day at the university with the view of attacking the propositions of Luther. The commerce carried on by Tezel was alike too shameful and too abhorrent in the eyes of the people, for any one, besides himself or his myrmidons, to dare to answer the challenge given by the monk. But these theses were destined to make a noise elsewhere than under the arches of an academic hall. Scarcely had they been nailed to the door of the church attached to the castle of Wittenberg than, in answer to these feeble sounds occasioned by the blows of a small hammer, succeeded, throughout all Germany, a clamour which reached even to the middle of proud Rome, threatening with sudden ruin the props and gates of superb Popery—astonishing and alarming her heroes. and awakenin

at the same instant, several millions of men out of their deep sleep of error.

These theses flashed across the country with the rapidity of lightning. One month had not run its course before they reached the capital of Rome. "In the space of fifteen days," says a contemporary historian, "they were known over all Germany, and in four weeks they were very nearly spread throughout every province in Christendom, even as if angels themselves had borne their message, and had exposed them to the view of the whole world. No one can believe the sensation they so promptly created." "Every one," says Luther, "complained of these indulgences; and as all the bishops and teachers had maintained silence, while no other person had adventured to make fast the little bell, poor Luther become a famous doctor, because, however late, as it was said, one had at last appeared who had courage to do this deed. But I like not this glory, and the music appears to me too high for the words."

Parties of the pilgrims who had assembled from all parts of the country in Wittenberg to celebrate the Feast of All Saints, carried back to their homes, to the place of indulgences, copies of the famous theses drawn out by the Augustin monk. They thus contributed to the diffusion of these propositions; for every one who saw them, read, meditated, and commented upon their contents. They composed the theme of discussion in all the convents and universities. All pious monks, who had entered within the seclusion of the cloisters in order to save their souls, all right-thinking and honest men, rejoiced at the appearance of this simple and striking confession of the truth, and wished, with all their hearts, that Luther might continue the good work he had thus so auspiciously begun. At last one man had evinced sufficient courage to enter upon a struggle thus perilous. It was a reparation offered to Christendom itself, and the public conscience was satisfied with the offering. Piety beheld in these theses a blow given to the body of all superstitions. The new theology anticipated in them the defeat of scholastic dogmas, and princes and magistrates looked upon them as a defence raised up against the invasions of ecclesiastical power; whilst the nation rejoiced to see a negative so positively put by this monk to the avidity of the Roman chancery. "When Luther attacked this fable," said a man worthy, indeed, of belief, and one of the principal rivals of the reformer, Erasmus, to duke George of Saxony, "the whole world applauded the action, and it was in grand harmony." "I remark," said he again to Cardinal Campaggi, "that the more one possesses pure manners and evangelical piety, the less also is one opposed to Luther. His manner of life is praised even by those who cannot support his faith. The world had grown tired of a doctrine wherein were discovered so many puerile fables and human ordinances; and it had a thirst after this living water, pure and hidden, which proceeded from the veins of the evangelists and apostles. The genius of Luther was formed for accomplishing these things, and his zeal must enkindle his heart in the prosecution of so lovely an enterprise."

CHAPTER VI.

Reuchlin—Erasmus—Flek—Bibra—The Emperor—The Pope—Alyconius—The Monks—Apprehensions—Adelman—An Old Priest—The Bishop—The Elector—The People of Erfurt—Reply of Luther—Trouble—Exilement of Luther.

We must follow these propositions into every place wherein they gained admission, into the closets of the learned, the cells of the monks, and the palaces of princes, in order to form some idea of the various but prodigious effects they were the cause of producing in Germany.

Reuchlin became possessed of a copy of these theses. He was tired with the hardy conflict he had endured in opposition to the monks. The strength the new wrestler displayed in the production before him reanimated the sinking spirits of the old champion of letters, and brought back a feeling of joy to his saddened heart. "Thanks be to God," cried he, after having read these propositions, "now they have found a man who shall give them so much to do that they shall be in reality obliged to allow my old age to finish its course in peace."

The prudent Erasmus was residing in the Netherlands when the theses reached his dwelling. He rejoiced inwardly to see his secret vows for the ample redress of abuses expressed in terms of such commanding energy, and he commended the author of these propositions, but only exhorted him to proceed with more moderation and prudence. At the same time, some one reproaching Luther before him with violence, Erasmus said, "God has given a surgeon to men who cuts also into the flesh, because that without him the disease would have become incurable." And at a later period, when the elector of Saxony requested his advice respecting this affair of Luther, the scholar replied with a smile—"I am not at all astonished that he has occasioned such a hubbub; for he has committed two unpardonable faults, which consist in having attacked the triple crown of the pope and the belly of the monks."

Dr Flek, prior of the cloister of Steinhausitz, had for a considerable time discontinued to read the service of mass, but had never expressed to any person his true reason for this omission. One day he beheld posted on the walls of the refectory of his convent the theses of Luther: he went up to the spot and read the productions before him, of which he had only perused a part, when, unable to retain his expression of the joy he experienced, he exclaimed—"Oh! Oh! he has at last come for whom we have so long time waited, and who will shew it to you, you monks! . . . Then, reading on," says Mathesius, and making a play upon the word Wittemberg—"All the world," said he, "will come to seek for wisdom at this mountain and shall there find it." He wrote to the doctor to continue courageously this glorious combat. Luther designated him a man full of joy and of consolation.

At this time there was seated upon the ancient and celebrated episcopal bench at Wurzburg a truly pious man, honest and wise, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, namely, Lowrence de Bibra. When a gentleman came to apprise him of his intention to consign his daughter to the seclusion of the cloister, "Give her rather a husband," said he. Then he added—"Are you in want of money

for this purpose? I will lend it you." The emperor and all the other German princes entertained a high regard for this person. He himself was grieved with the disorders of the church, and especially of those of the convents. The theses of Luther arrived at last within the precincts of his palace: he read them with great joy, and publicly declared that he approved of Luther's work. At a later date he wrote to the Elector Frederick—"Do not allow the pious Doctor Martin Luther to depart, for he has been wronged." The elector, highly pleased with this testimony, wrote a letter with his own hand to the reformer, offering his alliance.

The Emperor Maximilian, predecessor of Charles V., himself read with admiration the theses drawn out by the monk of Wittenberg; he well divined the character of that man, and foresaw that this obscure Augustine would be admirably qualified to become an excellent ally for Germany in her struggle against Rome. Thus he commanded one of his envoys to say to the elector of Saxony—"Take good care of the monk Luther, because a time may come when we shall have need of him." And soon afterwards, when present in Diet with Pfeffinger, the friendly counsellor of the elector, "Ah well," said the emperor, "what is your Augustine about now? Truly his propositions are not to be despised! He will shew fine things out of them to the monks."

At Rome, and in the Vatican, these theses were not so ill received as might have been anticipated. Leo X. looked upon them with the eyes of a friend of letters rather than with the scrutiny of the pope. The amusement he received in their perusal caused him to overlook the severe truths contained in their details; and when the master of the sacred palace, who had the care of examining all books, Sylvestre Prierias, requested the pope to treat Luther as an heretic. "This brother, Martin Luther," replied he, "is a very great genius, and all that is against him proceeds from the jealousy of the monks."

There were few men upon whom the theses of Luther had stronger influence than upon the scholar of Annaberg, whom Tezel had so unpitifully driven from his presence. Myconius had betaken himself to the privacy of a convent. On the very night of his arrival within the walls of the monastery, he imagined that he beheld in a dream an immense field, quite covered with corn, fully ripened in the ear. "Cut," said the voice of him who seemed to be the conductor of Myconius, and upon an excuse being framed with reference to his inability to do so, this guide had pointed to the person of a reaper who laboured on with inconceivable activity. "Follow him, and work as he does," the guide had repeated. Myconius, yearning after holiness like Luther, had delivered himself over in the convent to watchings, fastings, mortifications, and every species of works invented by the device of men. But at last he despaired of ever acquiring the purpose of all these efforts. He abandoned study, and no longer occupied himself with any other than manual labour. Anon he would return to his books, and soon again alter his plans, while he once more devoted himself to the accomplishment of certain works. This outward activity, however, did not bring peace to his troubled conscience. God had spoken to him, and it was not possible for him to fall back into his former slumbering state. This agonizing condition

continued for the course of many years. It has been frequently conjectured that the ways of the reformers were pre-eminently smooth, and that in rejecting the practices of the church their remained for them alone the enjoyment of pleasure and comfort. It was not known that these worthy men only reached the truth through endurance of inward struggles a thousand times more painful than those stated observances to which servile minds easily accommodate themselves. At last the year 1517 arrives; the theses of Luther were published; they were spread over the whole territories of Christendom, and likewise reach within the convent wherein resided at the time the scholar of Annaberg. He hides himself, along with another monk, John Voit, in a corner of the cloister, in order to read at their ease the propositions of the monk of Wittenberg! It was, indeed, in these propositions Myconius found the truth he had heard from his father; his eyes were opened; he now inwardly experienced a voice responding to the rumour resounding at the time in every district of the German empire, and a mighty consolation filled his heart. "I distinctly see," said he, "that Martin Luther is the reaper whom I have seen in the dream, and who has taught me to gather in the ears of corn." He forthwith adopted openly the doctrines which Luther had proclaimed. The monks were terrified at this undisguised avowal of new sentiments; they set themselves in opposition to Myconius, and rose in defiance of Luther and his convent. "This convent," replied Myconius, "is like the sepulchre of the Lord: a desire is cherished to prevent therefrom the resurrection of Christ, but such an object shall not be attained." In short, his superiors, seeing that they could not convince the young monk, interdicted him during the space of a year and a half from holding any communication whatever outside the convent, forbidding him either to write or to receive any letters, and threatening him with perpetual imprisonment. Nevertheless the hour of his deliverance also arrived. Appointed at an after period pastor at Zwickaw, he was the first who pronounced sentence against popery in the churches of Thuringia. "Then I was able," said he, "to labour with my venerable father Luther in the harvest of the gospel." Jonas designated him a man who could do as he pleased.

No doubt there were many other souls besides for whom the theses of Luther became the signal of a new life. They kindled a fresh light in a vast number of cells, studies, and palaces. Whilst those who had come to seek in the interior of the convents a good table, or a life either crowned with sloth or with consequence and honours, says Mathesius, endeavoured to heap injuries upon the name of Luther; the really religious who lived in the exercise of prayer, fastings; and mortifications, rendered thanks to God from the instant they heard the cry of that eagle whose appearance John Huss had announced a hundred years before. The people even who were not sufficiently learned in the theological question, but who only understood that Luther attacked the practices of indulgence dealers and lazy monks, welcomed his enterprise with acclamations of joy. A grand sensation was produced in Germany by means of these bold propositions. At same time some of the contemporaries of the reformer readily foresaw the serious consequences they were calculated to produce, as well as the numerous obstacles they were certain to

encounter. These men loudly proclaimed their fears, and only rejoiced with trembling.

"I much fear," wrote the worthy canon of Augsburg, Bernard Adelman, to his friend Pirckheimer, "that this excellent man must at last yield to the avarice and power of the partisans of indulgences. His representations have had so little effect, that the bishop of Augsburg, our primate and metropolitan, has just prescribed, in the name of the pope, a new list of indulgences in favour of St Peter at Rome. Let him speedily seek for assistance from the princes; let him take heed of tempting God; for it would be a want of common sense to forget the imminent danger in which he has placed himself." Adelman was much rejoiced when the report arose that Henry VIII. had called Luther to take shelter in England. "He shall be able," thought he, "to teach there in peace the doctrines of the truth."

Thus many were impregnated with the idea that the doctrines of the gospel must look for support to the power of ruling princes. They did not know this gospel advanced independent of all such power, and that, when they were united, the princely authority was often seen to entangle and cripple the free progress of the gospel.

The famous historian, Albert Kranz, was then lying on his death-bed within the city of Hamburg, when the theses of Luther were presented to him. "You are in the right, brother Martin," exclaimed the dying man, "but you shall not succeed. . . . Poor monk, go into your cell and cry, May God have pity upon me."

An old priest of Hexter in Westphalia, having received and read these theses in his parsonage, said in Low Dutch, while he shook his head—"Dear brother Martin, if you succeed in overturning this purgatory and all these dealers in paper, truly thou art a great master!" Ebsenius, who lived a century later, wrote the following couplet under these words:—

"What would now this good clerk say,
Had he but lived until this day?"

Not only did a great number of the friends of Luther entertain fears regarding the step he had taken, but many of them even testified their disapprobation of his measures.

The bishop of Brandenburg, witnessing the engagement of a quarrel so momentous within the confines of his diocese, was anxious to choke the rising flames. He resolved, however, to conduct his remonstrances with calmness. "I find," he caused the abbot of Lenin to say to Luther, "in the theses upon indulgences, nothing that can be called contrary to the catholic truth. I myself condemn these indiscreet proclamations; but, for the love of peace, and in respect for your bishop, cease to write upon this subject." Luther was confused at hearing both an abbot and a bishop of such consideration addressing themselves to him in terms of so much humility. Touched, constrained by the first impulses of his heart, he replied—"I consent to your suggestions. I prefer rather to obey than even to work miracles, were it possible for me to do so."

The elector likewise discovered, with uneasiness, the commencement of a combat, perfectly legitimate, no doubt, but of which no one could foresee the end. No prince was more anxious than Frederick to preserve the continuance of public peace. Now, what a great fire might not this small spark kindle? What mighty confusion, what

anguish to the people, might not this quarrel among the monks create? The elector, therefore, availed himself of several occasions to communicate to Luther the sorrow he experienced concerning this affair.

In his own order even, and so close to him as the very cells of his own convent in Wittemberg, Luther met with positive disapprovers. The prior and sub-prior were both alarmed at the loud threatenings uttered by Tezel and his companions. They went together, under the influence of such fears, to the cell of Luther. "For goodness' sake," said they to him, "do not cover our order with shame! Already the other orders, and especially the Dominicans, leap for joy at the thought of not bearing alone the burden of opprobrium." Luther was overcome at the rehearsal of these words; but, soon recovering his equanimity, he replied—"Dear fathers, if this thing is not done in the name of God, it shall fall: if not, let it take its course." The prior and sub-prior remained silent. "The thing advances even now," added Luther, after having mentioned this feature, "and if it please God, it shall proceed always better unto the end. Amen."

Luther had many other attacks to encounter. At Erfurt he was accused of violence and pride in the manner with which he condemned the opinions of others—a reproach usually offered against those individuals who possess the strong convictions imparted by a true knowledge of the word of God. He was equally charged with the crimes of precipitation and thoughtlessness. "They seek from me examples of modesty," replied Luther, "and they shew despite to the very same virtue in the judgment they have formed of me! We always behold the mote in the eyes of another, but we do not discern the beam which is in our own eye. . . . The truth shall not gain more by my modesty than it shall lose by my temerity. I desire to know," continued he, in addressing himself to Lange, "what errors you and your theologians have found in my theses? Who knows not that one rarely sets before the public a new idea without exhibiting the appearance of pride, or without being accused of seeking to raise up disputes? Were humility herself desirous of undertaking some new project, those who were of a different opinion would cry out that she is proud. Wherefore were Christ and all the body of martyrs put to death? Because they have appeared proud despisers of the wisdom of their times, and have advanced new opinions, without having beforehand humbly consulted the organs of ancient notions.

"Let not the wise men of this day, therefore, expect from me so strong an exhibition of modesty, or rather of hypocrisy, as will encourage me to ask their advice before publishing any matter my duty calls upon me to establish. That which I do shall not be done through the prudence of men, but by the counsel of God. If the work be from God, who shall stay its progress, if it proceeds not from him, who shall advance its purpose? Not my will, nor their's, nor ours be done, but thy will, O Holy Father, who art in the heavens!" What courage is here displayed; how much enthusiasm; how much confidence in God; and especially what truths does not these words contain for the use of all times?

Nevertheless the reproaches and accusations which assailed Luther on every side did not fail to make some impression upon his mind.

He was deceived in the fulness of his hopes. He had expected to behold the heads of the church, and the most distinguished learned men of the nation, unite their strength publicly with his on the occasion. One word of approbation, pronounced in the first moment of excited feelings, was all the best disposed had granted to his cause; while many who had until now highly venerated his character were loud in their censures of his conduct. He felt himself alone in the church, alone, placed in opposition to Rome, alone in presence of that ancient and formidable edifice whose foundations sunk deep into the bowels of the earth, and whose walls were raised as high as the clouds, against which he had just hurled the force of an audacious blow. He was deeply moved at the recollection of what he had done, and much cast down in spirit. Many doubts, which he thought he had conquered, returned with greater darkness upon his soul. He trembled at the idea of his having opposed to his views the combined authority of the church; to escape from the exactments of that authority, to challenge that voice to which the people had for ages yielded an humble obedience, to put himself in opposition to that church which he had been accustomed, from his infancy, to venerate as the mother of the faithful, . . . he, a mean monk! . . . This was an effort beyond the endurance of human nature. No step had cost him more than this one. It was equally the step that decided the fate of the Reformation.

No person can better describe than himself the wild feelings that, as it were, ran riot in his soul: "I have begun this affair," said he, "with mighty fear and trembling. What was I then, myself, a poor, miserable, despised brother, more like a phantom than the human figure of a man,* what was I that I should set myself in opposition to the majesty of the pope, before whom trembled, not only the kings of the earth and all the world beside, but even, if I may so speak, heaven and hell, constrained to obey the very glances of his eyes? . . . No one can know what my heart has suffered during the course of these two first years, nor in what dejection, I could almost say in what despair, I have often been plunged. They can form no idea of it; those proud spirits who have afterwards attacked the pope with swelling boldness, although with all their talents they could have done him no evil, had not Jesus Christ already, through means of me, his weak and unworthy instrument, inflicted upon him a wound from which he could never recover. . . But whilst they were content to look on and to leave me single in the perilous breach, I was neither so joyous, nor tranquil, nor so sure of the results; for I knew not then many things which I now know, thanks be to God. There were, it is true, many pious Christians upon whom my propositions had fallen with unction, and who strongly espoused my cause; but I could not acknowledge or consider them as organs of the Holy Spirit: I turned my regard solely upon the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the theologians, the jurisconsults, the monks, and the priests. . . It was in that direction I expected to witness the influences of the Spirit. Still, however, after having remained victorious through the Scriptures over all opposing arguments, I at last surmounted, by the

* *Miserrimus tunc fraterculus, cadaveri similior quam homini.* (L. Op. Lat. i. p. 49.)

grace of God, with much agony and toil, and dreadful sufferings, the only argument which still stood in my way, namely, 'that it is necessary to listen to the church;' for I revered, and from the bottom of my heart, the church of the pope as the true church; and I cherished this preference with much more sincerity and veneration than were manifested towards the church by those shameful and infamous corruptors thereof, who, with the purpose of opposing me, now extolled so loudly her character. If I had despised the pope, as he is despised in their heart by those who lavish on him the praises of their lips, I would have trembled lest the earth should have opened at the moment and swallowed me up alive, as in the instance of Core and all those who were in company with him."

How strongly do these struggles proclaim the honour of Luther! What sincerity, what uprightness they exhibit before us in the ruling passion of his soul! and how much more worthy of our regard do these hard fightings, to which he was subjected from within and from without, render him, than if, without such strivings, he had done all by the mere force of superior intrepidity. This travail of his soul confirms to us the truth and divinity of his work. It is evident that the principle and cause of the Reformation were drawn from heaven. Who dare affirm, after all the evidence we have adduced, that the Reformation was an affair of worldly politics? No, assuredly, it was not the effect of the political designs of men, but that of the power of God. Had Luther only been excited by the workings of human passions, he would have sunk under the pressure of his own fears; and his short-comings and his scruples would have stifled the fire which had been kindled in his soul, so that he would have merely thrown into the church an evanescent light similar to the achievements of many zealous and pious men whose names have reached the cognizance of our own times. But we speak of an epoch when the set time of God had arrived, and the work cannot be arrested, while the emancipation of the church must equally be accomplished. Luther, had, at least, been destined to prepare for this complete deliverance and these vast developements which are promised to the reign of Jesus Christ. The truth, also, of this magnificent promise was realized—*The young people of the elect fret themselves and grow tired: the young people fall down even for want of strength; but those who wait on the Eternal shall renew their strength; they shall mount on wings like eagles.* The same divine power which had filled the heart of the doctor of Wittenberg, and which had hurried him into the middle of the combat, very soon restored to him the command of his original resolution."

CHAPTER VII.

Attack of Tezel—Reply of Luther—Good Works—Luther and Spalatin—Study of the Scriptures—Schœurl and Luther—Doubts upon the Theses—Luther and his People—A New Dress.

The reproaches, the timidity, or the silence of his friends, had greatly discouraged the heart of Luther, but the attacks of his enemies had a very different effect upon his spirits—a circumstance of very common occurrence. The adversaries of the truth, believing that by violence they would accomplish their ends, were found to advance the purposes of God. Tezel took up, although with a weak hand, the

glove which had been thrown on the ground. The sermon of Luther, which had secured from the people an attention similar to that bestowed by learned men upon the theses, was the first object of his attack. He replied to this discourse, sentence by sentence, after his own manner, and then announced his being prepared to refute more amply the doctrines of his adversary in certain theses which he would maintain in the university of Frankfort on the Oder. "Then," said he, in answer to the conclusion of Luther's sermon, "then every one shall be able to acknowledge who is the author of heresy, a heretic, a schismatic, or false, rash, and a calumniator. Then it shall be evident to all who is possessed of clouded brains, that has never discovered the meaning of the Bible, nor read Christian doctrines, nor understood their own teachers. . . . In support of the propositions I mean to advance, I am ready to suffer all things, the prison, or the rod, or water, or fire." . . .

One particular difference in the production of Tezel now referred to, is the curious dissimilarity between the style of his German and that of his opponent Luther. It might have been supposed that some centuries had elapsed in the intermediate space of their appearance. A foreigner, especially, has often difficulty in ascertaining the sense of Tezel's words, while the language used by Luther is almost identical with the manner of expression in vogue at the present day. It is only necessary to compare their writing in order to be convinced that Luther was the founder of the German language. This is undoubtedly one of his smallest merits, but still it is a mark of excellence.

Luther replied to the attack made upon him without mentioning the name of Tezel; for Tezel had not given the name of his antagonist. But there was not an individual in Germany who could not have written at the top of these publications those names which it seemed convenient to conceal. Tezel endeavoured to confound the repentance required by God with the acts of penance imposed by the church, with the view of enhancing the price of his indulgences. Luther exerted his talents to illustrate this point.

"In order to avoid many words," said he in his picturesque language, "I cast to the winds (which besides has more leisure than I have) his other sayings, which are no more than flowers of paper or dry leaves, and I content myself with examining the foundations of his tower of gluttony.

"The penitence which the holy father imposes cannot be the same as that required by Jesus Christ; because what the holy father imposes he is able to grant dispensation from, and if these two penitences were one and the same thing, it would follow that the holy father takes away that which Jesus Christ lays on, and that he destroys the commandment of God. . . . Ah! if it seems good to him, to ill use me," continues Luther, after having quoted some other false interpretations urged by Tezel, "and to call me a heretic, schismatic, calumniator, or whatever else he may please, I will not, on this account, become his enemy, and I will pray for him as for one of my friends. . . . But it is impossible to suffer that he should treat the Holy Scriptures, our consolation, (Romans, xv. 4,) in the manner a sow would treat a sack of oats." . . .

We must early accustom ourselves to hear Luther at times make use of expressions alike too sharp and too familiar for the taste of our

own age; it was the practice of his times, and we generally find couched in those words, which in our day shock the conventional relish of language, a force and a justness which may well excuse their rudeness. Luther thus continues:—

“He who makes purchases of indulgences, again repeat the adversaries, does a better deed than he who gives alms to a poor man, not reduced to a state of extreme want. Now, let people bring us the news of the profanation offered to our churches and our crosses by the Turks, we are able to listen to these details without shuddering at their iniquity, because we have among ourselves Turks a hundred times more wicked, who profane and annihilate the only true sanctuary, namely, the word of God, that sanctifies all things. Let him who wishes to follow this precept take good care not to give anything to eat to him who is hungry, or not to clothe him that is naked, before they expire in his sight, and can consequently have no more need of his assistance.”

It is of the utmost importance to compare this zeal evinced by Luther in favour of good works with the assertions he before made respecting the doctrine of justification by faith. For anything else that can be said on this question, it is sufficient to add that, whoever possesses a small degree of experience or knowledge on the subject of Christianity has little need of this new proof of a truth of which he has himself recognised the evidence. We allude to the fact that the more any person is attached to the doctrine of justification by faith, the more equally is that person persuaded of the necessity of works, and of his obligation to practise them, whilst any laxity concerning this doctrine of faith invariably carries along with it a proportionate degeneracy in manners. Luther, before him St Paul, and after him Howard, are proofs of the first assertion made above. All men deficient of faith, with whom the world is filled, are proofs of the second assertion.

Then Luther, touching the injuries attempted by Tezel, returns such railing accusations in this fashion:—“When I heard of these invectives, it appeared to me,” he said, “as if I were to listen to the brayings of a large ass against me. I rejoice much in their application, and I would be very sorry to be esteemed a good Christian by such people.” . . . We must represent Luther in his true character, with all his foibles on his head. This propensity to witticisms, and to witticisms of a gross nature, was one of his faults. The reformer was a great man, and a man of God, without doubt, but he was a man, and not an angel, and he was not even a perfect man. Who has a right to expect at his hands the attributes of perfection?

“For the rest,” adds he, in giving his adversary a challenge, “although for such offences it may not be the custom to burn heretics, you shall find me at Wittemberg, me, Doctor Martin Luther. If there is any inquisitor who pretends to chew iron and to make rocks fly up in the air, I give him to understand that there is a safe coming provided for him this length, with open doors, and certain board and lodging, the whole secured under the gracious care of the praiseworthy Prince Frederick, elector of Saxony, who never will grant protection to heresy.” . . .

It is thus seen that courage was not wanting in the spirit of Luther. He trusted for support on the word of God, and that is a rock which

no tempest can ever cause to shake. But God in his faithfulness also vouchsafed him other means of assistance. To the acclamations of joy with which the multitude had received the theses of Luther, there had speedily succeeded a sullen silence. The hosts of learned men had timidly retreated when they had heard the clamour of calumny and insult raised by Tezel and many of the Dominicans. The bishops, who had previously condemned in ardent language the abuse of indulgences, now that they were openly attacked, did not fail in a spirit of contradiction, but too often exemplified, to characterise the present assault as inauspicious. The larger number of the friends of the reformer were struck with dismay. Many of them, in fact, had recourse to immediate flight. But when the first emotions of terror had subsided, an opposite sensation laid hold upon the minds of men. The monk of Wittemberg, who for some time had found himself almost alone in the middle of the church, very soon beheld himself surrounded anew by a numerous concourse of friends and approvers.

There was one companion, however, who, although timid, had continued faithful during the revolutions of this crisis, and whose friendship afforded both consolation and support. This true associate was Spalatin. Their correspondence was uninterrupted. "I give thee thanks," said Luther to his friend, in speaking of some particular mark of friendship received at his hands; "but what do I not owe you?" It was on the 11th November 1517, eleven days after the theses, and consequently at the moment when the fermentation in the public mind was, without doubt, at its height, Luther delighted to pour into the heart of his friend the acknowledgments of his grateful feelings. It is, moreover, truly interesting to find, in this same letter to Spalatin, the high-spirited man, who had just achieved an action so full of courage, declaring from whence he had received his abounding strength. "We can do nothing of ourselves, but we can do all things through the grace of God. All ignorance is invincible as regards ourselves; no ignorance is invincible through the grace of God. The more we endeavour in our own strength to arrive at the attainment of wisdom, the nearer we approach the substance of folly. And it is not true that this invincible ignorance exculpates the sinner; for otherwise there would be no sin in the world."

Luther had not sent a copy of his theses either to the prince or to any one of his courtiers. It would appear that the royal chaplain evinced some astonishment at this apparent neglect. "I was not willing," replied Luther, "that my theses should reach the hands of our very illustrious prince, or any of his attendants, before those who may be said to be addressed therein, had themselves received them, for fear that they might believe I had only published these propositions in compliance with the order of the prince, or to conciliate favour in his sight, and in opposition to the interests of the bishop of Mentz. I learn that there are already several individuals imbued with such notions. But at present I can swear with perfect freedom that my theses have been published without the knowledge of the duke Frederick."

If Spalatin, in the manner we have referred to, consoled and supported his friend with his influence, Luther on his part eagerly sought to satisfy the requests made to him by the unassuming chaplain. Among other questions, this latter personage then preferred one, still

often repeated in our own day, namely, "What is the best manner of studying the Holy Scriptures?"

"Up to the present hour," replied Luther, "you have only questioned me, most worthy Spalatin, upon subjects within the power of my understanding. But to direct you in the study of the Holy Scriptures exceeds my strength. If, however, you absolutely wish to know my method, I will not hide it from you.

"It is very certain that we cannot attain to a knowledge of the Scriptures either by the force of study or of understanding. Your first duty, therefore, is to begin by prayer. To ask of the Lord that he may be pleased to grant you, in his great mercy, the real knowledge of his word. There is no other interpreter of the word of God but the identical author of that word, according as it is said: *They shall be all taught of God.* Hope nothing from your labours, nothing from your intelligence. Place your confidence alone in God and on the influence of his Spirit. And believe a man who has experience of what he says."

Here we behold the manner in which Luther arrived at the possession of the truth of which he was the preacher. It was not, as some have presumed to say, in yielding himself over to the powers of a proud reason; nor was it, as others affirm, in submitting himself to the control of malevolent passions. The most pure, holy, and sublime source, even God himself, invoked in deep humility, confidence, and prayer, was the sole refuge to which he had recourse. But there are few men in our own age who imitate his example, and hence it happens that few are able to comprehend his advice. These words of Luther are of themselves, in the conviction of a serious mind, ample justification of the great reform.

Luther likewise found consolation in the friendship of some respectable laymen. Christopher Scheurl, the excellent secretary of the imperial city of Nuremberg, conferred on him several affecting tokens of friendship. It is well known how soothing to the heart of a man are such testimonies of regard, when he sees himself the object of attack on every side. The secretary of Nuremberg carried his favour beyond the symptoms we have noticed; for he was anxious to procure for his friend the protection of numerous friends. He therefore recommended Luther to dedicate one of his works to a Nurembergian jurisconsult, at the time in great celebrity, and whose name was Jerome Ebner. "You have a high idea of my studies," Luther with modesty replied, "but I have only the most mean opinion of the same works. Nevertheless I have felt anxious to comply with your desires. I have made search; . . . but in all my stock, which I have never found so mean, nothing has met my eye which appears to me at all worthy of being dedicated to so great a man by one so insignificant as I am." Amazing proof of humility. It is Luther who uses these words, and it is with reference to Doctor Ebner, whose name is quite unknown to us, he thus draws a comparison between himself. Posterity has not confirmed the judgment pronounced in the above sentence.

Luther, who had adopted no means for spreading abroad copies of his theses, had not sent one to Scheurl more than to the elector or his courtiers. The secretary of Nuremberg expressed his astonishment at this want of courtesy. "My purpose," replied Luther, "did not recognise the necessity of giving my theses so much publicity. I

wished merely to confer on the subject of their contents with certain persons among whom I live or near to whom I reside. If they were condemned by such individuals, I meant to destroy them. If they were approved of, I entertained the intention of publishing them. But now they are printed, reprinted, and spread abroad far beyond all my expectations; in so much, that I repent having composed the production in question, not because I fear lest the truth should reach the knowledge of the people—that is, indeed, what I anxiously desire—but because this is not the right manner to instruct the people in the truth. There are questions in these propositions which are still doubtful to myself; and had I imagined that my theses were destined to create such a lively sensation, there are some things I would have omitted, and others I would have affirmed with a more perfect assurance." Luther afterwards thought otherwise. Far from being alarmed at having said too much, he declared that he ought to have said a great deal more. Still the apprehensions manifested by Luther to Scheurl did honour to his sincerity. These doubts evidently shew the absence of all preconceived plans, as well as of all party spirit, and that the writer of these theses had not yielded to any other feeling save an earnest inquiry after the truth. When he had fully discovered the truth, he altered the form of his expressions. "You shall observe in my first writings," said he, many years later, "that I have very humbly ceded to the pope many things, and even many important things, which now I regard and detest as abominable and blasphemous."

Scheurl, was not the only layman of consideration who, at this time, bestowed on Luther the proofs of their abiding friendship. The celebrated painter, Albert Durer, sent him a present, most probably consisting of one of his own pictures, and the doctor took occasion to express his grateful sense of this kindness.

Thus Luther proved in his own experience, at that time, the truth of this saying of Divine wisdom: *The intimate friend loves at all times, and, like a brother, is born for the day of adversity.* But Luther likewise remembered the condition of others. He pleaded on behalf of all his people. The elector had just finished the exactment of some new impost, and it was reported that he was about to levy another additional tax, probably in accordance with the advice of Pfeffinger, the counsellor of the prince, against which charge Luther had often thrown out satirical observations. Indeed the doctor at last boldly opposed the measure. "May your Highness be pleased not to despise the prayer of a poor mendicant. I beg of you, in the name of God, not to enforce any new tax. My heart is broken, as well as that of many who are much devoted to your interest, at the contemplation of the injury inflicted, by means of the last impost, upon the fair renown and happy popularity enjoyed by your Highness. It is true that God has endowed you with superior reason, whereby you may be able to discern more accurately than me, or, without doubt, than all your other subjects, the proper tendency of these affairs. But perhaps it is the will of God that in this instance an inferior reason may be permitted to enlighten a stronger judgment, so that no one person should trust wholly in himself, but solely in God our Lord, who, we earnestly entreat, may be pleased to preserve your body in health and your soul for the blessing of eternal life. Amen. It is thus the gospel, which commands honour to be shewn to kings, likewise pleads the cause of

the people. Luther discoursed to the nation upon her duties ; and he called upon the prince to remember the rights that belonged to the nation. The voice of a Christian so well instructed, making itself heard in the closet of a sovereign, might well supply the counsel received from a whole assembly of legislators.

In this same letter, wherein Luther addresses a strict lesson to the elector, he does not fear to make, at same time, a request, or rather to recall to the mind of the prince the subject of a former promise, namely, that of providing the doctor with a new dress. This freedom in the correspondence of Luther, at a moment when he might have dreaded the imputation of offering offensive language to Frederick, reflects equal honour upon the character of the prince and of the reformer. "But if it is Pfeffinger who has the charge of this business," added he, "let him give it me in reality, and not in the protestations of friendship ; for to weave with good words merely, as he is well able to do, never has the effect of producing a good piece of cloth." Luther thought that, on account of the faithful advice he had given his prince, he had well deserved his new court suit. However this may be, two years after the date we speak of, he had not received the dress in question, and he again repeated the same petition. This circumstance seems to indicate that Frederick was not so much as has been represented at the disposal of Luther.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dispute at Frankfort—Theses of Tezel—Threatenings—Opposition of Knipstrow—Theses of Luther Burned—The Monks—Peace of Luther—Theses of Tezel Burned—Trouble of Luther—Visit of the Bishop.

In this manner the minds of men had by degrees cast off the effects of their first alarm. Luther himself was disposed to declare that his words did not bear the signification attributed to them. Newer events might have been sufficient to turn the course of general attention into another channel, and this blow, aimed at the Roman doctrines, might have exhausted, like many others, its whole strength in the air. But the partisans of Rome prevented the consummation of such prospects. They managed to heap coals on the fire instead of extinguishing its flame.

Tezel and the Dominicans answered furiously to the attack which had been made against their order. Burning with an ardent desire to crush beneath them the audacious monk who had just dared to stigmatize their traffic, and to conciliate the favour of the Roman pontiff, they raised a cry of vengeance ; they argued that, to make an attack upon the indulgences ordained by the pope was to arraign the pope himself, and they summoned to the rescue the whole body of monks and theologians attached to their school. In truth, Tezel felt assured that an adversary of Luther's powers was too strong for him to meet in single combat. Completely disconcerted by the assault of the doctor, but especially filled with rage, Tezel quitted the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and fixed his quarters in Frankfort upon the Oder, where he arrived in the month of November 1517. The university erected in this town was of a similarly recent date with the college of Wittemberg, but the former had been founded by the opposite party. Conrad Wimpina, a man of much eloquence, and the former rival of Pollich of Mellerstadt, as well as one of the most

distinguished theologians of the day, was a professor in the establishment at Frankfort. Wimpina regarded with sentiments of envy alike the doctor and the university of Wittemberg. Their reputation had eclipsed that of their rival. Tezel had requested Wimpina to prepare answers to the theses of Luther, and two series of anti-theses were consequently produced, having for their design to defend, the first, the doctrine of indulgences, and the second, the authority of the pope.

On the 20th January 1518, this dispute took place, for which so much preparation had been made beforehand, and so much noise raised in proclaiming its approach, and upon which Tezel had reared a magnificent structure of future hopes. He had himself sounded the muster-call; and monks obeyed the command from all the cloisters in the neighbourhood, so that more than three hundred of their numbers assembled within the university of Frankfort. Tezel read over in detail his theses. In them there was found even the following declaration:—"That whoever says that the soul does not take its flight out of purgatory as soon as the money sounds in the bottom of the strong-box is in error."*

But, above all, he propounded propositions in conformity with whose terms the pope appeared in reality *set down like God, in the temple of God*, according to the language of the apostle. It was convenient for this impudent dealer to take shelter, with all his irregularities and offences, under the mantle of the pope.

Look only to the substance of what he declared himself ready to defend in the presence of the numerous assembly with which he was surrounded.

3. "Christians must be taught that the pope, in virtue of his grandeur and power, is above all in the church universal and in councils, and all his ordinances must be obeyed with perfect submission.

4. "Christians must be taught that the pope alone has a right to decide in matters of Christian faith; that alone he has the power, and that no person has it excepting him, of explaining according to his own interpretation the sense of the Holy Scriptures, and of approving or condemning all the words or deeds of others.

5. "Christians must be taught that the judgment of the pope in things pertaining to the Christian faith, and which are necessary to the salvation of mankind, can never err.

6. "Christians must be taught that more support and trust must be placed, in things respecting the faith, in the opinion of the pope, in the way manifested by his judgments, than upon the opinion of all wise men, in the way they may obtain their opinions from the Scriptures.

8. "Christians must be taught that those who bring reproach upon the honour and dignity of the pope, render themselves guilty of the crime of high treason, and merit imprecation.

17. "Christians must be taught that there are many things which the church regards as certain articles of universal truth, although such things are neither to be found in the canon of the Bible nor in the works of the ancient teachers.

44. "Christians must be taught that they must regard as obstinate heretics those who declare, either by their words, their actions, or

* Quisquis ergo dicit, non citius posse animam volare, quam in fundo, cistigeharius possit timere, errat. (Positiones Fratris Joh. Tezeli, Pos. 56. L. Op. 2. p. 94.)

their writings, that they would not retract their heretical propositions, although excommunications upon excommunications were poured down upon them, like the falling down of rain or hailstones.

48. "Christians must be taught that those who uphold the errors of heretics, and who prevent by their authority such persons from being taken before the judge who has the right to examine them, are excommunicated ; that if, in the space of a year, they do not abstain from such practices, they shall be declared infamous, and severely punished with many chastisements, according to the regulations of law, and for the terror of all men.

50. "Christians must be taught that those who scribble over so many books and so much paper, who preach or dispute publicly and wickedly concerning oral confession, or the satisfaction of works, or the rich and grand indulgences of the bishop of Rome, or of his power ; that those who take part with such as preach or write these things, or who take pleasure in their writings, and who distribute their works among the people and throughout the world ; that those, in short, who speak of those things in secret, in a contemptible manner, and without respect, ought all to stand in awe of incurring the penalties we have already named, and of precipitating themselves, and others with them, at the last day, into eternal condemnation, and even here below into great disgrace ; for every beast that touches the mountain shall be stoned to death."

It will thus be seen that Tezel did not turn his attacks solely upon the person of Luther. In the composition of the forty-eighth theses he probably had in view the elector of Saxony. These propositions, on the whole, display much of the spirit of the Dominican. To threaten all who contradict them with cruel punishments, was an argument of the inquisitor, against which there could no longer be any means of making a reply. The three hundred monks summoned together by Tezel stared at him with amazement while he spoke, and admired every word that fell from his mouth. The theologians belonging to the university were either exceedingly alarmed at the risk of becoming abettors of heresy, or were too much attached to the principles of Wimpina, to offer any honest objections against the substance of these astonishing theses just now read in their hearing.

The whole affair, then, about which so much clamour had been raised, appeared to have been no more than a pretended conflict ; but among the crowd of students who assisted at the dispute, there was a young man, nearly twenty years of age, whose name was John Knipstrow. This youth had read over the theses drawn out by Luther, and had found them to agree with the doctrines of the Scriptures. Indignant at beholding the truth thus trodden publicly under foot without the intervention of any one to rescue it from such degradation, the said youth elevated his voice, and, to the great astonishment of the whole assembly, began an attack upon the propositions of the presumptuous Tezel. The poor Dominican, who had made no provision for the rejoinder thus called from him, was sorely troubled at this appearance of opposition. After a few efforts to meet the replies of his antagonist, he gave up the debate, and left the controversy to be followed up by Wimpina. The said professor strove with more vigour to refute the arguments of their opponent ; but Knipstrow pressed him so closely with questions, that, in order to

bring a dispute so discordant with his views to a close, Wimpina, who presided, declared the discussion at an end, and passed on without farther ceremony to the promotion of Tezel to the rank of doctor, as a reward due to his exertions in this glorious combat. Wimpina, with the purpose of getting rid of the youthful orator we have noticed, ordered him to be transferred to the convent of Pyritz in Pomerania, with strict injunctions to have him closely guarded. But this rising light was only transported from the banks of the Oder to shine afterwards with greater lustre in the provinces of Pomerania. God, when it is agreeable to his pleasure, employs scholars to confound the wisdom of their teachers.

Tezel, anxious to recover the ground he had lost, had recourse to the *ultima ratio* of Rome and of the inquisitors—we allude to the arbitration of the fire. He caused a pulpit and scaffold to be erected in one of the thoroughfares of one of the suburbs attached to Frankfort. He proceeded towards the spot in solemn procession, accompanied with his insignia of inquisitor of the faith. He gave vent to the furious sentiments of his heart from the elevation of the pulpit. He threatened with a voice of thunder, and cried in accents equally loud, that the heretic Luther ought to be put to death in the fire. Then, placing the propositions and the sermon of the doctor upon the scaffold, he set fire to them. He was better acquainted with the performance of such a deed than to argue in defence of his theses. On this occasion he encountered no opposition; his victory was here complete. The shameless Dominican re-entered in triumph the streets of Frankfort. When the strongest parties are conquered, they have recourse to certain public demonstrations which are calculated to afford partial consolation under their convictions of dishonour.

The second theses of Tezel were destined to form an important era in the history of the Reformation. They, as it were, misplaced the scene of dispute, and transported the controversy from the markets of indulgences into the halls of the Vatican, and turned its rancour from Tezel upon the pope. In place of the contemptible broker whom Luther had disposed of according to his will, they exposed to view the sacred person of the head of the church. Luther was struck with amazement. It is probable that at a later period he might himself have made a similar assault; but his enemies had spared him the toil of such an exploit. From this moment the dispute was not merely directed against the abuses of a nefarious commerce, but was pointed towards the condition of Rome: and the blow which a courageous hand had aimed at the establishment of Tezel, was found sufficient to shake to its basis the throne of the pontiff king.

The theses of Tezel, indeed, were converted into the signal of action on the part of the forces of Rome. A hue-and-cry was raised in opposition to Luther amongst the monks, who were grievously chafed in their temper at beholding the revival of an adversary yet more formidable to their interests than the invasions attempted by either Erasmus or Reuchlin. The name of Luther resounded from every pulpit occupied by a brother of the order of Dominicans. They addressed themselves to the passions of the people; they denominated the courageous doctor a madman, a seducer, and one possessed of a devil. His doctrines were equally condemned as heretical in the most horrible sense. "Wait only for the space of fifteen days, or four weeks at the

most," said they, "and this egregious heretic shall be burned." Had the question rested only with the Dominicans, the fate of Huss and Jerome would have very soon overtaken the Saxon doctor; but God watched over his path. His life was destined to accomplish the designs of which the ashes of Huss were doomed to compose the first process; for every one is made subservient to the purposes of God, one by being continued in life, another by being hurried into the jaws of death. Many already declared that the university of Wittemberg was entirely corrupted with heresy, and pronounced its condition infamous. "Let us pursue this villain and all his accomplices," continued they. In many places these empassioned appeals were successful in aggravating the rage of the people. Those who adopted the opinions of the reformer were signalized as objects of public attention, and wherever the monks commanded a majority, the friends of the gospel experienced the effects of their hatred. Thus, with reference to the Reformation, was fulfilled the meaning of this prophecy of our Saviour—*They will revile you, they will persecute you, and will speak falsely against you, for my sake, all kinds of evil.* This retribution of the world has never at any time been spared the decided disciples of the gospel.

When Luther became acquainted with the theses of Tezel, and of the general attack of which they were made the signal, his courage was enlarged. He perceived the necessity of boldly confronting the description of opponents now roused into hostile array against him, and his intrepid soul resolved, without hesitation, to take the field. But, at the same time, the weakness of his adversaries discovered the superiority of his own strength, and made him feel the reality of his present condition.

He did not, however, allow himself to be carried away by these emotions of pride so natural to the heart of man. "I have more trouble," he writes at this time to Spalatin, "in curbing my propensity to despise my adversaries, and thus sinning against the will of Jesus Christ, than I should have in overcoming their opposition. They are so ignorant alike of things human and divine, that there is disgrace even in the countenancing of such a combat. And, nevertheless, it is this very ignorance which imparts to them their inconceivable audacity, and provides them with their faces of brass." But the main support of Luther's heart, amidst the outrage of this universal babbling, was the firm persuasion that his own cause was identical with that of the truth. "Do not be astonished," he writes to Spalatin, at the commencement of the year 1518, "at the heavy insults I receive. I expect these injuries with joy. If I were not thus the object of maledictions, we could never so firmly believe that the cause which I have undertaken is that of God himself. Christ has been set forth as a proof that contradiction must be met with. I know," says he, moreover, "that the word of God has been, from the beginning of the world, of such a nature, that whoever has a wish to spread it abroad in the world must be content, like the apostles, to forsake all things, and to expect death. Had it not so happened, this could not have been the word of Jesus Christ!" Such peace in the very heat of agitation is a thing unknown to the heroes of this world. We see many men who are placed at the head of the government, or of a political party, sink down under the burthen of their labours and their cares. The Christian, usually acquires, during the continuance of the struggle,

new courage and strength. And this peculiar privilege is derived from the knowledge of a mysterious source of courage unrevealed to the eyes of him who has not regarded the truths of the gospel.

One thing, however, did at times discompose the mind of Luther, namely, the disagreements which his courageous opposition might be the cause of producing. He was well aware that one word was sufficient to set the whole world in an uproar. He figured to himself the strife of one prince against another, or it might be of a people against the inhabitants of a neighbouring province. His German heart was saddened at the thought; at it his Christian charity was dismayed. He was desirous to encourage peace. Still he was bound to speak. Such was the pleasure of the Lord. "I tremble," said he, "I shudder at the thought of my ever becoming a cause of discord between many princes so highly esteemed."*

He still preserved silence with respect to the propositions of Tezel which referred to the pope. Had he been carried away by passion, he would, no doubt, have immediately attacked with violence that wonderful doctrine under whose shelter his adversary sought to screen himself from danger. But he makes no attempt upon this strange position. There is, in this expectation, in this reserve and silence, something peculiarly grave and solemn, which plainly discovers the spirit with which he was animated. He waited, but not in consequence of weakness; for the delay but served to render the impending blow the more severe.

Tezel, after his auto-da-fe (act of faith) at Frankfort on the Oder, had used every means to expedite the distribution of his theses throughout the provinces of Saxony. They would there, he thought, form an antidote to the theses drawn out by Luther. A partisan arrived in Wittenberg, from Halle, entrusted with the diffusion of the inquisitor's propositions. The students of the university, still quite indignant at the conduct of Tezel, at the time he had burned the theses of their master, had scarcely heard of the arrival of this new messenger, before they began to search out his dwelling, to seize hold upon his person, and to throw him into a state of great alarm. "How dared you to bring such productions into this town?" said they. Some one took from the messenger a portion of the work he had under his care, while the remainder was laid hold on by others, so that the complete stock of theses, which amounted to eight hundred copies, was taken possession of. Then, without the knowledge of the elector, or of the senate, or of the rector, or of Luther, or any of the professors, they posted the following advertisement upon the gates of the university:—"Let he who has a wish to assist in the conflagration and interment of Tezel's theses attend at two o'clock in the market-place."

The students repaired in crowds at the appointed hour to the place of rendezvous, and there committed to the flames the propositions of the Dominican, amidst the clamour of vociferous acclamations. One copy of the work escaped the conflagration: and Luther afterwards sent it to his friend Lange in Erfurt. These young followers, generous but imprudent, followed the precept of olden times—"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"—but not the command of Jesus Christ.

* Inter tantos principes dissidii origo esse valde horreo et timeo. (L. Ep. i. p. 93.)
 † Hæc insiq; principe, senatu, rectore, denique omnibus nobis. (Ibid. p. 93.)

Still, when the doctors and professors in Frankfort had exhibited an example of the same description, can it be wondered at that the young students of Wittemberg should follow the precedents referred to? The news of this academical execution was readily spread over the whole extent of Germany, and was much talked about. Luther, however, suffered much distress on account of this peculiar transaction.

"I am astonished," wrote he to his former master, Jodocus, at Erfurt, "that you should believe it was me who had caused the theses of Tezel to be burned. Do you think, then, that I have so far lost the use of my reason? But what could I do in the matter? When it was proposed to me, every one believed everything. Could I have chained the tongues of the whole world? Very well. Let them say, let them hear, let them see, and let them pretend what they will, I will do as much as the Lord gives me strength to perform, and, God assisting, I shall never fear any one thing." "What may be the consequences of this step," said he to Lange, "I do not know, unless it be that the danger in which I find myself now placed may become much greater." The deed done, however, demonstrated how warmly the hearts of the young men of the day were engaged in the cause so boldly defended by Luther. This was a symptom of deep importance; for any movement which is encouraged by the youth of a country is, necessarily, well received throughout the districts of an entire nation.

The theses of Tezel and Wimpina, although little respected, produced a certain effect. They aggravated the dispute, and widened the rent made in the mantle of the church, as well as becoming mingled in the questions of many quarrels of special interest. In this manner the heads of the church began to take a closer inspection of their contents, and to make stronger protestations against the principles of the reformer. "I do not really understand," said the bishop of Brandenburg, in whom Luther places his confidence, "that he should thus dare to aim a blow at the power of the bishops." Apprehending this new circumstance might render necessary some new measures, this bishop went in person to Wittemberg; but he found Luther animated with that inward joy which is conferred on those who have a conscience void of offence, and determined not to give up the combat. The bishop perceived that the Augustin monk shewed obedience to a power superior to his own, and returned in a state of much displeasure to Brandenburg. One day, during the winter of the year 1518, while this bishop was sitting in front of the fire in his room, he said, addressing himself to the individual in his presence—"I do not desire to lay my head down in peace until I shall have thrown Martin into the fire, in like manner as I now cast this piece of wood thereon;" and he threw into the grate a small brand he held in his hand. The revolution of the sixteenth century was not doomed to be accomplished by the heads of the church more than was the change effected in the first century destined to be the work of the Sanhedrim or the synagogue. The heads of the clergy were opposed, in the sixteenth century, to Luther, to the Reformation, and to its ministers, in the same manner as they had shewn themselves opposed to Jesus Christ, to the gospel, and to its apostles; and as they have too often demonstrated themselves, in all ages of the world, opposed to the truth. "The bishops," said Luther, in speaking

of the visit made by the prelate of Brandenburg, "begin to observe that they should have done what I am doing, and they are ashamed of their own conduct. They call me proud and audacious, but I deny that I may be so. But they are not of the description of men who know what God is, or what we are ourselves."

CHAPTER IX.

Priero—System of Rome—The Dialogue—System of the Reform—Reply to Priero—The Word—The Pope and the Church—Hochstraten—The Monks—Luther Replies—Eek—The School—The Obelisks—Sentiments of Luther—The Asterisks—Bapture.

A resistance more serious than that originated by Tezel had already displayed itself in opposition to the work of Luther. Rome had answered the challenge. A confutation of the charge had been sent from within the walls of the sacred palace. It was not, however, Leo X. who had advised this attention to theological subjects. "A quarrel among the monks!" said he one day. "The best plan is not to intermeddle therewith." And on another occasion he spoke thus—"It is some drunken German who has written these theses; when the wine has left his brains he will speak otherwise." A Dominican resident in Rome, Sylvester Mazolini de Priero, master of the sacred palace, exercised, at this time, the duties of censor, and was, in virtue of this office, the first who, in Italy, became acquainted with the theses drawn out by the Saxon monk.

A Roman censor and the theses written by Luther! How strange the contrast! The freedom of the word, the liberty of examination, and the freedom of the faith, were brought, in the city of Rome, to jostle against that power which pretended to hold in its own grasp the monopoly of understanding, and to open or shut, at its pleasure, the public mouth of all Christendom. The struggle of Christian liberty, which constitutes the children of God, with that pontifical despotism which produces the slaves of Rome, is, as it were, symbolized, from the beginning of the Reformation, in the rencounter between Luther and Priero.

The Roman censor, prior-general of the Dominicans, and whose province it was to decide upon what subjects the inhabitants of Christendom ought either to speak or to remain silent, as well as what matters they should be made acquainted with or continue ignorant of, hastened to construct a suitable reply. He, therefore, published a book which he dedicated to Leo X., and in which he spoke with contempt of the German monk. Declaring himself, with all the pith of Roman assurance, "curious to be informed for certain whether this said Martin was possessed of an iron nose or a brass head which no one could break." Then, under the form of a dialogue, he attacks the theses composed by Luther, employing alternately the terms of mockery, insult, and threatenings.

This conflict between the Augustin of Wittenberg and the Dominican of Rome referred to the very question which constitutes the principle of the Reformation, namely, "Which is, in the sight of Christians, the only infallible authority?" Look to the system of the church explained in the works of the most independent organs.

The letter of the written word is dead without the interpretation

of the Spirit, which can alone make known the hidden sense. Now, this Spirit is not granted to each individual Christian, but to the church, that is to say, to the priests. It is an act of great temerity to pretend that he who has promised the church that he will be always with her even to the end of the world could ever abandon her to the power of error. It will be said, perhaps, that the doctrine and constitution of the church are no longer the same as described in the contents of the holy oracles. This is, no doubt, true, but the change is only apparent in reference merely to the form and not to the main point. Moreover, this change is an advancement. For the living influence of the Divine Spirit has conferred reality on that which in the Scriptures was only beheld in idea. He has bestowed a body on the images of the word; he has given the finishing stroke to its sketches, and has completed the work for which the Bible had merely furnished the primary articles. It is necessary, therefore, to understand the meaning of the Holy Scriptures in the sense determined by the church, under the influence of the Holy Spirit. On this point Catholic doctors are divided. The general councils, say some of these teachers, and Gerson among the number, are the representatives of the church. Others affirm that the pope is the depository of the interpretation of the Spirit, and that no person has a right to understand the Scriptures otherwise than settled by the Roman pontiff. This latter opinion was the one upheld by Prierio.

Such was the doctrine which the master of the sacred palace exhibited in opposition to the principles of the rising Reformation. He advanced concerning the power of the church and the pope some propositions for which the most dishonest flatterers of the court of Rome would have blushed. As an example, behold one of the conceits placed in the front of his book—"Whoever does not trust in the doctrine of the Roman church and of the pope, as the infallible rule of faith, from whom the Holy Scriptures themselves derive their force and their authority, is a heretic."*

Then, in a dialogue, in which the speakers are supposed to be Luther and Sylvester, the latter individual strives to refute the propositions of the German doctor. The sentiments expressed by the Saxon monk were in reality opinions very wonderful in the sight of the Roman censor, so that it cannot create surprise to find Prierio unable to comprehend alike the emotions of Luther's heart or the motives of his conduct. He judged the teacher of the truth according to the insignificant standard of the valets of Rome. "O dear Luther!" said he, "were you to receive from our lord the pope a good bishopric and a plenary indulgence for the repairs of your church, you would be more obedient, and you would extol the virtues of the very indulgence which it is now your pleasure to defame!" The Italian, moreover, so proud of the elegance of his manners, assumes, at times, the employment of the most scurrilous language. "If the property of dogs is to bite," said he to Luther, "I much fear you have had a dog for you father!"† The Dominican, at last, experiences great astonishment at the condescension he had betrayed in speaking to a rebellious monk, and he concludes by exposing, in the face of his adver-

* A qua etiam Sacra Scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem, hæreticus est, (Fundamentum.)
 † Si mordere canum est proprium, vereor ne tibi pater canis fuerit, (Sylvestri Prierotis Dialog.)

sary, the sharp teeth of an inquisitor. "The Roman church," said he, "which holds in the pope the height of its spiritual and temporal power, can restrain with the secular arm those who, having at first received the faith, have turned away therefrom. This church is not bound to employ many reasons in order to oppose and overcome the persons of rebels."

These words, written with the pen of one of the dignitaries belonging to the Roman court, conveyed a very positive injunction. They, however, did not alarm Luther. He either believed, or feigned to believe, that this dialogue was not the production of Prierio, but the doing of Ulrich of Hutten, or some one of the authors of the *Letters of Some Obscure Men*, who, he said, in his satirical humour, and to excite Luther against Prierio, had compiled this mass of nonsense. He did not wish to see the court of Rome arrayed against him. Nevertheless, after having preserved for some time his cherished silence, his doubts, if he had had any, were dissipated, and, setting himself to the work in earnest, his reply was finished in the course of two days.

The Bible had formed the reformer, and had set on foot the Reformation. Luther had not stood in need of the testimony of the church to establish his belief. His faith had been exclusively drawn from the Bible itself, and acted inwardly, not outwardly, on his convictions. He was so thoroughly convinced that the evangelical doctrine was immovably fixed upon the word of God, that all exterior authority was of no avail in his opinion. This experience enjoyed by Luther was the means of exhibiting to the church a new future. The living source just now exposed to view by the monk of Wittemberg, was destined to become a river that should quench the eager thirst of many people.

In order to understand the word, it is necessary that the Spirit of God should bestow the requisite intellect, the church declared, and she has thus far been a true witness. But the error she adopted consisted in her considering the Holy Spirit in the light of a monopoly granted to the members of a certain caste, and in her believing that this Spirit could be exclusively shut up within the precincts of some assemblies, or in colleges, or in a city and in a conclave. *The wind bloweth where it listeth*, the Son of God hath said, in speaking of the Spirit of God, and he has repeated on another occasion—*They shall ALL be taught of God*. The corruption of the church, the ambition of the pontiffs, the passions of councils, the quarrels of the clergy, and the pomp of many prelates, have caused this Holy Spirit to flee away far from the dwellings of the priesthood—that mild breath of humility and peace. It had deserted the assemblies of the proud, the palaces of princes attached to the church, and had sought for a residence in the homes of simple Christians and modest priests. It had flown from the presence of an imperious hierarchy, which had often shed the blood of the poor, in trampling them beneath its feet, and from the face of a vain and ignorant clergy, whose leaders were masters, not in the use of the Bible, but of the sword, and it again found its resting place either among the followers of despised sects or in the minds of men of knowledge and acquirements. The holy cloud, that had left the place of superb buildings and magnificent cathedrals, had come down upon the obscure districts inhabited by the humble, or towards certain closets, the tranquil abodes of conscientious labour. The

church, degraded by her love of riches and power, dishonoured in the eyes of the people on account of the venal purposes to which she had prostituted the doctrine of life; the church who had sold the salvation of souls in order to replenish the treasures of her exchequer, who had drained to the bottom the cup of ostentation and debauch; this church had lost all consideration, and sensible men no longer attached any value to her testimony. Despising an authority thus contemptible, they had directed their attention with joy to the appearance of the Divine word and to its infallible authority, as towards the only refuge that was now offered to their acceptance, amidst universal confusion and mistrust.

The age had now received its form and pressure. The bold act by which Luther had shifted the main prop of the dearest hopes cherished by the heart of man, and with a powerful hand had wrenched them from the walls of the Vatican, in order to place them upon the rock of God's eternal word, was hailed with enthusiasm. Such was the achievement regarded by the reformer in his speedy answers to Prierio.

He set aside the principles which the Dominican had placed in front of his work. "But," said he, "following your example, I am also about to lay down certain fundamental principles."

"And the first I propose is in the words of St Paul. 'If any one declare to you another gospel than that we have declared, although it were ourselves, or an angel from heaven, let him be accursed.'"

"The second is the following sentence, used by Saint Augustin to Saint Jerome:—'I have learned to give alone to the only canonical books the honour of believing very positively that none of them have erred; as to the others, I do not believe what they say merely because they have said it.'"

Luther, then, here states with fixed purpose the essential principles of the Reformation: the word of God, the whole word of God, and nothing but the word of God. "If you fully comprehend these points," continued he, "you will also understand how completely all your dialogue is overturned from top to bottom; for you have done nothing else therein than pushed forward in advance the words and opinions of Saint Thomas." Then attacking the axioms of his adversary, Luther openly avers that he believes it possible for popes and councils to err. He complains next of the flatteries made use of by the Roman courtizans, who attribute to the pope both powers. He declares that the church exists virtually only in Christ, and merely by representation in the councils. Then touching the supposition Prierio had assumed—"No doubt you judge me by your own standard," says he, "but if I had aspired to the honours of the episcopacy, assuredly I would not have delivered these discourses which sound so harshly in your ears. Do you imagine that I am ignorant of the means by which one attains in Rome the distinction of bishops or of the priesthood? Do not the very children sing in every corner of this city these well-known words—

'Now mighty Rome is more unclean
Than all that in the world is seen?'"

These words were taken from some songs formerly in vogue at Rome before the election of one of the latter popes. Nevertheless, Luther spoke with much respect of Leo. "I know," said he, "that

we behold in him another Daniel in Babylon; his innocence has already often exposed his life to danger." Luther concludes by directing a few words in answer to the threats pronounced by Prierio. "In conclusion, you say that the pope is at once pontiff and emperor, and that he is powerful in constraining by means of the secular arm. Have you a desire to become murderer? . . . I declare to you this fact, you cannot alarm me either by the force of your rodомontades or by the threatening clamour of your words. If I am slain, Christ still lives; Christ, my Lord, and the Lord of all, blessed for evermore. Amen."

In this manner Luther establishes with firm resolve, in opposition to the infidel altar of Popery, the altar of the word of God, as alone holy and infallible, before which he wishes every knee to bow, and upon which he avows himself ready to sacrifice his life.

Prierio published a reply, and afterwards a third book, upon the "irrefragable truth of the church, and of the Roman pontiff," in which, resting his argument upon the ecclesiastical law, he says, that even "although the pope were to lead the people in heaps to the devil along with him, he could not on this account be either judged or dismissed." The pope was at last obliged to impose silence on the part of Prierio.

Very soon, however, a new adversary presented himself in the lists of combatants, and he was from the same order of Dominicans. James Hochstraten, the inquisitor at Cologne, whom we have already seen raising his voice in opposition to Reuchlin and the friends of literature, boiled with rage when he beheld the daring conduct pursued by Luther. It was, as a matter of course, that the abstruseness and fanaticism of the monastic order should offer resistance to him who was appointed to inflict thereon the stroke of death. Monkism had received its being at the very moment when the primitive truth had begun to lose its native influence. From that hour monks and errors had grown up together. The man had now appeared who was commissioned to hasten on their ruin; but still these brave champions could not be expected to leave the field of battle without engaging in fierce contests against their hardy opponent. They, in truth, waged war with him during the whole course of his life, but it was in the character of Hochstraten this constant struggle was more particularly defined. Hochstraten against Luther! The free and powerful Christian opposed to the wild slave of monastic superstitions! Hochstraten lashes himself into a fury, and, in the whirlwind of his passion, savingly demands the death of the heretic. . . . It is by means of torturing flames he desires to secure the triumphs of Rome. "It is the crime of high treason against the church," he exclaimed, "to permit a heretic so vile to live another hour longer. Let a scaffold be erected for his execution without another moment's delay!" This advice to shed blood was, alas! but too often followed in many countries; the voice of multitudes of martyrs, as in the first ages of the church, was heard, in the midst of flames, to testify their adherence to the truth. But fire and chains were in vain exhibited in the sight of Luther. The angel of the Lord encamped continually around him, and protected him from danger.

Luther answered Hochstraten in few words, but with much energy. "Go," said he in conclusion, "delirious murderer, who thirsts but for

the blood of the brethren, go your ways: my sincere desire is that you will take good care in calling me faithful and a Christian, but that, on the contrary, you may continue unceasingly to denounce me as a heretic. Be well assured of these facts, thou sanguinary man and enemy of the truth! and if your furious rage should urge you on to undertake some enterprise against me, look to it that you act with circumspection, and select your time with heedful caution. God knows what I propose to do if he grants me length of days. . . . My hope and expectation, if God be pleased, shall not deceive me."* Hochstraten was thus put to silence.

But a more painful assault was still awaiting the reformer. Doctor Eck, the celebrated professor at Ingolstadt, the liberator of Urban Regius, and the friend of Luther, had received a copy of the famous theses. Eck was not the man to defend the abuses of indulgences; but he was a teacher of the school and not of the Bible, conversant with the divinity of the schools and not of the word of God. If Prierio may be said to have represented Rome, and Hochstraten the order of the monks, Eck must be regarded as the representative of the schools. Those schools, which for nearly five hundred years had ruled over the dominions of Christendom, far from yielding to the first blows of the reformer, aroused themselves haughtily with the purpose of crushing to atoms the man who had dared to cast upon them imputations of scandal and contempt. Eck and Luther! The school and the word had been more than once at variance; but it was at the time we speak of that the struggle was again renewed.

Eck could not but observe several errors in many of the assertions made by Luther. Nothing can lead us, moreover, to doubt, in the least degree, the sincerity of these convictions. Eck maintained with enthusiasm the opinions of the divinity schools, in the same manner as Luther supported the declarations of the word of God. It may even be well imagined that the professor experienced some pain at finding himself obliged to take up arms against his former companion, while it must be confessed the manner in which his attack was carried on, evinced certain marks of passion and jealousy, and throw a darkness over the motives of his determination.

He gave the name of *Obelisks* to his remarks in opposition to the theses of Luther. Anxious at first to save unpleasant appearances, Eck did not publish his work referred to, but was content to despatch a copy of it in confidence to his ordinary, the bishop of Eichstadt. Very soon afterwards, however, these *Obelisks* were scattered abroad in every direction, either in consequence of the indiscretion practised by the bishop, or by a change in the views of the doctor. A copy of these productions fell into the hands of Link, the friend of Luther, and a preacher in the city of Nuremberg. This person lost no time in forwarding his copy to the reformer. And Eck must, indeed, be regarded as an adversary of a very different kind from either Tezel, Prierio, or Hochstraten; for the more he surpassed them in knowledge and dexterity, the more dangerous was the nature of his attacks. He adopted a tone of compassion in his writings, towards his "weak adversary," knowing well that pity is more calculated to inflict cankering wounds than bursts of passion. He insinuated that

* Luther, Op. xvi. n. 123

the propositions of Luther diffused the seeds of the Bohemian poison, that they had a taste from Bohemia, and by such malignant allusions, he drew down upon Luther the disgrace and hatred attached in Germany to the name of Huss and to any of the schismatics of his party.

The malice which infested the spirit of these writings disturbed Luther's mind; and the thought that the evil proceeded from the act of an ancient ally grieved him yet more intensely. It was thus at the cost of the affections of relatives the cause of the truth must be maintained. Luther opened his heart and assuaged his melancholy by writing a letter to Egranus, the pastor at Zwickau. "I am called in these *Obelisks* a venomous man," says he, "a Bohemian, a heretic, a seditious person, insolent, and full of temerity. . . . I pass over insults of a lighter stamp, such as sleepy, weak, ignorant, a despiser of the sovereign pontiff, and others of the same description. This book is filled with injuries of the blackest dye. Nevertheless, the author of such calumnies is a man distinguished alike for a mind full of knowledge, and a knowledge full of spirit, and, what causes me the greater chagrin, a man who was connected with me in the ties of a friendship not less strong than recent: the author of them is John Eck, a doctor in theology, chancellor of Ingoldstadt, a man illustrious and celebrated by the excellence of his writings. If I did not know the thoughts of satan, I would have been overcome with astonishment at the mournful fury which has compelled this man to outrage the feelings of a friendship at once so new and engaging, and that, too, without giving me the least notice of his intentions, without writing or speaking to me one word of explanation."

But if Luther's heart was broken, his courage was not abated. He, on the contrary, became more intrepid in his resolution to fight the good fight. "Rejoice, my brother," said he to Egranus, "that a violent enemy has also made an attack: rejoice, I say, and do not allow all these flying sheets to arouse your fears. The more my opponents deliver themselves over to the guidance of their fury, the more shall I advance. I leave the things that are behind me, so that they may bark at them, and I pursue those things that are before me, to give them a chance of barking at them in their turn."

Eck felt persuaded of the great shame which was attached to the manner of his proceedings, and endeavoured to justify his conduct in a letter he wrote to Carlstadt. In this epistle he denominates Luther their mutual friend, and throws all the blame upon the bishop of Eichstadt, at whose solicitations he pretends he wrote the work in question. His intention was not to have published these *Obelisks*; for he had more respect than such an act evinced for the close friendship he enjoyed with Luther. He, in short, requested that, instead of coming to an open rupture with him, Luther might be pleased rather to turn his attacks against the theologians of Frankfort. The professor of Ingoldstadt, who had not shrunk back from dealing forth the first blow, began to harbour fearful thoughts when he reflected upon the strength of the enemy he had thus unwittingly attacked. He would have willingly escaped from all further combat; but it was too late for him to secure a safe retreat.

All these fine words were insufficient to convince Luther of the good intentions of his opponent; but he was nevertheless disposed to

remain at peace with him. "I will swallow patiently," said he, "this morsel fitted for the taste of Cerberus." But his friends were of a different opinion, and they solicited, nay, rather compelled him to resist. He, therefore, composed a reply to the *Obelisks*, in the form of *Asterisks*, contrasting, as he said, in making a play upon this word, the blighted and livid colour of the obelisks of the doctor of Ingoldstadt, with the light and sparkling brilliancy of the stars of heaven. In this work he treated his new adversary less harshly than those opponents he had before encountered; but his indignation was visible through the veil cast over it by his words.

He demonstrated that in the chaos of these *Obelisks* there was nothing discovered bearing any reference to the Holy Scriptures or to the fathers of the church, or even to ecclesiastical canons; but that the whole subject of the work was composed of the expositions and opinions of the divinity schools, opinions in themselves the phantoms of a dream: in short, the very substance of all that Lutrér has so strenuously opposed. These *Asterisks* are full of meaning and of life. The author is wroth with the errors of the book written by his friend; but he cherishes pity for the man. He again professes the fundamental principle adopted in his reply to Prierio. "The sovereign pontiff is a man, and he may, perhaps, be led into an error; but God is truth, and it is impossible that he can be deceived." Then further on, using, in reference to the doctor of the schools, an argument *ad hominem*, he says, "It is certainly an act of impertinence for any one to teach in the philosophy of Aristotle precepts which cannot be proved on the authority of that ancient philosopher. You grant this, I know. Very well; for reasons much more strong it is the most impudent instance of mad temerity, to affirm before the church, and among Christians, any command which Jesus Christ himself has not taught. Now, whether is the treasury of the merits of Christ to be found in the hands of the pope or in the Bible?"

He says again—"With regard to the malicious reproach of entertaining the Bohemian heresy, I bear with patience this opprobrium for the love of Jesus Christ. I live within the boundaries of a celebrated university, within that of a renowned city, as well as of a considerable bishopric and powerful principality, wherein all the inhabitants are orthodox in their creed, and wherein, undoubtedly, no such wicked heretic would be tolerated for a moment."

Luther did not publish his *Asterisks*—he only distributed copies of them among a few friends. It was at a later period these productions were exposed to the eyes of the public.

This rupture between the doctors of Ingoldstadt and Wittenberg excited a strong sensation amongst the population of Germany. These distinguished individuals were esteemed by many as mutual friends. Scheurl, who it would appear had been the means of introducing the two learned doctors to one another, felt particularly alarmed at the appearance of this contention. He was of the number of those who anxiously desired to see the principles of the reform in active operation throughout the whole extent of the Germanic church, incited by means of the most celebrated agents; but if, at

* Volui tamen hanc offam Cerbero dignam absorbere patientia. (Luth. Ep. i. p. 100)

the commencement, the most eminent theologians of the period were set in array against each other; if, whilst Luther urged the adoption of new maxims, Eck espoused the cause of ancient practices, what fearful confusion must follow in their train? Will not numerous adherents crowd round the standard of each of these chiefs, and must there not be seen two hostile camps erected in the very centre of the empire?

Scheurl, therefore, exerted all his influence to effect a reconciliation between Eck and Luther. The latter doctor declared that he was willing to forget all that had passed, that he viewed with affection the genius, while he admired the acquirements of Dr Eck, and that the conduct of his former friend had caused him greater sorrow than anger. "I am prepared," said he to Scheurl, "either for peace or war, but I prefer peace. Begin, then, the good work; mourn with us the commencement of disorder which the devil has excited between us, and then rejoice in the thought that Christ, in his mercy, has annihilated the evil." He wrote about the same time a letter to Eck, full of kindness; but Eck never returned an answer to this letter, nor even sent any message in reply. There was no longer, therefore, any chance of accommodating the feelings of their minds. The combat, in consequence, waxed more violent, and the pride and implacable spirit of Eck very soon burst asunder the last ligaments of their broken friendship.

CHAPTER X.

Popular Writings—Our Father—Thy Kingdom Come—Thy Will be Done—Our Bread—Sermon upon Repentance—Remission through Jesus Christ.

Such were the struggles in which the champion of the word of God had to engage at the commencement of his entrance upon the glorious course. But these combats with the higher ranks of society, and these academic disputes, are trifling affairs in the life of a Christian. The teachers of human learning imagined that they had achieved the most noble conquests when they had succeeded in arousing the spirit of some periodical work or the conversation in certain saloons with the clamour of their systems. As the question was with them one of self-importance or of party ambition, rather than an inquiry after the best interests of humanity, such worldly success satisfied their desires. Their labours resembled the smoke which, after having stifled the senses, passes away, leaving no traces of its effects. They had forgotten to place the fire near the chilled body, and have done no more than floated over the masses of the human race.

But it is not thus with the designs of the Christian: he is not concerned in the triumphs of academic or social prosperity, but in the salvation of souls. He, therefore, abandons willingly the brilliant contest offered to his choice, and which he might engage in with ease against the champions of the world, and prefers the obscure cell which, unseen, carries down the light of life into the cottages of the peasant and the hovels of the labouring citizen. This was the office undertaken by Luther, or rather it must be said he followed the precept of his Master: *He did these things, and did not leave the others undone*; for while opposing the deeds of inquisitors, chancellors of universities, and masters of sacred palaces, he equally endeavoured to

spread among the undistinguished multitude a healthful knowledge of religious truths.

It was with such intentions he, at the time we speak of, caused a publication to be made of several popular writings, such as his own *Discourses upon the Ten Commandments*, delivered two years previously within the church of Wittenberg, and of which we have already taken notice, and his *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer for Ignorant and Simple Laymen*.^{*} Who would not like to know in what manner the reformer at this time addressed himself to the people? We will, therefore, quote a few of the passages which he sent "to scour the country," as he expressed it in the preface to the second edition of his writings.

Prayer, that simple effusion of the heart, shall always, without doubt, be found to form one of the distinguishing marks by which the commencement of a real and life-invigorating reformation must be recognised; and thus Luther, without delay, enters upon the consideration of this all-important subject. It is impossible to imitate the energy of his style, or the force of that language which flowed as it were spontaneously under the touch of his pen, as it passed along the pliant paper. Nevertheless we will make the attempt.

"When you pray," says he, "make use of few words, but cherish many thoughts and deep affection, and, above all, let them be sincere. The less you speak, the better you will pray. Few words and many thoughts form the prayer of the Christian. Many words and few thoughts constitute that of the heathen. . . .

"The prayer of semblances and of the body is that whispering of the lips and that easy motion which are performed insensibly, and which attract the eyes and the ears of men; but the prayer offered up in spirit and in truth is composed of the pure desire, the tenderness and the sighs that proceed from the inmost core of the heart. The former is the prayer of hypocrites and all those who trust in themselves; the latter is the prayer of the children of God who walk in his fear." . . .

Then, reaching the first words of the Lord's prayer, *Our Father*, Luther thus speaks—"There is no name among all the names which engage our affections towards God more than the name of Father. There could not be for us so much happiness and consolation in calling him either Lord, or God, or Judge. . . . By this name of Father the bowels of the Lord are moved; for there is no voice more amiable or more affecting than that of a child addressed to his father.

"Who art in heaven. He who confesses that he has a father who dwells in heaven, thus acknowledges himself to be a wanderer upon the earth. From this moment there arises within his heart an ardent wish, like the longings of a child who finds himself beyond the country of his father, among strangers, and amidst the cares of misery and want. It is as if he said, Alas! my Father! thou art in heaven, and I, thy miserable child, am on earth, far away from thee, and exposed to every kind of danger, necessity, and sorrow.

"Hallowed be thy name. He who is angry, or envious, or who curses, or speaks calumny, dishonours the name of that God in whose name he has been baptized. Employing to impious purposes the

^{*} Luther, Op. (Leips.) vii. p. 1086.

goblet which God has himself consecrated, such an one resembles the priest who makes use of the holy cup to give drink to a sow, or meditates the intention of putting filth therein. . . .

"*Thy kingdom come.* Those who gather together abundance of wealth, who are eager to live in magnificence, who seek anxiously after all this world can bestow, and yet pronounce with their lips these emphatic words, resemble those large pipes of the organ, which cry and sing with all their might, without possessing either speech, or reason, or any feeling whatever." . . .

Farther on, Luther assails the errors of pilgrimages, so prevalent at the time. "One person goes to Rome, another to St James; this one builds a church; and that one endows a college, in order to attain the kingdom of God: but all of them neglect the essential point, which is to become themselves the substance of his reign. Wherefore do you go to seek the government of God beyond the seas? . . . It is within your heart this control must be effectual.

"It is a terrible thing," continues he, "to hear us utter this petition—*Thy will be done!* Where can we behold within the church this will of God? . . . One bishop rises up against another bishop, and one church against another church. Priest, monks, and nuns wrangle, quarrel, and fight with each other; there is nothing but discord to be heard of in every quarter. And still each party exclaims that its will is good, its intention upright; and thus, to the honour and glory of God, the whole together accomplish a work of the devil. . . .

"For what reason do we say *Our bread?*" proceeds Luther, in explaining these words—*Give us this day our daily bread.* "Because we do not pray to have the ordinary bread which heathens eat, and which God gives to all men alike, but we pray for our bread, for the bread that belongs to us who are children of the heavenly Father. And what, then, is this bread of God? It is Jesus Christ our Lord. *I am that living bread which has come down from heaven, and which gives life to the world.* It is, therefore, needful that we do not deceive ourselves; for all the sermons and all the instructions which do not represent to us, nor make us acknowledge, Jesus Christ, do not reveal to us that daily bread which nourishes our souls. . . .

"Of what avail is it for us although such bread should be prepared if it is not served out to us, and we are thereby prevented from tasting of this living food? . . . It is as if a magnificent feast had been furnished, but no person was found ready to distribute the bread, or carry about the meats, or pour out the drink, so that the guests were obliged to be fed by the sight and the smell of the choice viands. . . . For this reason it is imperative that we preach Jesus Christ, and him only.

"But, then, you say—What is therefore meant by knowing Jesus Christ, and what profit is there in this knowledge? . . . We reply—To acquire a knowledge of Jesus Christ is fully to understand the words of the apostle, *Christ has been made for us, by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.* Now, you comprehend this fact if you acknowledge that all your wisdom is culpable folly, your righteousness culpable iniquity, your holiness culpable corruption, and your redemption a miserable condemnation; if you feel that you are truly in the sight of God, and before all his

creatures, a fool, a sinner, unclean, and a condemned being, and if you shew, not only by your words, but from the bottom of your heart, and by your works, that there remains for you no other consolation and no other salvation but what is found in Jesus Christ; to believe this is nothing else than to eat of this bread which has come down from heaven."

It was in this manner Luther displayed the fidelity of his resolution to open the eyes of a benighted people, whom many priests had led astray in whatever way it seemed good for them to do so. These writings were, in a short time, spread over all the provinces of Germany, and heralded therein the opening of a new day, as well as scattered abroad plentifully the seeds of truth, over an extent of ground well prepared for its reception. Still, in thinking of those who were at a distance Luther did not forget those who were at hand.

The Dominicans continued to anathematize, from the height of all their pulpits, the infamous heretic. Luther, the man of the people, and who, had he wished it, might have been able, with a few words, to have roused the passions of his hearers, disdained the revenge of such an easy triumph, and never harboured a wish beyond the faithful teaching of his devoted followers.

His reputation, which was always more and more enlarged, in the middle of the enslaved church, caused his preachings to be waited on with still increasing interest. Never was influence known to exert a higher power. Luther, moreover, pressed forward in his course in a direct track. One day, having entered the pulpit at Wittenberg, he undertook to establish the doctrine of repentance, and on this occasion he delivered a discourse which afterwards became very popular, and in which he settles several of the chief points of this evangelical doctrine.

In the first place he contrasts the pardon of men with the pardon of Heaven. "There are," says he, "two remissions—the remission of the penalty and the remission of the crime. The former reconciles man outwardly with the Christian church, the latter, which is the Heavenly indulgence, reconciles man with God. If a man does not find in himself this tranquil conscience, that joyous heart which is imparted by the remission from God, there is no indulgence that can give him assistance, although he were to purchase the whole stock of indulgences that were ever offered for sale upon the earth."

He afterwards proceeds thus—"They are anxious to perform good works before their sins should be pardoned, whilst it is necessary that the sins should be pardoned before the good works can be at all executed. It is not these works which chase away the sin, but chase first away the sin, and then you shall achieve good works;* because good works must be accomplished with a cheerful heart and a good conscience towards God, that is to say, under a conviction of the remission of sins."

Then he arrives at the chief purpose of his sermon, and which might also be termed the principal purpose of the Reformation. The church had placed itself in the seat of God and his word; Luther takes an exception against this position, and makes everything depend upon faith in the word of God.

* Nicht die Werke treiben die Sünde aus; sondern die Austreibung der Sünde thut gute Werke. (L. op. (L.) xvii. p. 162)

"The remission of the crime," says he, "is neither in the power of the pope, nor of the bishop, nor of the priests, nor of any other man whatever, but rests solely upon the word of Christ and upon your own faith therein ; for Christ has not chosen to build our consolation and our salvation upon the words or the work of man, but entirely upon himself—upon his own work and upon his own word. . . . Your repentance and your works might well deceive you ; but Christ, your God, will not lie to you, he will not waver, and the devil shall not be able to contradict his words.

"A pope or a bishop have no more power than the most insignificant priest when they offer to grant the remission of crime. And, indeed, although there were no priests, every Christian, were it even a woman or a child, is able to do the same thing ; for if a mere Christian should say to you—God pardon this sin in the name of Jesus Christ, and you should receive these words with undoubting faith, as if God himself had addressed them to you, you are absolved.

"If you do not believe that your sins are forgiven you, you make God a liar, and you declare yourself to be more satisfied with the truth of your own vain thoughts than with God and his word. Under the dispensation of the Old Testament, neither priest, nor king, nor prophet had the power to declare the remission of sins ; but under the new covenant every faithful Christian has this power. The church is completely filled with the remission of sins ! If a pious Christian soothes your conscience in speaking of the cross, let it be either a man or woman, young or old, do you receive the offered comfort with a faith that would lead you to endure many deaths, rather than doubt that these things are true in the sight of God. . . . Repent you, do all the works you have the means of accomplishing ; but let the faith that you possess in the pardon of Jesus Christ hold the first place in your heart, and alone be permitted to command on the field of battle."

Such was the style adopted by Luther in his addresses to his astonished and delighted audience. All the false structures, raised up for their own profit by a horde of impudent priests between God and the souls of men were cast to the ground, and man was placed face to face with his God. The word of pardon was seen to descend in a pure state from on high, without having to pass through a thousand corrupted channels ; so that the testimony of God was made valid, there was no longer any need to have this attestation confirmed by the affixing thereto a false seal of man's impure device. The monopoly of the priesthood class was, in fact, abolished, and the gospel was entirely emancipated.

CHAPTER XI.

Apprehensions of his Friends—Journey to Heidelberg—Blorn—The Castle Palatine—Rupture—Paradoxes—Blorn—The Auditors—Ducer—Brentz—Snepf—Conversations with Luther—Labours of these Young Teachers—Success upon Luther—The Old Professor—The True Light—Arrival.

Meanwhile it followed as a natural consequence that the fire which had been kindled in Wittenberg should also be lighted up in other districts of the country. Luther, indeed, was not content with announcing the truths of the gospel in the city of his habitation,

whether it was in the ears of the young students of the university or in the hearing of the assembled congregation, but also earnestly longed to disseminate in other districts the precious seed of the same holy doctrine. The order of Augustines was by decree engaged to hold, in the spring time of the year 1518, the meeting of its chapter-general in Heidelberg. Luther was summoned to attend this meeting as one of the most distinguished members of this order. His friends used all their efforts to persuade him against the fulfilment of this journey; for, in fact, the common body of monks had been strenuous in their exertions to render the name of Luther odious in every place through which he would be necessitated to pass in his route to Heidelberg. To open insults these angry antagonists had added furious threatenings; and it would have been easy to excite the popular feelings into demonstrations of turbulent agitation during the course of his passage, to whose violence he might have fallen a victim. "Or rather," said his friends, "what they dare not do by force, they will accomplish by snares and frauds." But Luther never allowed himself to be hindered in the performance of his duty by the prospect of dangers even the most imminent. He, therefore, shuts his ears against the admonitions of his friends, and spoke to them of him in whom his trust was placed, and under whose protection he was willing to undertake this formidable attempt; so that, the Feast of Easter having been finished, he quietly began his journey on foot on the 2d of April 1518.

He took along with him a guide, named Urban, who carried the doctor's small portmanteau, and who was engaged to travel as far as Wurzburg. How multiplied and various must have been the thoughts that engaged the heart of the servant of the Lord during the course of this memorable journey. At Weissenfels, the pastor, with whom he was not acquainted, acknowledged Luther, however, as the doctor of Wittemberg, and received him with much kindness. At Erfurt, two other brethren, of the order of the Augustines, joined the doctor. At Judenbach, these three pilgrims met with the confidential counsellor of the elector, Degenard Pfeffinger, who defrayed the expenses of their accommodations at the inn in which they lodged. "I have had the pleasure," Luther wrote to Spalatin, "to render this rich lord more poor by an outlay of some drachms. You know I am fond of making, on all occasions, some diminution in the stores of the rich for the benefit of the poor, especially when the rich belong to the number of my friends." The doctor arrived at Coburg overcome with fatigue. "By the grace of God, everything goes on well," he writes, "were it not that I confess I have erred in undertaking this journey on foot; but still I have no need, I think, on account of this sin, for the remission of indulgences; because the contrition is perfect, and the satisfaction is complete. I am overwhelmed with fatigue, and all the public conveyances are already occupied. Is there not in this circumstance enough, and even too much cause of penitence, of contrition, and of satisfaction?"

The reformer of Germany, not being able to obtain a seat in any of the stage coaches, nor to find any person willing to relinquish theirs in his favour, was forced, on the morning of the next day, in spite of all his lassitude, to depart again from Coburg in the humble method of walking. He arrived at Wurzburg on the evening of the second

Sunday after Easter. At this place he permitted his guide to return home.

It was also in the city we have last named the bishop of Bibra resided, and who had received with so much approbation the theses drawn out by Luther. Luther, at same time, had been favoured with a letter of introduction to this bishop from the elector of Saxony; and his Grace, happy in the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the bold champion of the truth, sent an immediate invitation to the doctor, requesting his presence within the apartments of the episcopal palace. The bishop immediately waited upon his guest, spoke to him with great kindness, and offered to supply him with a guide the length of Heidelberg. But Luther had, likewise, found at Wurzburg his two friends, the vicar-general Staupitz, and Lange the prior of Erfurt, who had promised him a seat in their carriage. He, therefore, thanked the bishop for his friendly attentions, and the next day the three friends named above departed from the city of Wurzburg. They travelled together, in the enjoyment of each others conversation, for the space of three days, and arrived at Heidelberg on the 21st of April. Luther selected the convent of the Augustines as the place of his dwelling.

The elector of Saxony had, moreover, given the reformer a letter to the Count Palatine Wolfgang, Duke of Bavaria. Luther, consequently, directed his steps towards the magnificent castle of the duke, whose delightful situation still continues, at this hour, to attract the admiration of foreigners. The monk from the plains of Saxony had a disposition well fitted to admire the superb position of Heidelberg, where the two lovely valleys of the Rhine and the Neckar are brought into conjunction with each other. Luther delivered his letter to James Simler, the comptroller of the court, who, when he had read the epistle referred to, said—"Truly you have here a precious letter of credit!" The Count Palatine received Luther with marked attention, and often invited him to his table, along with his companions, Lange and Staupitz. A reception thus fraught with friendship was most consolatory to the heart of Luther. "We are very happy in ourselves, and we amuse each other in the intercourse of a calm and an agreeable conversation," said he, "while we eat and drink, and examine all the magnificent spectacles of the palatine palace, admiring its ornaments, its armoury, and cuirasses: in short, everything remarkable contained within the limits of this distinguished and truly royal castle."*

* Nevertheless Luther had also work of another description to perform. He was constrained to work while it was yet day. Conveyed within the precincts of a university which exercised a great influence over the districts in the west and south of Germany, he was designed to create a sensation therein which should awaken the spirits of the churches belonging to the countries we have just referred to. He, therefore, devoted his time to the composition of certain theses which he resolved to maintain in the arena of a public dispute. Such disputes were in themselves matters of ordinary occurrence; but Luther was persuaded that, in order to render the one in question subservient to his purposes, it would be necessary therein vividly to engage the

* Ihr habt bei Gott einen kostlichen Credenz. (Luther, Ep. i. p. 111.)

minds of the audience. His natural disposition urged him, moreover, to present the truth under a paradoxical form. The professors of the university were unwilling to permit this dispute to take place in the common hall of their college, so that it was found requisite to engage a large room in the convent of the Augustines. The 26th of April was fixed upon as the day of controversy.

Heidelberg received at a later period the evangelical word, in assisting at the conference of the convent; it was easy, indeed, to foretell the production of some good fruit from such an opportunity of healthful cultivation.

The reputation of Luther sufficed to ensure a large assemblage of hearers, including many professors, courtiers, citizens, and students, who in vast numbers crowded the audience hall. The following are some of the *paradoxes* proposed by the doctor, in conformity with the name he attached to the theses to which we now allude. It is possible a similar designation might be fixed to the same propositions in the present day, although it would be easy to transform these paradoxes into very evident propositions:—

1. "The law of God is a salutary doctrine of life. Nevertheless it cannot assist man in his search after justice; on the contrary, it prejudices him.

3. "Many works of man, however benevolent and good they may actually be, are, nevertheless, according to all appearance, but as many mortal sins.

4. "Many works of God, however deformed and bad they may appear, are at same time of immortal merit.

7. "The works of the just themselves would be mortal sins, if, filled with a holy reverence for the Lord, they did not fear that their works might be in truth mortal sins.

9. "To say that works done without Christ are, it is true, dead, but are not mortal, is a dangerous forgetfulness of the fear of God.

13. "Free will, after the fall of man, is no more than a simple word; and if man does what it is possible for him to do, he sins mortally.

16. "Any man who imagines he can obtain grace by doing all that it is possible for him to do, adds one sin to another, and is doubly culpable.

18. "It is certain that man must-despair entirely of his own faculties, in order to be rendered capable of receiving the grace of Christ.

21. "A theologian of virtue or honour calls bad that which is good, and good that which is bad; but the theologian of the cross speaks justly of the thing.

22. "The wisdom which pretends to know the invisible perfections of God in his works, elates, blinds, and renders man obdurate.

23. "The law excites the anger of God, kills, curses, accuses, judges, and condemns all that are not in Christ.

24. "Nevertheless, such wisdom (§ 22) is not bad, and the law (§ 32) is not to be thrown aside; but the man who does not study the knowledge of God at the foot of the cross changes into bad everything that is good.

25. "That man is not justified who does many works, but he who, without works, believes much in Jesus Christ.

26. "The law says—Do this! and that which it commands is never

done. Grace says—Believe in him, and already all things are accomplished.

28. "The love of God finds nothing in man, but it creates in him what it likes. The love of man proceeds from his Well-beloved."

Five doctors of theology attacked these theses. They had read them with the amazement which novelty usually excites. The new principles of theology now proposed appeared to them as exceedingly strange. Nevertheless they argued concerning their contents, even according to the testimony of Luther, with an affability which gained for them a large share of his esteem, as well as with much force and discernment. Luther, on his part, likewise displayed an admirable command of temper in his replies, combined with incomparable patience, while listening to the objections of his adversaries, and all the quietness of St Paul in resolving the difficulties they started against his propositions. The reformer's responses, indeed, short in their phraseology, but redundant in their references to the word of God, filled the minds of all who heard him with admiration of his talents. "He is in everything equal to Erasmus," said many; "but in one thing he surpasses him, namely in this, that he openly professes to believe that which Erasmus only insinuated as true."

The controversy drew near to a conclusion. The opponents of Luther had retired with honour from the scene of contention; and only the youngest of their body, Doctor George Niger, remained on the field of battle with the puissant wrestler, who, alarmed at the boldness of the propositions maintained by the Augustine monk, and unable to devise any more potent argument, cried out in accents of terror—"If our countrymen hear of such things as these, they will stone you to death." At these words a general shout of merriment was raised among the numerous auditory.

Still there never was before known an audience who had given such earnest heed to the subjects of a theological disputation. The very first words uttered by the reformer had aroused the attention of his hearers, and questions that, but a short time before, would have been treated with indifference, now excited the deepest interest. It was, in fact, easy to discern in the countenances of several of the active members of the assembly, the fresh notions infused into their minds by the hardy assertions affirmed on the part of the Saxon doctor.

Three young men were more particularly agitated by the discussion now described. One of them, named Martin Bucer, was a Dominican, twenty-seven years old, who, in spite of the prejudices of his order, appeared anxious to catch the sense of every word which proceeded from the mouth of the doctor. Bucer had been born in a small town belonging to the district of Alsace, and had, when only sixteen years of age, entered into the retirement of a convent. He very soon displayed such a superiority in his faculties, that the most learned monks entertained high hopes of his future advancement. "He shall one day become the ornament of our order," said these prognosticators of his fortune. And the superiors of his convent had sent this young man to Heidelberg, for the purpose of affording him an opportunity to complete his studies in philosophy and theology, as well as in Greek and Hebrew. At the time thus referred to, Erasmus was publishing a number of his works, and Bucer studied these productions with promptitude and avidity.

At no very distant date, moreover, the first writings of Luther appeared before the public. The Alsacian student soon turned his attention to their contents, and with eagerness compared the doctrines of the reformer with the precepts of the Holy Scriptures. Some suspicions were thus engendered in his mind concerning the truth of the religion advanced by the pope. And it was, in fact, in this manner the light of the gospel was in those days spread abroad on the earth. The elector Palatine had also taken this young man under the protection of his favour. His strong and sonorous voice, the elegance of his manners, the eloquence of his style, and the freedom with which he had attacked the ruling vices of the day, had all conspired to render Bucer a distinguished preacher. He was speedily appointed chaplain to the court, and fulfilled the duties of this office at the time the journey of Luther to Heidelberg was announced. It is impossible to describe the joy this event conveyed to the heart of Bucer. No one more eagerly hastened to the hall within the convent of the Augustines than the royal chaplain, who went there loaded with paper, pens, and ink, with the determination to commit to writing every word that should be spoken by the doctor. But while his own hand quickly registered the words uttered by Luther, the hand of God traced in characters more indelible on his heart the great truths then declared in his hearing. The first glimmering of the doctrine of grace was, in the course of the memorable hour we speak of, shed abroad in his soul. The Dominican was secured as a follower of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Near to Bucer was seated John Brentz, or Brentius, at that time in the nineteenth year of his age. This Brentz, the son of a magistrate in the city of Swabia, had been entered, in his thirteenth year, on the roll of the students at Heidelberg. No one ever exhibited stronger tokens of application. When the hour of midnight was numbered by the clock, Brentz rose from his bed and began to work. He so firmly pursued this practice, that, during the whole course of his after life, it was impossible for him to remain asleep after the hour we have mentioned. At a later period than that we now refer to, Brentz consecrated these tranquil moments to the meditation of the Holy Scriptures. He was likewise one of the first to descry clearly the appearance of the new light which then became visible in Germany. He hailed this phenomenon with a soul full of love. He read, too, most carefully the writings of Luther; but what must have been his happiness when he was privileged to hear the same excellent author speak in person within the walls of the convent at Heidelberg? One of the propositions laid down by the doctor particularly arrested the attention of the young student, namely, the following sentence:—"He is not justified in the sight of God who does many works, but he who, without works, believes much in Jesus Christ."

A pious woman from Heilbronn upon the Neckar, the wife of one of the senators of that city, named Snepf, had, in imitation of the worthy Anna, consecrated to the service of the Lord her first-born son, with the lively hope of seeing this son devote all his talents to the study of theology. The young man, thus distinguished, was born in the year 1495, and made rapid progress in his acquirements in literature; but whether in compliance with his natural tastes, or with the dictates of ambition, or with the desires of his father, he directed

the main efforts of his genius to the study of the law. The godly mother beheld with sorrow her son, her Ehrhard, engaged in the pursuit of another object different to that to which she had consecrated his life. She reasoned with him on the subject, urged him to consider his proceedings, and constantly pressed him to remember the nature of the solemn vow she had made on the day he was born.* At last, overcome by the endless solicitations of his mother, Ehrhard Snepf relinquished the contest, and very soon became so enamoured with the pleasures of his new occupation, that nothing in the world could have persuaded him to turn away from his ardent studies.

Snepf was intimately acquainted with Bucer and Brentz, and their friendship was continued to the termination of their lives; "for," says one of their historians, "friendships grounded on the love of literature and virtue are never extinguished." Snepf, moreover, assisted, in company with the two friends we have named, at the dispute in the convent at Heidelberg. The paradoxes and the courageous struggle maintained by the doctor of Wittenberg bestowed on him a new delight. Rejecting at once the vain idea of human efforts, he eagerly embraced the doctrine of the free and gratuitous justification of the sinner.

The next day Bucer presented himself in the presence of Luther. "I enjoyed with him," says he, "a familiar conversation without any witness being present, a repast the most delicious, not on account of the quality of the food, but rendered exquisite by the purity of the truths delivered in my hearing. Although I expressed certain objections, the doctor made an answer to all of them, and explained the whole matter in the most distinct and perfect manner. Oh, may it please God to grant me time to write you again more at length on this subject."† . . . Luther was himself touched with the feelings and sentiments displayed by Bucer. "He is the only brother of his order," he writes to Spalatin, "who possesses a knowledge of the true faith; he is a young man of great promise. He received me with much simplicity, and conversed with me in a lively and earnest strain. He is deserving of both our confidence and our love."

Brentz, Snepf, and some others besides, urged by their convictions of the new truths which had begun to animate their souls, also went to wait upon Luther. They, too, spoke face to face with the reformer, and in their conference requested expositions on points they had only imperfectly comprehended. The doctor, taking the Bible for his guide, replied to the questions that were asked. Every one of his words carried a fresh meaning into the minds of this select audience, and a new world was, as it were, laid open to their view.

After the departure of Luther, these generous men began to deliver lectures in the city of Heidelberg. They saw the necessity of prosecuting the labours the man of God had introduced to their notice, whereby the flambeau that had been lighted in their district might be prevented from becoming extinct. The scholars are found to speak, if their teachers are seen to remain in silence. Brentz, although he was still in his minority, delivered discourses in exposition of the writings of St Mathew, at first in his own chamber, but afterwards, in conse-

* Crebris interpellationibus eum voti quod de nato ipse fecerat, admoneret; et a studio juris ad theologiam quasi convictis avocaret. (Melch. Adami, Snepti Vita.)
† Gerdesius, Monument, Antiq. &c. ‡ Luth. Ep. l. i, p. 412.

quence of the smallness of this room, in the hall where philosophy was wont to be taught. The theologians of the college, envious of the numbers who attended upon the teaching of this young man, were greatly enraged at the proceedings we now record; and Brentz, obeying the orders issued against him, transferred his meetings to the college of the canons of the Holy Spirit. In this manner the fire which had been kindled in Saxony was also lighted up in Heidelberg. The flame extended and multiplied its force. This was, as had been truly said, the seed-time in the county palatine.

But it was not merely within the limits of the county palatine the fruits of the dispute at Heidelberg were seen to increase. The courageous friends of the truth, enlightened in the way we have described, very soon became shining lights in the church. They each one assumed places of high distinction, and engaged in many debates originated by the progress of the Reformation. Strasburg, and at a later period England, were both indebted to the labours of Bucer for a purer knowledge of the truth. Sneyd first entered upon the duties of a faithful professor in Marbourg, then in Stutgard, and next in Tübingen, and again in Jena. Brentz, on his part, after having given lessons in Heidelberg, for long pursued a similar course at Halle, in Swabia, and in Tübingen. We shall hereafter have to record the deeds of these three eminent men.

The dispute we have lately described was not less the means of advancing the knowledge already possessed by Luther himself. He grew stronger day by day in the acquirements he made in the science of the truth. "I am," said he, "of the number of those who have made progress through the instrumentality of writing and conveying instruction to others, and not of those who from nothing spring up at once into the condition of great men and wise teachers."

He experienced much happiness in beholding with what avidity the youth of the schools received the news of the budding truth, and was thus consoled when he reflected on the strong hold with which the ancient teachers still clung to their original opinions. "I cherish," said he, "the splendid hope that, in like manner as Christ, rejected by the Jews, went over to preach to the Gentiles, we shall now, likewise, see the true theology, which these old men reject in favour of vain and fantastic opinions, received with pleasure by the rising generation."

The chapter having terminated its session, Luther thought of returning to Wittenberg. The count Palatine intrusted him with a letter for the elector, dated the 1st of May, in which it was said "Luther had displayed so much talent in conducting the dispute, that he had thereby cast a halo of glory around the name of the university at Wittenberg." It was determined at same time that Luther should not be permitted to return home on foot. The Augustines of Nuremberg conveyed him as far as Würzburg, whence he proceeded to Erfurt in company with the brethren of that city. Upon reaching Erfurt he went immediately to the house of Jodocus his former master. This old professor, much affected and scandalized at the measures his pupil had adopted, was in the habit of putting before all the sayings of Luther a theta, a letter made use of by the Grecians to indicate condemnation. He had, indeed, written letters full of reproof to the young doctor, who was anxious to reply verbally to these communications. But not being received into the mansion of

his master, Luther wrote to Jodocus—"All the members of the university, with the exception of one licentiate, think with me. Moreover, the prince, the bishop, besides several other prelates, and every enlightened citizen of our town, declare with a unanimous voice that, up to the present hour, they had neither known nor comprehended Jesus Christ and his gospel. I am prepared to receive your reproofs; and even when they are severe, they shall appear to me in reality mild. Pour out your heart, therefore, without fear, and give vent to your anger. I neither wish to, nor can, be irritated against you. To this fact both God and my own conscience are witnesses."

The old doctor was touched with these sentiments of his former pupil, and was anxious to discover some means of removing the condemnatory theta. An explanation was, with this view, entered into, but it proved destitute of any happy results. "I have, at least, made him to understand," said Luther, "that all their sayings were similar to that beast which, as it is said, devours itself. But it is not worth while speaking to the deaf. These doctors obstinately adhere to the meaning of their paltry distinctions, although they confess, as they say, to have no other light to support their views than the light of natural reason, a dark chaos for us who recognise no other light than Jesus Christ, the only sure and true light."

Luther quitted Erfurt in the carriage of the convent, in which he was carried as far as Eisleben. From this place the Augustines of the district, proud of a teacher who had reflected so much lustre alike upon their order and their city, in which he had been born, conducted him to Wittemberg in their own equipage and at their own particular expense. Each individual was desirous to exhibit some mark of affection and reverence towards this extraordinary man, whose fame was enlarged at every stage of his proceedings.

Luther arrived at Wittemberg on the Saturday after Ascension Day. The journey had done him much good, and his friends observed a decided improvement in his vigour and appearance, as compared with his condition before his departure for Heidelberg. They were, moreover, much rejoiced at the accounts he gave of his progress. The doctor devoted a short season of repose to the recovery of the fatigue he had endured during his excursion and the dispute at Heidelberg: but this rest only formed, after all, the prelude to exertions of deeper toil.

BOOK IV.

LUTHER BEFORE THE POPE'S LEGATE.—MAY TO DECEMBER 1518.

CHAPTER I.

Repentance.—The Pope Leo X.—Luther to his Bishop—Luther to the Pope—Luther to the Vicar-General—Reply to the Elector—Discourses upon Excommunication—Influence and Power of Luther.

The truth had at first raised its head in the interior regions of Christendom. Victorious over the inferior organs of Popery, she was now ordained to enter into contentions with the very head of that proud hierarchy. We are now about to contemplate Luther in the lists with Rome.

It was upon his return from Heidelberg he conceived the notion of this new enterprise. The first theses he had composed upon the subject of indulgences had been ill understood. He, therefore, resolved to explain their meaning in more definite terms. Struck with the cry that a blind hatred had urged on the opposition of his enemies, he clearly beheld how important it was to engage, in favour of the truth, the support of the most enlightened portion of the nation, and he determined to appeal to their judgment, by presenting to their consideration the basis on which rested the strength of his new convictions. It behoved him, therefore, for once to provoke the decisions of Rome, and he did not hesitate a moment upon sending thither copies of his improved explanations. Some of these copies were exhibited to the inspection of the most impartial and enlightened men among the Roman citizens, while others were conveyed to the foot of the throne on which sat the sovereign pontiff.

These explanations of the former theses, which he denominated *Solutions*,* were written with great moderation. Luther endeavoured to soften down the passages which had given most offence, and manifested strong proof of his innate modesty. But he at same time displayed the stern fixedness of his principles and convictions, and maintained courageously every proposition which the truth constrained him to support. He again repeated the doctrine that every Christian who experienced a thorough and real repentance was possessed, without any indulgence, of the remission of his sins. That the pope could only, like the most insignificant priest, declare simply what God had already pardoned. That the treasure of the merits of saints administered by the pope was a mere chimera, and that the Holy Scriptures formed the only rule of faith. But attend to what he says himself on some of these important points.

He begins by establishing the nature of true penitence, and contrasts this act of God which renews man with the *mummeries* of the Roman church. "The Greek word *μετανοεω*," says he, "*signifies put on a new spirit, a new sentiment, have a new nature*; so that, ceasing to be terrestrial, you may become men of heaven. . . . Christ is a teacher of the spirit, and not of the letter, and his words are spirit and life! He enforces, therefore, a repentance according to the spirit and the truth, and not those outward penances which might be fulfilled, without humiliation, by the most proud-hearted sinner. Christ desires a repentance which can be accomplished in every situation of life—under the purple robes of kings, the cassocks of priests, or the hat of princes—in the midst of those very pomps of Babylon in which a Daniel was entangled, as well as under the frock of a monk or the tattered garments of a beggar."

Farther on, the following words are met with in these explanations:—"I do not vex myself with what may either prove pleasing or displeasing to the pope. He is a man like other men. And there have been popes who have loved, not only errors and vices, but also many things yet more extraordinary. I listen to the pope as pope, that is to say, when he speaks in the canons, and in conformity with the canons, or when he resolves upon any article in unison with some council, but not when he speaks out of his own head. If I did

* Luth. Opp. (Leips.) xvii., p. 29-113.

otherwise than this, must I not admit, with those who know not Jesus Christ, that the horrible massacre of Christians with which the name of Julius II. is stained, was proof of the good offices of a pious shepherd in favour of the flock of the Lord?"

"I cannot but wonder," continues he, "at the simplicity of those who have affirmed that the two swords of the gospel represent, the one the spiritual, and the other the material power. Yes, the pope has in his possession a sword of steel, and he in this fashion exhibits himself before the inhabitants of Christendom, not in the character of a tender father, but in that of a formidable tyrant. Ah! it is true that God, made angry, has given us the sword we desired to have, and has withdrawn from us the one we have disdained. In no quarters of the globe has there been wars more terrible than those which have been waged by Christians. . . . Wherefore has not the subtle mind that discovered this nice distinction interpreted with equal art the history of the two keys placed under the care of St Peter, and shewn, in the form of a dogma of the church, how the one is useful in opening the treasury of heaven, while the other serves to complete a similar purpose on earth?"

"It is impossible," says he again, "that a man can be a Christian without having an interest in Christ; and if he thus possesses Christ, he at the same time possesses all that belongs to Christ. The thing which gives peace to our consciences is, that by faith our sins are no longer our own, but are laid on Christ, upon whom God has thrown them all; and that, on the other hand, all the righteousness of Christ has become ours, to whom God has given it. Christ puts his hand upon us, and we are cured; he throws over us his mantle, and we are covered: for he is the Saviour blessed for ever more."

With such views of the riches of salvation purchased by Jesus Christ there was no longer any need of indulgences.

Luther, while he forcibly attacked Popery, spoke honourably of Leo X. "The times on which we have fallen," says he, "are so bad, that even the most distinguished personages are prevented from coming to the assistance of the church. We have at present a very good pope in the person of Leo X. His sincerity and his knowledge are fitted to fill us with joy. But what can be done singly by this man, who is equally agreeable and amiable? He was well worthy of being made pope in times of better fortune. In our own day we are deserving only of a Julius II. or an Alexander VI."

He afterwards arrives at the grand fact. "I wish to say the thing in a few words and boldly—The church has need of a total reformation. And this reform cannot be the work of a single man like the pope, nor of many men, such as the cardinals and the fathers of councils; but it must be the work of the whole world, or rather it is a work that belongs to God alone. As to the time in which such a Reformation ought to be commenced, he only knows who has himself created the time. . . . There is a break in the dike, and it is no longer in our power to stay the current of those waters which are already prepared to rush in upon us with impetuosity."

Such were some of the declarations and opinions addressed by Luther to the enlightened men of his own country. The Feast of Pentecost was drawing near, and it was at this epoch, in which the

Apostles had manifested to the risen Jesus Christ the first testimony of their faith, that Luther, like a new apostle, published the book we have been reviewing, so full of life, and wherein he calls with all his strength for a new resurrection of the church. On Saturday the 22d of May 1518, the evening of Pentecost, he sent a copy of this work to the bishop of Brandenburg, his ordinary, to whom he wrote as follows:—

“VERY WORTHY FATHER IN GOD,—It is some time since a new and unheard-of doctrine, touching the subject of apostolic indulgences, has begun to be spread abroad in these districts, with whose reports both the learned and the ignorant have been much astonished, and many individuals, some of them known to myself, and others with whom I have no acquaintance, have solicited me to make public, either orally or in writing, the views I entertain upon the novelty of this subject, I do not wish to say the impudence of this doctrine. At first I was wishful to remain silent and unconcerned, but in the sequel the matter grew to such a height, that the sanctity of the pope was thereby compromised.

“What ought I, therefore, to do? I conceived it proper in me neither to approve nor condemn these doctrines, but to organize a dispute upon this important point, so that the holy church might be induced to pronounce its decision.

“No person having come forward to accept the challenge I gave in the face of the whole world, and my theses having been considered, not as subjects for discussion, but as propositions already determined upon, I found myself obliged to publish an explanation of their contents. Be pleased, therefore, to receive the poor productions I now submit to your notice, most merciful bishop. And in order that all the world may know that I do not disturb its peace with effrontery, I pray your Reverence to blot out, or even to destroy in the fire, whatever is displeasing to your views. I know that Jesus Christ does not stand in need of my labours or services, and that he well knows, without my intervention, when to communicate good news to his church. Not that the bulls or threats of my enemies have power to give me alarm: quite the reverse. And were it not that they are so impudent and dishonest, no one would ever be disturbed with the mention of my name; for I would rather hide myself in some corner, wherein I might study alone, and for my own advantage. If this affair does not prove to be the business of God, it shall certainly not be mine, nor that of any other man, but must become a matter of moonshine. May the glory and honour be unto him to whom they alone belong!”

Luther was still filled with respect for the head of the church. He attributed to Leo the possession of justice and a sincere love of the truth, and felt anxious in this spirit to address the pope. Eight days later, on Trinity Sunday, the 30th May 1518, he wrote his Holiness a letter, of which the following passages formed a part:—

“To the Blessed Father Leo X., our Sovereign Bishop, Brother Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, wishes eternal salvation!

“I understand, very holy father, that evil reports are given out concerning my character, and that my name has been calumniated in the presence of your Holiness. I have been called a heretic, an

apostate, a perfidious person, and a thousand other injurious names. What I see astonishes me, what I hear causes me fear. But the solo support of my tranquillity remains, namely, a pure and quiet conscience. Be pleased to listen to me, O most holy father, to me who am only a child and an ignorant being."

Luther then relates the origin of the whole matter, and then continues thus:—

"Nothing was spoken of in every tavern but complaints respecting the avarice of the priests, or attacks made against the power of the keys and of the sovereign bishop. To this fact all Germany can bear me testimony. When rumours of this description reached my ears, my zeal was excited for the glory of Christ, as it appeared to me, or, if it must be otherwise explained, my young and ardent blood was inflamed.

"I gave information to certain princes of the church. But some of them regarded my communications with derision, while others paid no attention to them whatever. The fear of your name seemed to hold the whole in fetters. I then published the substance of this dispute.

"Behold then, O most holy father, behold the conflagration which it is said has set the whole world in a blaze.

"Now, therefore, what should I do? I cannot retrace my steps, and yet I see that this publication has drawn down upon me from every quarter an inconceivable hatred. I have no desire to appear in the face of the whole world, for I am without knowledge, deficient in mind, and much too insignificant for such great things, especially in this illustrious age, in which Cicero himself, had he been still alive, must have sought for shelter in some obscure corner.

"But in order to appease the anger of my adversaries, and to answer the solicitations of many friends, I have at last published my thoughts. I have published them, too, holy father, the rather in order to secure for myself protection under the shadow of your wings. All those who were anxious to be informed could thus learn with what simplicity of heart I requested instruction from the ecclesiastical authorities, as well as what respect I have manifested towards the power of the keys. Had I not regulated my conduct with discretion, it would have been impossible for his Serene Highness Duke Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, who shines among the warmest friends of Christian and apostolic truth, to have permitted the entrance within the walls of the university at Wittemberg of a man so dangerous as they have represented me to be.

"Wherefore, very holy father, I cast myself down at the feet of your Holiness, and I submit to your authority all that I have and all that I am. Destroy my cause or embrace it; do me justice or do me wrong; take away my life or spare it to me, as it may seem good in your sight. I shall acknowledge your voice as the voice of Jesus Christ, who presides and speaks through you. If I have merited death I do not refuse to die, for the earth belongs to the Lord, and all that therein is. Let him be for ever praised throughout eternity! Amen! And let him eternally maintain your lot! Amen!

"Given on the day of the holy Trinity, in the year 1518.

"BROTHER MARTIN LUTHER, Augustine."

How much humility and how much truth are visible in the fear here expressed by Luther, or rather in the avowal which he makes with reference to his young and over-heated blood, as having been perhaps too eagerly inflamed. We recognise in this admission the evidence of a sincere disposition, which, presuming not upon its own qualifications, dreads the influence of passion in actions even the most in unison with the word of God. Such language is far removed from the speech of a proud fanatic. We see in Luther the desire that urged him to gain Leo over to the cause of the truth, to anticipate all discord, and to originate at the very summit of the church that Reformation of which he proclaimed the necessity. Most assuredly it was not Luther who ought to be blamed for having destroyed in the west that unity whose loss so many persons have at a later period regretted. He sacrificed everything in order to maintain the spirit of this unity, all excepting the truth. It was his enemies and not he who, in refusing to acknowledge the fulness and sufficiency of the salvation wrought out by Jesus Christ, tore to pieces at the foot of the cross the robe of their Lord and Master.

After having written this letter, Luther, on the very same day, addressed another to his friend Staupitz, the vicar-general of his order. It was through means of the vicar Luther desired to forward to Leo the letter we have spoken of, along with a copy of his Solutions.

"I beg of you," says he, "to accept with good will the trifles which I enclose for your inspection, and afterwards to forward them to the excellent pope Leo X. Not that I desire to drag you into the same peril wherein I have placed myself; for I wish to suffer alone the dangers of my situation. Jesus Christ shall determine whether what I say proceeds from him or from me; Jesus Christ, without whose pleasure the tongue of the pope cannot be moved, nor the heart of kings be able to resolve upon any one action.

"With reference to those who dare to offer threats, I have no reply to give, if it be not in the words of Reuchlin: The poor man has nothing to fear, because he has nothing to lose. I am possessed of neither goods nor money, and I do not seek to obtain them. If I have formerly enjoyed some honour and a fair reputation, he who has begun to deprive me of them perfects his own work. I have no more to boast of than this miserable body, worn out by so many trials; let them utterly destroy it by force or by cunning, to the glory of God! They may thus perhaps shorten, by an hour or two, the length of my days. It is sufficient for me to possess a precious Redeemer, a powerful Sacrificer, Jesus Christ my Lord. I will praise him while I have the breath of life within me. If some persons do not wish to praise him along with me, what is that to me."

These words enable us to read with accuracy the feelings of Luther's heart.

Whilst he thus cherished confidence in the protection of Rome, Rome had already conceived thoughts of vengeance against him. As early as the 3d of April, cardinal Raphael de Rovere had written to the elector Frederick, in the name of the pope, informing him that doubts were entertained regarding the soundness of his faith, and that he ~~must~~ ^{must} beware of harbouring Luther. "Cardinal Raphaël," said the doctor, "would have had great pleasure in seeing me burned by order

of Duke Frederick." In this manner Rome began to sharpen her weapons against the body of Luther. It was through the spirit of his protector that she was pleased to inflict her first blow. If Rome succeeded in overturning the cover under which the monk of Wittenberg reposed, he must become an easy prey to her rapacious designs.

The German princes of the period prided themselves upon the reputation they enjoyed as Christian princes. The slightest suspicion of heresy caused them alarm, and the court of Rome had artfully profited by its knowledge of this cautious disposition. Frederick had, moreover, continued always firmly attached to the religion of his fathers, so that the letter he received from the cardinal Raphael had made a deep impression upon his mind. But the elector had at same time adopted as a principle of action the determination never to do anything hastily, and was fully aware that truth was not always ranged on the side of the strongest party. The affairs of the empire with Rome had taught him to place little trust in the interested views of that latter court. He had received the notion that in order to prove himself a Christian prince, it was not necessary for him to become the slave of the pope.

"He was not one of those profane spirits," says Melancthon, "who have a desire to see every change stifled from the moment that its beginning is discovered.* Frederick submits himself to God. He reads with care the writings which appear, and does not permit those he considers as consistent with the truth to be destroyed."† The elector had the power of acting in this manner. Master of his own states, he was regarded with an esteem, throughout the empire, at least as fervent as that which was bestowed upon the emperor himself.

It is probable that Luther received some intelligence of this letter from cardinal Raphael, remitted to the elector on the 7th of July. Perhaps it was in the prospect of that excommunication which this Roman missive seemed to presage, that he was induced to ascend the pulpit at Wittenberg on the 15th day of the same month, and there and then deliver a discourse upon the same subject, which made a deep impression upon the minds of his hearers. In this sermon he drew a vivid distinction between inward and outward excommunication; the former as excluding the sinner from communion with God; the latter as only excluding from a participation in the ceremonies of the church. "No person," said he, "is able to reconcile the lost soul with God, if it be not the Eternal himself. No person can separate a man from communion with God, unless it be that very man himself, on account of his own peculiar sins. Blessed is he who dies under the infliction of an unjust excommunication; for whilst he endures heavy punishment from men, for the love of justice, he receives from the hand of God a crown of everlasting happiness."

Some individuals highly approved of this bold uncompromising language, but others were yet more incensed against the opinions of the doctor.

By this time, however, Luther did not stand alone; and although

* Nec profana judicia sequens quæ tenera initia omnium mutationum cellerime opprimi jubent. (Melancth. Vit. L.) † Deo cessit, et ea quæ vera esse judicavit, deleri non voluit. (Ibid.)

his faith had need of no other support beyond the care of God, a phalanx of adherents had been formed around him which defended him from the assaults of his enemies. The German people had listened to the voice of the reformer ; and equally from his discourses and from his writings, new illustrations had been elicited which delighted and instructed his contemporaries. The energy of his faith pierced, as it were with flashes of lightning, through the darkness of ignorant souls. The life which God had put into this extraordinary spirit communicated its enlivening energies to the dead body of the church. Christendom, left for many centuries in a torpid state, was now re-animated with strong religious enthusiasm. The devotion experienced by the people for the ancient superstitions of Rome, was seen to decrease from day to day ; and fewer persons were now found impatient to acquire, in exchange for sums of money, the assurance of pardon, while at the same time the fame of Luther incessantly increased. All eyes were turned upon him, and he was regarded with love and respect, as the intrepid defender of truth and liberty. No doubt the truth of the doctrines he announced was not discovered by every individual admirer. It was sufficient for a great number of them to know that the new doctor set himself in array against the pope, and that at his powerful word the empire of priests and monks was made to shake. The attack of Luther became for the people a beacon like to those fires lighted upon the tops of mountains, in order to signalize the moment when a nation was prepared to break its chains. The reformer did not foresee the effects of what he had done, so as to reckon thus early upon the choice, as their leader, of all generous men among his compatriots. But for a vast number, the appearance of Luther even exceeded this selection. The word of God, which he interpreted with so much force, penetrated within the minds of men like a two-edged sword. An ardent desire to obtain the assurance of pardon and of eternal life was rekindled in many hearts ; and, since the days of the first centuries, the church had not witnessed such a hungering and thirsting after righteousness. If the word of Peter the hermit and of Bernard had excited the people of the middle ages to lay hold upon a perishable cross, the word of Luther encouraged those of his own times to embrace the doctrines of the real cross and of that truth which secures salvation. The rubbish which at the time covered the church had stifled every religious thought : forms had, in fact, extinguished the life. The commanding speech given to this man had served to diffuse a living breeze over the territories of Christendom. At their first appearance, the writings of Luther engaged equally the attention of believers and of incredulous men ; the latter, because those positive doctrines, which remained to be established at a later period, had not yet been developed, and the former because these same doctrines were described in the bud within that living faith which expressed itself with so much energy and power. The influence of these writings was indeed immense, for they speedily reached every corner of Germany, and almost of the world. Everywhere the keen feeling reigned that assistance was given, not to the establishment of a sect, but to a new reorganisation of the church and of society. Those who were then born anew by the Spirit of God ranged themselves alongside of him who was the organ thereof. Christendom was divided into two separate camps : the one combatting

with the spirit against the form, and the other with the form against the spirit. On the side of the form, it is true, were perceived all the appearances of strength and grandeur; while on the part of the spirit were visible outward weakness and poverty. But the form, deprived of the spirit, is nothing more than an empty body which the first breath of wind is sufficient to overthrow. Its appearance of power only serves to excite animosity, and to hasten its destruction. In this manner the pure word of truth had raised up for Luther a powerful army.

CHAPTER II.

Diet at Augsburg—The Emperor to the Pope—The Elector to Rovers—Luther Summoned to Rome—Peace of Luther—Intercession of the University—Brief of the Pope—Indignation of Luther—The Pope to the Elector.

The army provided for the protection of the reformer was peremptorily required; for the great of the earth began to display symptoms of commotion, and the empire and the church had already combined their efforts to crush the progress of this importunate monk. Had an intelligent and courageous prince at this time occupied the imperial throne, he might have profited by these religious agitations, and, placing his confidence upon the word of God and the nation, have given a new spring to the ancient opposition against Popery. But Maximilian was now too far advanced in years, and he was, moreover, determined to sacrifice every interest for the attainment of what he regarded as the chief end of his life, namely, the aggrandizement of his house, and, consequently, the elevation of his grandson. The emperor Maximilian had then convoked an imperial diet at Augsburg. Six electors obeyed the call and went to attend this meeting in person, whilst all the Germanic states had representatives present at the diet. The kings of France, Hungary, and Poland, also sent their ambassadors to join the assembly, and these princes and envoys mutually displayed the magnificence of their high stations. The war against the Turks was one of the subjects in which the assembly of the diet had originated. The legate of the pope Leo X. earnestly urged his opinions upon this subject in presence of the diet. But the states, warned by the bad use formerly made of their contributions, and wisely instructed by Frederick, contented themselves with declaring that they would seriously consider the matter, and brought forward at the same time fresh complaints against Rome. A Latin speech published during the sittings of the diet boldly pointed out to these German princes the true nature of their danger. "You are anxious," said the author of this production, "to put the Turks to flight. Such a determination is all very well; but I strongly fear you are deceived as to the appearance of this danger. It is in Italy, and not in Asia, you must look for the enemy."*

Another affair not less important was enrolled for the consideration of the diet. Maximilian was desirous of having his grandson Charles, already king of Spain and Naples, proclaimed king of the Romans, and his successor in the imperial dignity. The pope was too well acquainted with the stability of his own interests to have a wish to see the imperial throne occupied by a prince whose power in Italy might soon become formidable. The emperor imagined that he had

* Schrock. K.—Gesch. n.d. R. i. p. 156.

already secured the support of the larger number of electors and states; but he found a firm opponent in the person of Frederick. In vain the emperor solicited the favour of the elector; in vain the ministers and best friends of the latter implored him to espouse the cause of the former. Frederick remained unchanged in opinion, and shewed on this occasion, as it was said, that fixed temperament of soul which never shifts from a resolution, after the justness of that resolution has been recognised. The designs of the emperor failed in this attempt.

From that moment the said prince sought to obtain the good will of the pope, with the view of forwarding the plans referred to above; and in order to afford a special proof of his affection, the emperor wrote to the pope the following letter on the 5th of August:—"Very Holy Father—We have learned a few days ago, that a brother of the order of the Augustines, named Martin Luther, has undertaken to maintain divers propositions concerning the commerce of indulgences; and what yet more gives us displeasure is the fact that the said brother has found many protectors, amongst whom are personages of distinction and power. If your Holiness and very worthy fathers of the church (the cardinals) do not very soon exert their authority in order to put an end to these scandals, not only will these pernicious teachers seduce the simple people, but they will also ensnare great princes to their ruin. We will take good care that whatever measures your Holiness shall adopt in this matter for the glory of the all-powerful God shall be obeyed by all in our empire."

This letter must have been written after the conclusion of some lively discussions between Maximilian and Frederick. On the same day, the elector wrote a letter to Raphael de Rovere. He had, no doubt, learned that the emperor had addressed an epistle to the Roman pontiff, and, in order to ward off the blow, he also opened up a direct communication with Rome.

"I never shall have any other wish," said he, "than to shew myself submissive to the universal church."

"Likewise I have never defended the writings or sermons of doctor Martin Luther. I learn, moreover, that he has constantly offered to make his appearance, under the protection of a safe conduct, before impartial judges, of learning and Christian principles, in order to defend his doctrines and to yield obedience, should any one be found able to gainsay his opinions by a reference to the Scriptures themselves."

Leo X., who, up to the present hour, had permitted the affair to take its own course, was now roused by the urgent cries of theologians and monks, and instituted in Rome an ecclesiastical court, with instructions to bring Luther to trial before its tribunal. In the constitution of this court, Sylvester Prierio, the grand enemy of the reformer, was appointed at once the accuser and judge of his opponent. The cause was very soon prepared, and the court summoned Luther to appear before it in person, within the space of sixty days.

Luther awaited tranquilly in Wittemberg the good effects which the letter he had addressed to the pope full of submission must, as he thought, be sure to produce, when, on the 7th of August, only two days after the despatch of the letters written respectively by Maximilian and Frederick, he was served with a citation from the newly formed Roman tribunal. "At the very moment when I

looked to receive the benediction," said he, "I saw the thunder to break over my head. I was the lamb which had troubled the water for the wolf. Tezel escaped, and I must be left to be eaten."

This citation threw Wittenberg into a state of consternation; for whatever step Luther might take he was sure to be exposed to danger. If he went to Rome he must there become the victim of his enemies. If he refused to go thither, he would be, according to custom, condemned for contumacy, without any power to escape the penalty; because it was known that the pope's legate had received orders from his superior to use every means to irritate the emperor and German princes against the cause of the monk. His friends were distracted. Must the teacher of the truth go to risk his life in that great city *drunk with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus*? Shall it be suffered that a head should arise from the centre of subdued Christendom, in order to work out its utter downfall? This man, whom God appears to have formed with the purpose of resisting a power against which, up to the present hour, nothing had been able to stand in opposition, shall he also be cast down? Luther himself believed the elector alone able to save him; but he would prefer to die rather than compromise the safety of his prince. His friends at last fell jointly upon a scheme which could not bring danger upon Frederick. Let him refuse to give Luther a safe conduct, and then the monk would have a legitimate excuse for refusing to go to Rome.

On the 8th of August Luther wrote to Spalatin, requesting the influence of the elector to be used in accomplishing a new arraignment for Luther in Germany. "Behold," said he, also in a letter to Staupitz, "what snares are laid to get within the reach of me, and how closely I am surrounded with thorns; but Christ lives and reigns, yesterday, to-day, and for ever. My conscience assures me that it is the truth I teach, although it may become more odious on account of its being taught by me. The church is the womb of Rebecca, and the children must therein push against one another, even to the extent of putting their mother in danger. For the rest, pray to the Lord that I may not be too much elated in the course of this trial. May God not impute to them this evil."

The friends of Luther did not limit themselves to the forming of consultations and complaints. Spalatin wrote, in name of the elector, to Renner, the secretary of the emperor:—"Doctor Martin willingly consents to submit to the judgment of all the universities in Germany, with the exception of those of Erfurt, Leipsic, and Frankfort on the Oder, which have rendered themselves suspicious. It is impossible for him to appear personally in Rome."

The university of Wittenberg caused a letter of intercession to be addressed to the pope himself. "The weak state of his health," it was said in speaking of Luther, "and the dangers of the journey, render it difficult, and even impossible for him to obey the commands of great Holiness. His troubles and his prayers induce us to have compassion upon him. We, therefore, beseech you, very holy father, as obedient sons, to be so kind as look upon him as upon one who has never been infected with the doctrines opposed to the opinions of the Roman church."

The same university, in its anxiety to defend Luther, wrote on the

same day to Charles de Miltitz, a Saxon gentleman, and chamberlain to the pope, much esteemed by Leo. X. In this latter epistle a much stronger recommendation in favour of the reformer was preferred than had been presumed upon in the address to the pope. "The worthy father Martin Luther, an Augustine," it was said, "is the most noble and most honourable member of our university. For many years we have seen and known his qualifications, his knowledge, and high attainments in the arts and in literature, joined to his irreproachable manners and truly Christian conduct."

This active benevolence, on the part of all those who were connected with Luther, constitutes his most choice encomium.

Whilst the issue of this affair was looked for with anxiety, it was more easily arranged than could have been anticipated. The legate from Vio, distressed at his want of success in the commission he had received to instigate a general war against the Turks, felt eager to distinguish and propitiate his embassy to Germany by some other conspicuous display of diplomacy. He thus imagined that he would be able to re-appear in Rome with glory. He consequently beseeched the pope to submit the adjustment of this affair to his management. Leo. X., on his part, was well disposed to ingratiate the fortunes of Frederick for having so manfully opposed the election of the young Charles; and he believed the assistance of the German prince might yet be useful to him. Without taking any further notice, therefore, of the dreaded citation, Leo charged his legate, in virtue of a brief, dated the 23d of August, to take cognizance of the affair in Germany. The pope lost nothing in the adoption of such procedure; and even if it were found possible to persuade Luther to retract, the noise and the scandal of his appearance within a court of justice at Rome would be avoided.

"We charge you," said the official document, "to cause to appear before you personally, to prosecute and to restrain without further delay, and as soon as you shall have received this our mandate, the said Luther, who has already been declared a heretic by our dear brother Jerome, bishop of Asculan."

The pope afterwards prescribed against Luther the most severe measures.

"Invoke for this purpose the power and assistance of our very dear son in Christ, Maximilian, and of all the other princes in Germany, of all corporations, universities, and potentates, either ecclesiastical or secular. And if you convict him, take care to secure his person so firmly, that he may be afterwards brought before ourselves."*

It is thus evident that this indulgent concession adopted by the pope was no more than a surer plan to draw Luther within the precincts of Rome. But immediately follow the rehearsal of measures of a milder tendency.

"If he comes back to himself, and asks pardon on certain terms, of his own free will, and without being urged to do so, we give you authority to receive him again into the unity of the holy mother church."

The pope, however, very soon returns to the enumeration of maledictions.

* *Brachio cogas atque compellas, et eo in potestate tua reducto eum sub fidelis custodia retineas, ut coram nobis sistatur.* (Breve Leonis X. ad Thomam.)

"If he persist in his stubbornness, and you find yourself unable to apprehend him, we give you power to pursue him into every district of Germany, and to banish, to curse, and to excommunicate all those who are attached to him, and to order all Christians to flee from his presence."

But still this is not enough.

"And in order," continues the pope, "that this contagion may be as completely as possible extirpated, you shall excommunicate all the prelates, religious orders, universities, corporations, or counts, dukes, and potentates, with the exception of the emperor Maximilian, who shall not lay hold upon the said Martin Luther and his adherents, or shall not convey them over to your care under sure and sufficient guards. And if, which God forbid, the aforesaid princes, corporations, universities, and potentates, or any one belonging to them, should offer in any manner to harbour the said Martin or his adherents, or to give him, publicly or in secret, either by themselves or by means of others, either help or advice, we place these princes under an interdict, as well as the corporations, universities, and potentates, along with their cities, towns, districts, and villages, and at same time the cities, towns, districts, and villages, into which the said Martin may have retreated, and for as long as he shall remain therein, with three days beyond the time he shall be known to have quitted any such hiding-place."

This audacious preacher, who pretends to represent upon earth him who hath said, *God has not sent his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved*, continues to record his anathemas. And after having pronounced these penalties against ecclesiastics, he says:—

"With reference to what concerns the laity, if they do not likewise, without either delay or opposition, shew obedience to your orders, we declare them infamous, (with the exception of the excellent emperor,) incapable of transacting any seasonable engagements, deprived of Christian burial, and stripped of all possessions which they may hold in fee, whether under the apostolic judicature or that of any other lord whatever."

Such was the fate reserved for Luther. The monarch of Rome had conjured every power to ensure his destruction. He had even for this purpose invaded the silence of the grave, and his ruin appeared inevitable. How shall he escape the fury of such a conspiracy? But Rome had deceived herself; the movement created by the Spirit of God could not be subdued by the decree of its chancery.

The very appearance of a just and impartial inquiry had not been preserved. Luther had been declared a heretic, not only before he was heard, but even before the time had expired within which he was cited to appear. Strong passions (and nowhere are these hurtful emotions more vehemently exhibited than in the course of religious discussions) were made to overrule every form of justice. But it is not alone within the Roman church; it is equally in the courts of the Protestant churches that we meet with this forgetfulness of the gospel precepts, and indeed on every occasion where the truth is not regarded in the prosecution of such singular proceedings, everything is held good against the warnings of the gospel. Men are often seen, who, in another cause, would hesitate to commit the least act of injustice,

to trample under foot, without fear, all respect for laws or privileges, the moment they begin to treat upon Christianity, and of the testimony to be given in its favour.

When at an after period Luther was made acquainted^d with the contents of this brief, he expressed his indignation at such a production. "We have here," said he, "the most remarkable feature of the business. This brief is dated on the 23d of August, and I have been cited on the 7th August, so that between the dates of my citation and this brief there appears the number of sixteen days. Now, take account of this, and you shall find that my Lord Jerome, bishop of Asculan, has proceeded against me, has pronounced judgment, has condemned and declared me a heretic, before the citation had been delivered to me, or at all events within sixteen days after it had been despatched. Wherefore, I ask him, where are there to be found the sixty days which have been allowed me to appear by the words of the citation? They began upon the 7th of August and must have terminated on the 7th of October. . . . Is this then the style and method followed at the court of Rome, that they there on the same day issue a summons, exhort, accuse, judge, condemn, and declare condemned, a man who lives at such a distance from Rome, and who knows nothing of what is there going on against him? How can they answer to these questions? Without doubt they had forgotten to purge their brains with hellebore before accomplishing the formation of such falsehoods."*

But at the same time that Rome deposited, in secret, its excommunications in the hands of its legate, she tried, by means of mild and flattering speeches, to detach from the cause of Luther that prince whose power she most dreaded. On the day we have already named, to wit, the 23d of August 1518, the pope wrote a letter to the elector of Saxony. He had recourse to the arts of that old policy which we have before referred to, and he endeavoured to flatter the self-esteem of the German prince.

"Dear Son," said the pontiff of Rome, "when we think of your noble and excellent race, and of you who are its head and chief ornament; when we call to memory how you and your ancestors have always desired to maintain the Christian faith, and the honour and dignity of the holy see, we cannot believe that a man who forsakes this faith will be able to find any protection under the favour of your Highness, or to give vent to the expressions of his wickedness. Nevertheless it has been reported to us from all quarters, that a certain brother, Martin Luther, a hermit of the order of St Augustine, has forgotten, as a child of wrath and despiser of God, his cloth and his order, which partake of humility and obedience, and boasts himself of fearing neither the authority nor punishment of any man, assured that he possesses your favour and protection.

"But as we know that this monk deceives himself, we have thought it good thus to write your Highness, and to exhort you in the name of the Lord to be watchful over the honour of your name as a prince so highly distinguished for Christian principles, and to protect yourself against such calumnies, you, who are the ornament, the glory, and sweet savour of your noble race; and not only to save yourself from an error so grave as that imputed to you, but even from the very sus-

* L. Op. (L.) xvii., p. 176.

picion that the mad boldness of this brother can have any favour from you."

Leo X. announced at sametime to Frederick that he had charged the cardinal of St Sixtus to take cognizance of this affair, and had commanded him to deliver Luther over to the custody of the legate, "for fear," added he, in adopting once more the coaxing style of argument, "that many pious people of our own or of future times may have cause one day to lament, and say that the most pernicious heresy with which the church of God has ever been afflicted arose through the help and favour of this mighty and praiseworthy house."

In this fashion Rome concerted all her measures. With one hand she spread abroad the always intoxicating perfume of praise, while with the other she secretly extended the engines of her terrors and her vengeance.

All the powers upon the earth—emperor, pope, princes, and legates—began to set themselves in array against the humble brother of Erfurt, whose inward struggles we have attempted to describe. *The kings of the earth set themselves together, and the princes consult with each other against the Lord and his anointed.*

CHAPTER III.

The Armourer Schwarzerd—His Wife—Philip—His Genius—His Studies—The Bible—Call to Wittenberg—Departure and Journey of Melancthon—Leipsic—Mistake—Joy of Luther—Comparison—Revolution in the Instruction—Study of Greek.

The letter and brief which we have just reviewed had not as yet reached the confines of Germany, and Luther was still absorbed in the fear of being obliged to appear in Rome, when a happy event occurred, which afforded consolation to his agitated heart. He stood much in need of a friend into whose bosom he might convey a knowledge of all his cares and afflictions, and whose faithful affections might assuage the pains of suffering at the hour of deepest trial. God raised up for him a companion fully qualified to act the part we have described in the person of Melancthon.

George Schwarzerd was a celebrated armourer in Bretten, a small town within the territories of the county Palatine. On the 14th of February 1497, there was born to this person a son, who was named Philip, and who afterwards distinguished himself under the appellation of Melancthon. Well frequented by the princes of Palatine and those of Bavaria and Saxony, George was inspired with principles of great rectitude. Often was he known to refuse the prices offered by thoughtless purchasers, and even to return their money to others with decided determination when he learned that they were poor. He rose constantly at midnight, and throwing himself upon his knees, repeated his prayers. If it so happened that the morning had dawned before he had accomplished this duty, he was displeased with himself during the whole course of the following day. Barbara, the wife of Schwarzerd, was the daughter of an honoured magistrate named John Reuter. Her disposition was tender, although a little swayed by superstition, but her character on the whole was eminent for wisdom and prudence. It was upon her the following old and well-known German rhymes were composed:—

Alms to give impov'ishes her not ;
 To go to church obstructs her not ;
 To grease the car her progress stops not ;
 Wealth ill acquired she does produce not ;
 And Book of God her doth deceive not.

And these other rhymes—

Those who wish more to expend
 Than their good fields supply,
 To their own ruin fast descend,
 And thus ignobly die.

The young Philip had not completed the eleventh year of his age when his father died. Two days before he expired, George requested his son to come near to his death-bed, and exhorted him to be at all times mindful of God. "I foresec," said the dying armourer, "that terrible tempests are about to convulse the world. I have myself seen mighty changes, but greater are now in progress. May God counsel and conduct your ways!" After Philip had received his father's blessing, he was sent off to Spire, to prevent his witnessing the death of his father. He went away bathed in tears.

The grandfather of the young boy, the worthy bailie Reuter, who had a son of his own, acted as the father of Philip, and took him, along with his brother George, into his own house. A short time after the date we speak of, Reuter engaged, as tutor to the three boys, John Hungarus, an excellent man, who, at a later period, and even when far advanced in years, preached the gospel with much unction. He disregarded no actions practised by these young men, but punished them for every fault, although with discretion. "It was in this manner," said Melancthon, "in 1544, that he made me a grammarian. He loved me as a son, I love him as a father, and I hope we shall meet in a state of everlasting life."

Philip was distinguished for the excellence of his talents, whereby he acquired knowledge with facility, and readily explained what he had learned. He could never remain idle, and was ever eager to meet with some one who would discuss with him upon the subjects in which he was most interested. It often happened that intelligent strangers passed through Bretten, and visited at the house of the magistrate Reuter. On such occasions, the grandson of the bailie was in the habit of addressing the stranger guests, and in his conversation pressed on their notice so many questions for argument that these auditors were filled with admiration. To the superiority of his genius Philip added a mildness of demeanour equally conspicuous, and thus conciliated the favour of all with whom he conversed. He stammered naturally in his speech, but, in imitation of the illustrious orator of Greece, he applied himself with so much earnestness to overcome this defect, that in after life it could scarcely be perceived.

His grandfather having died, Philip was sent, in company with his brother and young uncle John, to the school at Pforzheim. These young boys dwelt in the house of their relation, the sister of the famous Reuchlin. Eager in the pursuit of learning, Philip made, under the direction of George Simler, rapid progress in his acquirements of science, and more especially in his studies of the Greek language, for which he entertained an ardent passion. Reuchlin often visited Pforzheim, and in the house of his sister he became acquainted with her young lodgers. Being often much astonished at

the replies he received from little Philip, he presented him with a Greek Grammar and a Bible; and these two books he determined to be the chief study of his whole life.

When Reuchlin returned from his second journey into Italy, his young relative, then only twelve years old, celebrated the day of his arrival by performing, in his presence, in company with some friends, a Latin comedy, composed by Philip himself. Reuchlin, enchanted with the talent displayed in this production, embraced the young author with cordial affection, called him his well-beloved son, and laughingly put upon his head the red cap he had received when installed with the dignity of doctor. It was then that Reuchlin changed the name of Philip from Schwarzerd to that of Melancthon. These two words signify black earth, the one in German and the other in Greek. The greater number of learned men translated, at that time, their names into Greek or Latin.

Melancthon, now twelve years old, went to study in the university of Heidelberg. It was here he began to quench the thirst after knowledge which preyed upon his constitution. He was passed as bachelor of arts when only fourteen years of age; and in the year 1512, Reuchlin called him to Tübingen, where a large number of distinguished scholars had congregated together. Philip now attended in one session lessons in theology, in medicine, and in jurisprudence. There was no sort of learning which he did not think it his duty to become acquainted with. Nor was it a love of praise that excited his ardour, but solely a desire to possess the legitimate fruits of useful science.

The Holy Scriptures particularly engaged his attention. Those who frequented the church of Tübingen, had observed that Melancthon often perused with zeal a book between the different parts of the service. This unknown book appeared larger than the manual of common prayers, and a report was raised that Philip was in the custom of thus reading profane publications. But it was discovered that the object of suspicion was simply a copy of the Holy Scriptures, printed, a short time before this date, at Basil, by John Trebenius. Philip continued during the whole course of his life the same close application to the study of the Bible. He carried this precious volume constantly about with him, even into every public assembly at which he was obliged to attend. Rejecting the vain systems of the divinity schools, he firmly adhered to the pure word of the gospel. "I entertain for Melancthon," Erasmus wrote to Ecolampade, "sentiments of the highest order and the most magnificent hopes. If Christ only be pleased to permit this young man to survive us for some considerable time, he will entirely eclipse the fame of Erasmus."* Nevertheless, Melancthon was infected with the errors of his age. "I tremble," said he, at an advanced period of his life, "when I think of the honour I bestow upon statues, when I find myself still allied with Popery."

In 1514 he was made a teacher of philosophy, and at that time began to give lectures in the said science. He was, of course, just seventeen years old. The grace and attraction which he succeeded in imparting to his style of teaching, offered a singular contrast with

* Ille prorsus obscurabit Erasmus. (Er. Ep. i. p. 405.)

the unprepared method of composition adopted by the teachers, and especially by the monks, up to the period of his appearance. Melancthon took a lively interest in the struggle in which Reuchlin found himself engaged with the darkened men of his day ; and, possessed of agreeable conversational powers, joined with elegant and composed manners, and thus respected by all who knew him, Philip soon enjoyed within the limits of the learned world great authority and solid reputation.

It was at this time, also, the elector Frederick conceived the idea of calling some distinguished scholar to fill the office of professor of ancient languages in his university of Wittemberg. He addressed himself on the occasion to Reuchlin, who pointed out the qualifications of Melancthon ; and Frederick easily perceived the fame this young Grecian adept was calculated to bestow upon the institution so dear to his recollections. Reuchlin, charmed with the view of such excellent prospects, thus opened before the sight of his young friend, wrote to him in the following words used by the Eternal to Abraham :—" *Leave thy country, and go away from amongst thy kinsfolk, and from the house of thy father, and I will make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed.*" Yes," continues the oldman, "I hope it shall be thus with thee, my dear Philip, my work and my consolation." Melancthon recognised in this call the command of God. At his departure the university was thrown into a state of mourning, although there were within its walls certain individuals who were jealous of his name, as well as even some who were his enemies. He quitted his country exclaiming—"Let the will of the Lord be done !" He had now attained to the age of twenty-one years.

Melancthon prosecuted his journey on horseback, in company with a few Saxon merchants, in the manner in which people were accustomed to join the convoy of a caravan in the desert ; "because," says Reuchlin, "he neither knew the road nor the places situated in the course of his journey." He made a call of obeisance upon the elector, whom he found in his castle at Augsburg. He likewise waited upon the excellent Pirckheimer, with whom he was formerly acquainted at Nuremberg ; and at Leipsic he met with the learned Grecian Mosellanus. The university belonging to this latter city gave a sumptuous repast in honour of the traveller. It was truly an academic feast. The dishes succeeded each other in great number, and as every new dish was brought forward, one of the professors arose and addressed Melancthon in a Latin speech prepared beforehand for the occasion. Melancthon likewise gave on the instant a suitable reply. At last, wearied with such efforts of eloquence, "Very illustrious men," said he to these professors, "allow me to reply once for all to your harangues ; because not being prepared it will be impossible for me to give such variety to my responses as you have culled for your addresses." After this remark the dishes were set down without the accompaniment of a speech.

The young relative of Reuchlin arrived at Wittemberg on the 25th of August 1518, two days after Leo X. had signed the brief addressed to Cajetan, and the letter forwarded to the elector.

The professors of Wittemberg did not receive Melancthon with so much favour as was bestowed upon him by their brethren at Leipsic. The first impression he produced on his arrival there did not corre-

spond with the expectations entertained of his vast learning. The professors beheld a young man, younger even in appearance than in reality, of a stature little imposing, and with a soft and timid expression of countenance. Is this the same illustrious teacher whom the greatest men of the day, Erasmus and Reuchlin, so highly esteem? . . . Neither Luther, whose acquaintance he first courted, nor his colleagues, conceived enlarged hopes, when they regarded the youthful appearance and diffident manners of Melancthon.

Four days after his arrival, the new professor delivered his inauguration lecture. The whole body belonging to the university were present. The young boy, as Luther called him, spoke in a style of Latin so pure and elegant, displayed so much knowledge, in conjunction with a mind so highly cultivated, and a judgment not less mature, that all who heard him were lost in admiration of his talents.

When the lecture was finished, every one hastened to congratulate the speaker; but none was so overjoyed as Luther. He went immediately to communicate to his friends the sentiments which filled his own heart. "Melancthon," writes he to Spalatin, on the 31st of August, "has delivered, four days after his arrival, an oration so resplendent with knowledge and beauty, that every one present listened to his words with approbation and astonishment. We have speedily recovered from the infection of those prejudices which his stature and appearance had cast upon us, and we repeat and praise his sayings, while we give thanks to the prince and you for the service you have done us in his appointment. I could not wish for a better Greek master. But I fear that his delicate constitution will be unable to submit to our manner of living, and that we shall not possess his talents long, on account of the spare diet to which he must be subjected. I understand the people at Leipsic already boast of their power to carry him away from us. O my dear Spalatin, take care not to despise either his age or his appearance. This man is truly worthy of all honour."

Melancthon at once commenced an exposition of Homer and of the Epistle of St Paul to Titus. He was full of ardour. "I use every effort," he writes to Spalatin, "to ingratiate myself at Wittenberg with the favour of all those who love literature and virtue." Four days after the inauguration, Luther wrote again to Spalatin:—"I recommend to your particular notice the very learned and very amiable Greek, Philip. His class-room is always filled. The divinity students especially flock to his lectures; and he inspires every one, whether in a high, low, or middling condition of life, with a desire to learn Greek."

Melancthon was well disposed for returning this warm affection on the part of Luther. He very soon discovered in him an excellence of character, a strength of mind, a courage, and a wisdom, which he had never until now met with in the accomplishments of any other man. He both loved and venerated his new friend. "If there is any one person," said he, "whom I love with ardour, and whom my whole spirit embraces, it is Martin Luther."

Such was the manner in which Luther and Melancthon became acquainted with each other, and they remained friends until the termination of their lives. We cannot too much admire the goodness

and wisdom of God who joined in such close friendship two men so different in their qualifications, and nevertheless so necessary to the wellbeing of one another. What Luther had in heat, transport, or force, Melancthon had in perspicuity, wisdom, and calmness. Luther animated Melancthon, Melancthon moderated Luther. They were like those strata of the electric fluid—the one above, the other below, in temperature—which mutually regulate each other's excess. Had Melancthon been absent from Luther, perhaps the river would have overflowed its boundaries. When Luther was not present with Melancthon, Melancthon hesitated, and even yielded in cases where he ought not to have receded.* Luther accomplished much by moving force. Melancthon did not do less perhaps while following a course more slow and tranquil. Both were upright, open, and generous; both, full of love for the word of eternal life, adored the same with a fidelity and affection which governed every action of their lives.

Moreover, the arrival of Melancthon caused a revolution, not only in Wittemberg, but also throughout all Germany, and in every division of the learned world. The study which he had given to the Greek and Latin classics and to philosophy had imparted to his own style a method, perspicuity, and precision of ideas, which invested every subject he illustrated with fresh splendour and an inexpressible beauty. The mild spirit of the gospel fertilized and animated his meditations, while the most barren science was clothed, in his expositions, with infinite grace, which captivated every attentive hearer. The sterility which the schools had communicated to their method of teaching now ceased. A new order of study and instruction had its origin in Melancthon. "Thanks be to him," said an illustrious German historian,† "Wittemberg became the school of the nation."

It was, indeed, a matter of great importance that a man who understood Greek most profoundly should give instructions therein within the walls of this university, where the new developement of theology required both masters and students to study in the original language the primitive documents of the Christian faith. From the time we have reached, Luther applied himself with zeal to the work we speak of. The sense of many Greek words, whose signification was unknown to him before, now suddenly enlightened his theological ideas. What comfort and joy for instance did he not experience, when he perceived the Greek word *μετάνοια*, which, according to the Latin church, designated a penance, a satisfaction exacted by the church, a human expiation, signified in Greek a transformation or a conversion of the heart? A thick mist was thus at once dissipated from before his eyes. The two meanings given to this word is sufficient to distinguish the real characters of the two churches.

The impulse which Melancthon communicated to Luther, touching his translation of the Bible, is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the friendship of these two great men. So soon as 1517, Luther had already begun to make some attempts at translation. He had procured as many Greek and Latin books as it was possible for him to obtain. But now, assisted by his dear Philip, his work took

* Calvin to Sleidan: Dominus cum fortiore spiritu instruat, ne gravem ex ejus timiditate jacturam sertiatur posteritas.

† Plank.

a new direction, and he obliged Melancthon to take a part in his researches. He consulted him upon passages of difficult interpretation, and the work, which was destined to become one of the chief labours of the reformer, advanced with greater speed and more precision.

Melancthon, on his part, received instruction in a new system of theology. The fresh and profound doctrine of justification by faith filled him with astonishment and joy; but he received this system which Luther professed with independence, and subjected it to the examination of the particular turn of his own mind; because, although he was no more than twenty-one years of age, his was one of those premature minds which early enter into the full possession of all their vigour, and are self-possessed from their first entrance into life.

Very soon the zeal of the master was communicated to his pupils. Thoughts were entertained of reforming the order of things. Certain courts were, with the consent of the elector, suppressed, which had only a scholastic importance; while, at same time, a new direction was given to classical studies. The college at Wittemberg was transformed, and the contrast she exhibited, when compared with other universities, became every day more remarkable. Still this establishment continued within the pale of the church, and no one ever doubted that they were on the eve of a grand battle with the pope.

CHAPTER IV.

Sentiments of Luther and Staupitz—Order to Appear—Alarm and Courage—The Elector at the House of the Legate—Departure for Augsburg—Sojourn at Weimar—Nuremberg.

There can be no doubt but that the arrival of Melancthon secured for Luther a happy distraction at a moment of such critical importance. No doubt in the sweet effusions of a new-born friendship, and in the midst of biblical labours, to which he devoted his time with yet more earnest zeal, he at times forgot the remembrance of Rome, Prierio, Leo, and the ecclesiastical court before which he had been summoned to appear. Nevertheless these pleasures occupied only the meditation of fugitive moments; for his thoughts were perpetually reverting to the formidable tribunal before which his implacable enemies had cited him to appear. What terrors was such a thought not calculated to communicate to a soul bent on any other subject save that of the truth! But Luther trembled not. Filled with faith in the fidelity and in the power of God, he remained firm of purpose, and was quite prepared to expose himself to the fury of enemies more terrible than those who had set fire to the funeral pile on which John Huss had sacrificed his life.

A few days after the arrival of Melancthon, and before the resolution of the pope, which transferred from Rome to Augsburg the citation of Luther, could be known, Luther wrote to Spalatin. "I do not request," said he, "that our sovereign should take any steps in defence of my theses; I wish to be delivered over and thrown into the hands of my enemies alone. Let him leave the thundercloud to burst upon my own head. That which I undertake to defend, I hope to be able to maintain, with the help of Jesus Christ. With regard to violence, it is possible to yield to it without at the same time, abandoning the truth."

The courage of Luther became an example for others to follow, and the most mild and timid men uttered, in the presence of dangers which threatened the witnesses of the truth, words expressive of much courage and indignation. The prudent and peace-loving Staupitz wrote in these terms to Spalatin on the 7th of September. "Do not cease to exhort the prince, your master and mine, not to allow himself to be terrified by the roaring of lions. Let him defend the truth, without disturbing his mind either about Luther, or of Staupitz, or of the order. Let there be some place where one may speak openly and without fear. I know that the pest of Babylon, I had almost said of Rome, inveighs against whoever may dare to make an attack upon those abuses which offer Jesus Christ for sale. I have myself seen a preacher thrown down from the pulpit who taught the truth. I saw him, although it was a festival day, bound with cords and dragged into a dungeon. Others have witnessed scenes more cruel than this. For these reasons, my dearest friend, endeavour to persuade his Highness to persist in his present sentiments."

The order to appear in Augsburg in presence of the cardinal legate at last made its appearance. It was with one of the princes of the church of Rome Luther was now appointed to confer. All his friends urged him to remain at home. They feared that even in the course of his journey snares would be laid against him and his life exposed to hazard. Several persons were busy in looking out for some safe retreat. Staupitz himself, the timid Staupitz, felt anxious at the prospect of the dangers to which this brother Martin was about to be made liable; for it was he who had drawn him out of the obscurity of the cloister, and had placed him on that agitated scene where his life was now in jeopardy. Ah! would it not have been better for the poor monk to have remained always unknown? It was too late to make such reflections. At least, however, he wished to do something with a view to save his protegee. He therefore wrote to the doctor, from the convent at Salzburg, on the 15th of September, with the desire of persuading him to fly and seek shelter near to himself. "It appears to me," said Staupitz, "that the whole world is angry with, and set in opposition to, the truth. Jesus crucified was hated in the same manner. I do not see that you have any other thing to expect than persecution. Very soon no person shall be free, without the permission of the pope, to search the Scriptures or to seek therein a knowledge of Jesus Christ, which, however, Christ himself commanded us to do. You have only a small number of friends, and God forbid that the fear of your adversaries may not prevent even these few from declaring themselves in your favour. The wisest step for you to take is to leave Wittemberg for a time, and come to live with me. Then we shall be able to live and die together. Such is also the opinion of the prince," adds Staupitz.

From various quarters Luther received the most alarming intelligence. The count Albert of Mansfeld caused him to be well warned, and to take heed about beginning his journey, as it was rumoured some great lords had sworn to seize hold upon his person, and either to strangle or drown him. But nothing was able to arouse the fears of Luther, and he resolved not to take advantage of the kind offer made to him by the vicar-general. He will not go to hide himself in the dark cloisters of the convent at Salzburg; he will

remain faithful amidst the storms which disturb the course within which God had enclosed him. It was by persevering in spite of a multitude of opponents, and by proclaiming with a loud voice the truth in the very centre of the world, that the reign of that truth must be confirmed and advanced. Wherefore, then, should he flee from his post? He was not of the number of those who draw back to perish, but of those who keep the faith in order to save their souls alive. There were resounded in his heart, without ceasing, these words of the Master whom he wished to serve, and whom he loved more than life. "*Whoever shall confess me before men, I also will confess him before my Father which is in heaven.*" On every occasion, this intrepid courage is seen manifested in the conduct of Luther, and, in the events of the Reformation, that distinguished morality and that superabounding charity which the first approaches of Christianity had already displayed in the face of the whole world. "I am like Jeremiah," said Luther, at the time we treat of, "the man of many quarrels and much discord; but the more they increase their threatenings the more my joy is multiplied. My wife and my children are well provided for; my fields, my houses, and all my property are in good order. They have already reviled my honour and my reputation. One thing only remains with me, and that is my miserable body. But let them take it too, they can only thereby shorten my life for the space of a few hours. But as regards my soul, they cannot take that from me. He who wishes to spread abroad the word of Christ in the world, must at every hour expect the approach of death, for our husband is a husband of blood."

The elector was now at Augsburg. A short time before quitting that city and the diet he made a point of waiting upon the pope's legate. This cardinal, much flattered by such condescension in a prince so highly famed, made a promise to the elector, that if the monk should present himself before him, he would listen to him paternally and dismiss him freely. Spalatin wrote to his friend in the name of the prince, that the pope had appointed a commission to examine him in Germany, that the elector would not allow of his being dragged away so far as Rome, and that he must prepare to depart for Augsburg. Luther resolved to obey these instructions; but the advices he had received from the count of Mansfeld induced him to request from Frederick the protection of a safe conduct. The latter prince replied that the precaution meditated was not necessary, and merely entrusted Luther with a few letters of recommendation to certain distinguished counsellors residing in Augsburg. He also remitted a sum of money sufficient to defray the monk's travelling expenses; and this reformer, poor and unguarded, departed on foot with the intention of delivering himself over into the hands of his adversaries.*

What must have been the feelings of Luther in thus quitting Wittenberg, and directing his steps towards Augsburg, where the pope's legate awaited his arrival? The purpose of the present journey was not an amicable reunion like the visit to Heidelberg; he now marched on his way to appear before the delegate of Rome, without the support of one attendant; it might be that he walked forward as it were into the jaws of death. But his faith was not merely a faith of outward

* *Veni igitur pedester et pauper Augustam.* (Luth. Op. Lat. in Præf.)

semblance ; it was in him a positive principle. And thus he experienced therein a conviction of safety, and was enabled to advance without fear, in the strength of the God of armies, to bear testimony in favour of the gospel.

Luther arrived at Weimar on the 28th of September, and lodged in the convent of the Franciscans. One of the monks belonging to this establishment could not cease from gazing upon the stranger monk : this brother was Myconius. He now looked on Luther for the first time, and felt an earnest desire to enter into conversation with him, to tell him that to him he owed the peace of his soul, and that all his wishes were centred on a hope of being allowed to travel along with him. But Myconius was closely watched by his chief, and was not permitted to speak to Luther.

The elector of Saxony at this time held his court at Weimar, and it was probably on this account the Franciscans received the doctor as a guest within the walls of their convent. The day after his arrival the Feast of St Michael was celebrated. Luther conducted the service of the mass, and was, moreover, invited to preach in the church attached to the castle. This was a mark of favour his prince was anxious to evince towards the reformer. He preached concerning abundance, in the presence of the court, upon the text of the day, taken from the Gospel according to St Matthew, chap. xviii. 1st and 2d verses. He spoke strongly in condemnation of hypocrites, and against those who pride themselves upon their own individual justice. But he made no mention of angels, although it was the custom to do so in the sermons delivered on St Michael's Day.

The courage now displayed by the doctor of Wittenberg, who tranquilly obeyed, and on foot, a call which, in the instances of so many before him, had ended in death, astonished all who witnessed his composure. Concern, admiration, and compassion filled the hearts of many ; and John Kestner, provisor of the Franciscans, oppressed with fear, in contemplation of the dangers that awaited their guest, said to him—" My brother, you shall meet at Augsburg with many men who are knowing in their way and subtle antagonists, and who will give you enough to do. I fear that you shall not be able to defend your cause against their stratagems. They will throw you into the fire, and their flames will consume you." Luther answered with solemnity—" My dear friend, pray to our Lord God, who is in heaven, and offer up to him a *pater noster* in my behalf, and for the sake of his dear Son Jesus, of whom my cause is the cause, so that grace may be shewn unto me. If God maintain the cause of his Son, mine is maintained. But if he does not uphold that cause, certainly it is not in me to support it, and it is he who shall bear the blame."

Luther continued his journey on foot, and arrived at Nuremberg. He was about to present himself in the presence of a prince of the church, and he was anxious to appear in such presence in a befitting condition. The clothes that he wore were already old, and had been, moreover, much injured with the fatigue of travelling. He, therefore, borrowed a suit from his faithful friend Wincellaus Link, the preacher at Nuremberg.

Luther did not, without doubt, confine his visit to Link ; he likewise waited upon his other friends in the city of Nuremberg, such as Scheurl, the secretary of the town, the renowned painter, Albert

Durer, (to whose memory a statue is now raised in Nuremberg,) and many others beside. He strengthened his mind in his intercourse with these excellent of the earth, while many monks and laymen were in consternation at the thoughts of his fate, and strove to shake his purpose, beseeching him to turn his back. But many letters which he wrote from this place exhibit the spirit that still animated Luther. "I have met," said he, "with pusillanimous men, who wish to persuade me not to proceed on towards Augsburg; but I am determined to go there. Let the will of the Lord be done! Even at Augsburg, and in the middle of his enemies, Jesus Christ reigns. So that Christ lives, let Luther die, and every sinner. According as it is written—Let the God of my salvation be exalted. Hold you fast, persevere; remain steadfast; for it is needful to be condemned either by men or by God; but God is true, and man is a liar."

Link and an Augustine monk, named Leonard, could not bear the thought of leaving Luther to proceed alone in the face of the dangers which menaced his progress. They were well acquainted with the particular features of his character, and knew that, full of carelessness and courage, he might be found wanting in prudence. They, therefore, accompanied their friend on his remaining journey. When they had reached within five leagues of Augsburg, Luther, whom the fatigue of travelling and the various agitations of his heart had no doubt exhausted, was seized with violent pains in his stomach. He believed he was ready to die. His two friends, in great perplexity, hired a car, upon which the doctor was conveyed to town. They arrived in Augsburg on the evening of Friday the 7th of October, and took up their abode in the convent of Augustine. Luther was in a state of great debility. But he very quickly recovered his strength. No doubt the liveliness of his faith and his natural vivacity conspired to render the restoration of his enfeebled body the more prompt and complete.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival at Augsburg—De Vio—His Character—Serra Longa—Preliminary Conversation—Visit of the Counsellors—Return of Serra Longa—The Prior—Wisdom of Luther—Luther and Serra Longa—The Safe Conduct—Luther to Melancthon.

Scarcely had they arrived at Augsburg, and before meeting with any one belonging to that place, Luther, desirous of bestowing upon the pope's legate all the honours due to his exalted station, requested Winceslaus Link to announce to him the intelligence of their arrival. Link complied with this request, and humbly declared to the cardinal, in the name of the doctor of Wittemberg, that the said doctor was ready to appear before him, whenever an order was issued to that effect. The legate was overjoyed at the news he heard. He was now in possession of the fiery heretic, and he resolved that this unruly person should not leave Augsburg in the same way he had there entered. At the moment when Link proceeded to his interview with the legate, the monk Leonard went to inform Staupitz of the arrival of Luther within the walls of Augsburg. The vicar-general had written to the doctor that he would certainly wait upon him as soon as he learned of his entrance into the city. Luther did not wish

therefore, to delay for one instant, the notice thus mutually agreed upon.

The diet we have spoken of had terminated its session ; and the emperor and the electors had already taken leave of each other. The emperor, it is true, had not left the place ; but was amusing himself in the pleasures of the chase not far from the town. The ambassador from Rome only remained within the walls of the city. Had Luther come to Augsburg during the sitting of the diet, he might have then secured some powerful protectors ; but all seemed now prepared to yield under the weight of the papal authority.

The name of the judge before whom Luther was fated to appear was not calculated to quiet his fears. Thomas de Vio, surnamed Cajetan, from the city of Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples, where he had been born in the year 1469, had, since the days of his youth, caused grand expectations concerning his future progress. When only sixteen years of age, he had become a brother of the order of Dominicans against the express desire of his parents. At a later period he had obtained the honours of general of his order and a cardinal in the Roman church. But the circumstance most to be dreaded with reference to the cause of Luther was the fact that this learned doctor had all along been a zealous supporter of that scholastic theology which the reformer had as constantly treated with marked contempt. De Vio's mother, it was said, had dreamt, while he was yet in the womb, that St Thomas in person would instruct the child of whom she was so soon to be delivered, and would afterwards introduce him into heaven. This child of such promise, in becoming a Dominican, had, likewise, changed his Christian name from James to Thomas. He had, besides, defended vigorously the prerogatives of Popery, and the doctrines of Thomas d'Aquin, whom he regarded as the most accomplished of all theologians.* An ardent lover of pomp and public display, he believed with an almost perfect persuasion the truth of this Roman maxim, that popes' legates are superior to kings, and thus surrounded himself with a magnificent retinue. On the 1st of August he had celebrated a solemn mass in the cathedral at Augsburg, and, in presence of all the princes of the empire, he had put a cardinal's hat on the head of the archbishop of Mentz, kneeling down before the altar, and restored to the emperor himself the cap and sword consecrated by the pope. Such was the character of the man before whom the monk of Wittemberg was about to appear, clothed in garments which were not his own. In addition to what has been said, it may be further remarked, that the knowledge of this legate, the severity of his temper, and the correctness of his manners, had secured for him in Germany an influence and an authority which other Roman courtiers would have found it difficult to obtain. His reputation for sanctity had, no doubt, procured for him the commission he now enjoyed. Rome had well understood how far his trust was calculated, in the most admirable manner, to further her views. And the peculiar qualities possessed by Cajetan served to render him yet more formidable. Still the affair with which he was entrusted was somewhat complicated in its nature. Luther had already been declared a heretic, and, if he did not choose to retract his opinions, the legate was bound

* *Divi Thomæ Summa cum Commentariis Thomæ de Vio. Lugduni, 1587.*

to put him into prison, while, should he escape, the legate was equally bound to brand with excommunication whoever should dare to afford him refuge. Such was the duty imposed by Rome upon the prince of the church before whom Luther was cited to appear.

Luther had regained his strength during the night. And already somewhat recovered from the fatigues of his journey, he, on Saturday morning, the 8th of October, turned his attention to the consideration of his singular situation. He was, however, composed and submissive, and expected that the will of God would be fully manifested in the course of coming events. He had not to wait long in suspense. A personage, who was not known to Luther, sent a message to him, as if he had been entirely devoted to his cause, that he was about to visit his abode, and that Luther should take care of appearing in the presence of the legate before he had seen this personage. The notice thus expressed was delivered on the part of an Italian courtier named Urban de Serra Longa, who had been often in Germany in the character of envoy from the court of the margrave of Montferrat. He had become acquainted with the elector of Saxony, with whose government his embassy had been connected; but after the death of the margrave, he had attached himself to the retinue of the Cardinal de Vio.

The ingenuity and the manners of this man formed the most striking contrast to the noble frankness and generous rectitude displayed by Luther. The Italian very soon made his appearance at the monastery of the Augustines. The cardinal had, in fact, sent him to sound the thoughts of the reformer, and to prepare him for the retraction it was expected he would be ready to make. Serra Longa imagined to himself that the sojourn he had passed in Germany was calculated to confer on him many advantages beyond those enjoyed by the other courtiers attached to the train of the pope's legate, and he promised to himself a rich treat in his interview with this German monk. He arrived at the convent attended by two servants, and declared he came thither under the impulse of his own suggestions, and on account alike of his friendship for the favourite of the elector of Saxony and of his attachment to the holy church. After having made his bow in the most obsequious manner to Luther, the able diplomatist affectionately added—

“I come to give you good and wise advice. Attach yourself once more to the church. Submit your cause without reserve to the cardinal. Retract your insults. Remember the case of the abbot Joachim of Florence. He had, you know, made use of heretical expressions, and yet he was declared to be non-heretical, because he retracted his errors.”

Luther then spoke in his own justification.

Serra Longa.—“Take care what you do. . . . Would you presume to fight as in the lists of a tournament with the legate of his Holiness?”

Luther.—“If it is proved to me that I have taught anything contrary to the Roman church, I will be my own judge, and shall immediately retract my sentiments. The whole question will be to ascertain whether or not the legate relies upon St Thomas more than the faith authorizes him to do. If he does this, I will not yield to him.”

Serra Longa.—"Eh! What! You intend then to break lances in the cause?"

Afterwards the Italian began to speak in a strain which Luther calls horrible. He persisted that it was justifiable to maintain certain false propositions, provided that they were the means of realizing money and of filling the strong box; that it was necessary to be very careful about disputing in universities concerning the authority of the pope; that, on the contrary, it ought to be affirmed that the pontiff could, with the twinkling of an eye, change or suppress many articles of faith, with a number of observations of similar import. But the cunning Italian soon perceived that he had mistaken his errand; he, therefore, adopted a more complacent style, and endeavoured to persuade Luther to submit quietly in all things to the decision of the legate, and to retract the assumptions of his doctrines, sermons, and theses.

The doctor, who at the beginning of the conversation had placed some confidence in the ardent protestations of the orator Urban, (as he calls him in his reports,) now perceived that they were composed of words of course, and that he was much more attached to the side of the legate than to his, (Luther's.) The doctor, therefore, became somewhat less communicative, and contented himself with adding that he was quite disposed to shew humility, to offer proof of this obedience, and to give satisfaction respecting those things in which he should have deceived himself. On hearing these words, *Serra Longa* joyfully exclaimed, "I will run to the house of the legate; you are just about to follow me. Every thing shall go on in the best manner possible, and the affair shall be speedily finished."

The Italian took his leave. The Saxon monk who had more discernment than the Roman courtier, thought to himself, "This sly Sinon has left himself very ill completed and very ill instructed in his study of the Grecians." Luther was distracted between hope and fear. Still hope ruled in the ascendant. The visit and the strange assertions made by *Serra Longa*, (whom he at an after period designated the unskilful mediator,) encouraged him to regain his equanimity of spirit.

The counsellors and other inhabitants of Augsburg, to whose notice the elector recommended Luther, made haste to pay their respects to this monk whose name had already attained such celebrity in every quarter of Germany. Pentinger, the head counsellor of the empire, one of the most distinguished patricians of the city, who often invited Luther to his house, along with the counsellor Langemantel, doctor Auerbach from Leipsic, the two brothers Adelman, both canons, and many more besides, presented themselves at the convent of the Augustines. These individuals saluted with cordiality this extraordinary man, who had made a long journey in order to deliver himself over into the hands of the agents of Rome. "Have you a passport?" they inquired of him. "No," replied the intrepid monk. "What boldness," exclaimed his visitors. "It was," said Luther, "a polite word expressive of my rash folly." Every one of them, with one consent, solicited Luther not to make his appearance in presence of the legate until he had obtained a safe conduct from the emperor himself. It is probable that the public had already learned something of the pope's brief which was now in the possession of his legate.

"But," replied Luther, "I have indeed come to Augsburg without the protection of a safe-conduct, and I have reached this town in safety."

"The elector has recommended you to our care, and you ought, therefore, to obey the injunctions we submit to you," responded Langemantel with kindness but with determination.

Doctor Auerbach joined in these admonitions "We know," said he, "that the cardinal is, at the bottom of his heart, enraged against you in the highest degree.* No confidence can be placed in Italians."†

The canon Adelman insisted also on the same proposals. "You have been sent here without a guard, and thus the very thing you required, you have not been provided with."‡

These interested friends undertook to procure from the emperor the requisite protection. They in the sequel assured Luther of the many persons who, even among the higher ranks, were concerned in his favour. "The minister from France himself, who left Augsburg only a few days ago, spoke of you in the most honourable terms."§ This conversation excited strong feelings in the mind of Luther, and he gratefully remembered its occurrence at after periods of his life. In this manner it is seen that the most respectable among the citizens of one of the most important towns in the empire had already espoused the cause of the Reformation.

While the discourse we have recorded above was going on, Serra Longa again called at the convent. "Come," said he to Luther, "the cardinal is waiting your arrival. I have come myself to conduct you to his house. And now learn how you ought to demean yourself in his presence. When you enter the room in which the legate is seated, you must prostrate yourself before him with your face to the ground; when he shall have told you to rise, you must place yourself on your knees; and before you leave that position, you must wait the permission or order of the legate to do so.¶ Remember that it is before a prince of the church you are about to appear. As to the rest, do not fear what is to pass; all shall be quickly, and without difficulty, brought to a conclusion."

Luther, who had given a promise to follow this Italian whenever he should request him to do so, felt much embarrassed. However, he did not hesitate to repeat to Serra Longa a portion of the advice urged by his friends in Augsburg, and spoke of the proposed safe-conduct.

"Take good care how you come to this resolution," immediately replied Serra Longa; "you have no need of this protection. The legate is well disposed towards you, and quite ready to finish the affair amicably. Should you ask to have a safe-conduct, you shall completely ruin your own business."

"My gracious lord the elector of Saxony," replied Luther, "has recommended me to the attention of many honourable men belonging to this town. They have advised me to undertake nothing without the protection of a safe-conduct, and I must follow their advice; because, should I not do so, and anything unlucky were to occur

* Scant enim eum in me exacerbatissimum minus antea simulet foris. (L. Ep. L. p. 143.) † L. Op. (L. xvii, p. 201.) ‡ Ibid. p. 203. § Secken. p. 144. ¶ Ibid. p. 150.

they would, necessarily, write to the elector, my master, that I had disclaimed to listen to their opinions."

Luther persisted in his determination, and Serra Longa saw himself obliged to return alone towards the mansion of his chief, in order to represent the bad success of his mission at the very moment when he had flattered himself to behold it crowned with a happy triumph.

Thus terminated the conferences of that day with the clever orator of Montferrat.

Another invitation was addressed to Luther, but with a very different intention. The prior of the Carmelites, John Froesch, was the ancient friend of Luther. He had maintained some theses, two years previous to this time, as a licentiate in theology, under the precedency of Luther. This prior came to visit his friend, and eagerly pressed him to transfer his abode to the apartments of the said prior's establishment. He implored the honour of having for his particular guest the doctor of Germany. Even at this period no fears were shown to pay Luther compliments of respect, even in the presence of Rome; even now the weak had become the most strong. Luther accepted of this invitation, and removed his present home from the convent of the Augustines to that of the Carmelites.

The day did not close, however, without bringing to the mind of Luther many serious reflections. The eagerness exhibited by Serra Longa, and the fears evinced by the counsellors, were equally adapted to expose the difficulties of the position in which the reformer was now placed. Still he acknowledged as his protector that God who dwells in the heavens, and, guarded by his power, the doctor was enabled to sleep unmolested by his fears.

The next day was Sunday, and Luther enjoyed during its continuance a share of repose. Nevertheless he was necessitated to endure another description of fatigue. There was nothing spoken of in the town but the visit of Doctor Luther to Augsburg, and every one was anxious to gain a sight of the illustrious stranger.

This circumstance is referred to in his letters to Melancthon, wherein he says—"This new Erostratus who had kindled so vast a conflagration." The crowd obstructed his passage along the streets, and the good doctor, no doubt, smiled at the ardour of their curiosity.

But he was liable to a yet more importunate trial. If an urgent wish to see him was strongly manifested, a more ardent desire to hear him was loudly expressed, and in every quarter he was solicited to preach. Luther had no greater pleasure than to be active in proclaiming the word of God. It would have been a pleasing task for him to preach concerning Jesus Christ within the confines of this large town and in the solemn circumstances in which he found himself placed; but he shewed on this occasion, as on many others, a very discriminating idea of what was convenient, and much respect for his superiors. He refused to preach for fear that the legate might believe he did so to give him annoyance and in defiance of his authority. Such moderation and wisdom were well worth the lessons he might have repeated in his sermon.

However, the attendants upon the cardinal did not allow Luther to remain at rest. They renewed their attacks upon him. "The cardinal," said they to him, "gives you assurance of his pardon and

favour; wherefore are you afraid?" They endeavoured, by the use of a thousand arguments, to induce Luther to decide upon appearing before the legate. "He is a father full of mercy," said one of these envoys; but another, drawing close to the reformer, said in his ear, "Do not believe what they say to you; for he does not keep his word." Luther remained firm in his previous resolution.

On Monday morning, the 10th of October, Serra Longa once more introduced himself to Luther. This courtier had made it a point of honour to succeed in his negotiations. The moment he arrived, he said, in Latin—"Wherefore do you not come to meet the cardinal?"

He longs to see you with a heart full of indulgence, and requires nothing from you save the repetition of six letters: *Retoca, retracta*. Come to his house, then; you have nothing to fear.

Luther thought within himself that these six letters comprised a very significant meaning; but without entering upon a discussion of their merits, he replied—"The moment I receive a safe-conduct I will make my appearance."

On hearing these words, Serra Longa got into a passion. He insisted, he made new representations, but he found Luther impenetrable. Then, in the height of his rage, he exclaimed—"Thou imaginest, without doubt, that the elector will take up arms in thy defence; and for thee will expose himself to the loss of the country he has received from his forefathers?"

Luther.—"God forbid."

Serra Longa.—"Forsaken by every one, where wouldst thou find a refuge?"

Luther (at the same time casting up his eyes).—"Under heaven."*

Serra Longa remained for a moment silent, overcome with the force of this sublime reply, which he had not calculated upon; then again renewed the dialogue in the following terms:—

"What would you do, if you had in your power the legate, the pope, and all the cardinals, in the same manner as they now hold you in their power?"

Luther.—"I would confer upon them every mark of respect and honour. But the word of God has more power over me than everything else beside."

Serra Longa (laughing, and shaking one of his fingers in the Italian fashion).—"Ha, ha! all honour! . . . I do not believe it."

He then left the convent, jumped into the saddle, and disappeared. Serra Longa did not again encroach upon the privacy of Luther; but he long remembered the resistance which both he and his master shortly afterwards experienced at the hands of the reformer. We shall hereafter find him demanding, with a loud voice, the life-blood of Luther.

It was not long after Serra Longa had quitted the apartments of the doctor that the latter received the document of a safe-conduct which had been so earnestly recommended. Luther's friends had obtained this protection from the counsellors of the empire. It is possible that these state officers had consulted the emperor himself on the matter, as he was still in the neighbourhood of Augsburg. It

* Et ubi manebis? . . . Respondi: Sub celo. . . (L. Op. in Pref.)

even appeared, according to the statement made by the cardinal, at an after period, that, with a desire not to give his Reverence offence, he had been requested to grant his consent to this measure. It was perhaps on this account De Vio accosted Luther through the instrumentality of Serra Longa; because to have openly opposed the delivery of a safe-conduct, would have been sure to disclose those sly designs whose existence it was most prudent to conceal; and De Vio had considered the most certain plan to accomplish such an object was to urge Luther to forego the privilege he had demanded. But it was very soon seen that the reformer was not a man of that flexible purpose.

Luther was now ready to appear in presence of the pope's legate. In requesting the protection of a safe-conduct, he had not put his trust upon an arm of flesh; because he very well knew that an imperial safe-conduct had not proved strong enough to save the body of John Huss from the flames. Luther had merely wished to show obedience to the advice of the friends of his master. It was the Eternal whom he left to decide. If God asked back his life he was prepared to render it up at his bidding with joy. At this solemn hour he experienced a longing desire still to converse with his friends, above all with Melancthon, already so dear to his heart, and he seized upon the opportunity a few minutes afforded to write this close companion of his thoughts.

"Bear yourself like a man," said Luther, "as you have elsewhere done. Teach our dear youths that which is upright and according to the word of God. For me, I am about to be sacrificed for you and for it, if such is the will of the Lord. I would prefer to die, and even, what would be for me the greatest misfortune, to be for ever deprived of your amiable society, rather than draw back from that which it has been my duty to teach, and to lose thus, perhaps through my fault, the excellent learning to which we now devote our existence.

"Italy is plunged, like Egypt in the days that are past, into a darkness so thick that it can be felt with the hands. No one has therein any knowledge of Christ, nor of what relates to him, and yet the inhabitants of Italy are our lords and our masters in manners and in faith. It is in this manner the anger of God has been testified against us, as spoken by the prophet—'*I will give unto them young men for their governors, and children to rule over them.*' Follow thou, my dear Philip, the example of the Lord, and keep from you the anger of God by the repetition of many fervent and simple prayers."

The pope's legate, informed that Luther was prepared to appear before him on the morning of the next day, called together a meeting of the Italians and Germans in whom he had the deepest confidence, in order to arrange with them what it were best to do in the case of this Saxon monk. Opinions were divided on the subject. One person urged the necessity of obliging him to retract; another spoke of the indispensableness of throwing him into prison; a third thought it would be better to get rid of the matter altogether; while a fourth believed that endeavours should be made to gain back the recusant by means of persuasion and mild treatment. And the cardinal at first appeared to attach himself to the views of this last advice.

CHAPTER VI.

First Appearance—First Words—Conditions of Rome—Propositions to Retract—Reply of Luther—He Withdraws—Impression on both sides—Arrival of Staupitz.

The day of conference at last arrived. The legate, aware that Luther had declared himself ready to retract whatever opinions he entertained which could be proved contrary to the truth, was full of hope; for he did not doubt but it would be easy for a person of his rank and intelligence to bring back this monk to a sense of his duty towards the church.

Luther presented himself at the house of the legate in company with the prior of the Carmelites, his host and friend, with two brothers of the same convent, with Doctor Link and an Augustine monk, probably the brother who had joined Luther at Nuremberg. Scarcely had he crossed the threshold of the legate's palace before he was closely surrounded by all the Italians belonging to the suite of this prince of the church, and it was with difficulty he could advance, so eager were these foreigners to obtain a sight of the famous doctor. Luther observed the apostolic nuncio and Serra Longa in the hall where the cardinal awaited his appearance. The reception was formal but polite, and in conformity with Roman etiquette. Luther, following the prescription recommended to him by Serra Longa, prostrated himself before the cardinal, placing himself on his knees, when the legate desired him to rise, and standing upright, on receiving another order from the same high functionary. Several of the most distinguished Italians attached to the court also entered the hall to assist at the forthcoming examination, and were most desirous to see the German monk humbling himself before the representative of the pope.

The legate continued silent. He regarded Luther with hatred as the adversary of the theological supremacy of St Thomas, and as the head of a new, active, and opposing party, in a lately-established university, whose first proceedings had grievously disturbed the peace of the Thomasites. De Vio thus rejoiced to see Luther exhibiting such manifest tokens of humility in his presence, and believed that the monk was about to recant, according to the testimony of a contemporaneous writer. Luther, on his side, humbly awaited an opening address from the prince, but observing no symptoms of such admonition, he interpreted the silence of the legate into an invitation to speak first himself, and, therefore, the following words composed the salutation of Luther.

"Very worthy Father—Under the citation of his Holiness the pope, and in conformity with the command of my gracious lord the elector of Saxony, I now appear in your presence as a submissive and obedient son of the holy Christian church, and I acknowledge that it was me who published the propositions and theses which are now brought into question before you. I am ready to listen, with due obedience, to whatever accusation is formed against me, and if I have deceived myself to receive instructions here according to the tenets of the truth.

The cardinal resolved to adopt the demeanour of a tender father, filled with compassion for the errors of a wandered child, assumed

the most affectionate tones of expression, and praising the humility of Luther, as well as acknowledging his own joy, he said to the doctor—"My dear son, you have stirred up every district in Germany with your dispute upon indulgences. I understand that you are a teacher deeply learned in the Scriptures, and that you have many scholars, wherefore, if it be your wish to remain a member of the church, and to find in the pope a lord full of grace, listen to me."

After this exordium, the legate did not hesitate to disclose at once all that was expected from the monk, so great was his confidence and compliance. "There are," said De Vio to Luther, "three articles which, in accordance with the command of our very holy father, pope Leo X., I must propose for your acceptance. It is necessary, in the first place, that you betake yourself, that you confess your faults, and that you retract your errors, your propositions, and your discourses. Secondly, You must promise to abstain in future from promulgating your opinions; and, thirdly, You must engage to become more moderate, and to avoid every demonstration which may tend to the disturbance or dismemberment of the church."

Luther.—"I request, very worthy father, that a copy may be given me of the pope's brief, in virtue of which you have received full power to treat upon this affair."

Serra Longa and the rest of the Italians attached to the suite of the cardinal elevated their eye-brows in amazement at the boldness of this request; and although the German monk had already appeared in their sight a singular personage, they could not forget the astonishment created in their minds by the utterance of these daring words. Christians, accustomed to the notions of justice, are pleased with proceedings founded on right, whether in their own case or that of others, whilst those who are habituated to forms of arbitrary power, are quite surprised when they are entreated to act according to constituted rule and order of law.

De Vio.—"That request, my very dear son, cannot be granted. You ought to confess your faults, to take care in future what words you use, and not to eat anew the things you have vomited, so that we may be able to sleep unmolested and without anxiety; therefore, in accordance with the command and authority of our very holy father the pope, I will conduct the management of this business."

Luther.—"Be pleased, then, to let me know in what particulars I may have erred."

At the pronouncement of this new request, the Italian courtiers, who had expected to see the poor German sue for mercy on his bended knees, were struck with wonder yet more intense. Some of them objected to a submission so great as the notice of this question implied; but De Vio, who considered it ungenerous to crush this simple monk to pieces under the weight of his authority, and who, moreover, was sure to gain an easy victory, agreed to acquaint Luther with the substance of his libel, and even to enter into discussion with him upon its merits. Indeed it is incumbent upon us to do justice to this general of the Dominicans; and it must be observed that he exhibited stronger convictions of equity, and more clear sentiments of propriety, with less passion, than have been often demonstrated since that time in affairs of a similar nature. He continued his condescending tone and said—

"My very dear son, only look to two propositions which you have advanced, and which you must especially retract. 1st, The treasury of indulgences is not composed of the merits and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2d, The man who receives the holy sacrament must have faith in the grace which is offered to him."

Both these propositions inflicted, in fact, a deadly blow upon the interests of Roman traffic. If the pope had not the power to dispose at his pleasure of the merits of our Saviour, or if, in receiving the certificates which the courtiers of the church dispensed, a share of that infinite righteousness was not communicated, these documents lost all their value, and no more respect could be paid to them than to a scrap of paper. The same observation holds equally good with reference to the sacraments. The indulgences were more or less an extraordinary branch in the spiritual commerce of Rome, while the sacraments composed a regular article in the dealings of the same trade. The revenue produced in the traffic of this latter department was far from trifling. But to assert that faith was necessary in order to ensure any true gift to the Christian soul, in addition to the reception of these sureties, was to deprive them of all worth in the eyes of the people; for faith could not be given by the pope, it was beyond his power of offering, and must proceed alone from God. To declare faith a necessary accompaniment, therefore, was to snatch out of the hands of Rome alike her speculations and her profits. Luther, in attacking these two doctrines, had imitated Jesus Christ. At the commencement of his holy ministry, he had overturned the tables of the money-changers, and had driven these traders from the temple. *Do not make the house of my Father a place of merchandise*, he has said.

"I do not wish, in order to combat these errors," continued Cajetan, "to invoke the authority of St Thomas or of many other scholastic teachers; I desire to rest my whole support upon the Holy Scriptures, and to speak with you in perfect friendship."

But scarcely had De Vio begun to expose his proofs, before he had forgot the rule he had bound himself to follow.* He tried to refute Luther's first proposition by a reference to an extravagant conceit† originating with pope Clement, while he opposed to the second a vast variety of opinions promulgated by the divinity schools. The dispute turned at first upon this constitution of the pope in favour of indulgences. Luther, indignant to observe the degree of authority the legate chose to attribute to a decree issued from Rome, exclaimed—

"I cannot receive such constitutions as sufficient proof in matters of such importance; because they twist the meaning of the Holy Scriptures and never quote their words correctly."

De Vio.—"The pope has authority and power over all things."

Luther (with emphasis).—"Except the Scriptures."‡

De Vio (imitating the accent).—"Except the Scriptures!"

The pope, do you not know, is above all councils? Very recently he has condemned and punished the council of Basle."

Luther.—"The university of Paris has appealed from this judgment."

* L. Op. (L.) xvii. p. 180.

† An extravagance is the name given to certain constitutions of the popes, gathered together and added to the body of the canon law.

‡ *Salva Scriptura.*

De Vio.—"The gentlemen of Paris may save themselves the trouble."

The dispute between the cardinal and Luther next turned upon the second point, namely, regarding the faith which Luther had declared necessary in order to render the receiving of the sacraments useful. Luther, following his usual custom, quoted many passages from the Scriptures in favour of the opinions he maintained, but the legate received these examples with bursts of laughter. "It is of faith in general you speak at present," said he. "No," replied Luther. One of the Italians, master of ceremonies to the legate, impatient with the resistance continued by Luther and the terms of his responses, shewed an earnest desire to speak. He at every instant attempted to introduce some observation, but the legate ordered him to remain silent. At last, so strong was the reprimand of his superior, that the master of the ceremonies, in much confusion, quitted the hall of justice.

"With regard to these indulgences," said Luther, to the legate, "if it can be shewn that I have deceived myself, I am now ready to receive instructions on the subject. It is possible to argue thereupon without thereby becoming a bad Christian. But with regard to the article of faith, if I were to yield anything thereanent, I would virtually renounce Jesus Christ. I do, therefore, neither wish to nor can make any concessions on that point, and, with the grace of God, I never will yield my persuasion on the power of faith."

De Vio (beginning to get angry).—"What you may be pleased to do, or what you may be pleased not to do, is not the question, but you must this very day retract that same article, or rather, on account of that article alone, I am about to reject and condemn every doctrine you profess."

Luther.—"I have no other will than that of the Lord. He will do with me what seemeth right in his sight. But although I had four hundred heads, I would prefer to lose every one of them rather than retract the testimony which I have given in favour of the holy faith of Christians."

De Vio.—"I have not come here to carry on an endless dispute with you. Retract, or prepare to suffer the penalties which your errors have deserved."

Luther readily saw that it was impossible to terminate the discussion in the course of one interview. His opponent arrogated to himself the full dignity of an actual pope, and pretended to receive with humility and respect whatever was said in his presence, while, at the same moment, the replies of the doctor, even when largely partaking of the words of the Holy Scriptures, were received with a shrug of the shoulders, and retorted in terms full of irony and contempt. Luther, therefore, conceived the idea of answering the objections of the cardinal in writing, as most conducive to a proper understanding of the case. This method, thought he, would afford at least one consolation to the oppressed. Other individuals would thereby have an opportunity of judging the merits of the subject, and the unjust opponent, who continued master of the field by the strength of his violent declamations, might thus be frightened into the surrender of his vantage ground.

Luther having shewn evidences of his wish to retire—

"Do you wish," said the legate, "that I should give you a safe-conduct to Rome?"

Nothing could have been more agreeable to Cajetan than the acceptance of this offer. He would in this manner have been relieved from the duties of a charge, whose pressing difficulties he now began to comprehend, while Luther and his heresy would be delivered into the hands of those who were well able to regulate their disorders. But the reformer, who clearly distinguished the dangers with which he was surrounded even at Augsburg, took care not to accept of a proposal whose chief purpose was to convey him, bound hand and foot, into the power, and expose him to the vengeance, of his enemies. He rejected the offer every time that it was made by De Vio, who, in fact, frequently renewed this proposition to the doctor. The legate concealed every appearance of chagrin occasioned by these constant refusals on the part of Luther. He rather strove to exhibit a consciousness of his own dignity, and to dismiss Luther with a smile of compassion under which he sought to hide the evidence of his disappointment, and at the same time with the complaisance of a person who hopes to enjoy better success on a future opportunity.

Luther had scarcely reached the court of the palace, when the babbling Italian, that master of ceremonies whom the reproof of his master had caused to leave the conference chamber, accosted him in the full pride of his present liberty to speak. In complete forgetfulness of the respect due to his superior, and burning with a desire to confound this abominable heretic by the splendour of his illustrations, the said Italian ran after the doctor, and began, while walking, to pour into his ear a torrent of idle sophisms. But Luther, annoyed at the interruptions of this foolish personage, replied to him in one of those cutting sentences which he could so well apply, and the poor master of ceremonies, quite abashed, abandoned his attack, and retreated disgracefully into the palace of the cardinal.

Luther did not entertain any very high idea of his opponent's talents. He had heard him repeat, as he afterwards wrote to Spalatin, many propositions which were wholly contrary to the genius of theology, and which, proceeding from any other mouth, would have been considered as arch-heretical; and yet De Vio was reckoned the most learned brother belonging to the order of Dominicans. The next in rank to him was Prierias. Thus "it may easily be inferred," said Luther, "what must be looked for in the capacity of those who hold the tenth or hundredth range in this order."

On the other hand, the noble and decided bearing exhibited by the doctor of Wittemberg had much surprised the cardinal and his courtiers. Instead of a poor monk craving to be pardoned as a favour, they had seen before them a free man, a firm Christian, and enlightened teacher, who demanded the production of proof to support their proceedings in unjust accusations, and who triumphantly defended the truth of his own doctrines. Every person within the palace of Cajetan exclaimed against the pride, obstinacy, and effrontery displayed in the conduct of the bold heretic. But Luther and De Vio had mutually learned how to appreciate each others character, and both prepared themselves to meet the occurrences of a second interview.

A very agreeable surprise awaited Luther on his return to the convent of the Carmelites. The vicar-general of the order of Augus-

times, his own friend and father, Staupitz, had arrived at Augsburg. Not having succeeded in his attempt to hinder Luther from appearing within the walls of this city, Staupitz afforded his friend a new and affecting proof of his attachment by his own arrival at the same place, in the hope of rendering the doctor some useful services. This worthy man readily foresaw that the conference with the legate was likely to produce serious consequences. His fears, and the friendship he cherished for Luther, had equally excited the movements of the vicar-general. After a meeting so harassing as the one we have described, it was a happy relief for the doctor to clasp in his arms a friend so dear to him. And he told over to this friend an account of how it had been impossible for him to obtain from his opponent a reply of any value, and how an attempt had been made to oblige him to retract without any corresponding attempt to convince him of his errors. "It is absolutely necessary," said Staupitz, "to answer the legate in writing."

From the information he had received respecting the events of the first interview, Staupitz entertained no hope of advantage from a repetition of such conferences. He determined, therefore, to complete an act which he believed henceforth necessary; he resolved to loosen Luther from his obedience to his order. Staupitz expected to accomplish two purposes by this one step. If, as all prognosticated, Luther should succumb in the sequel to this affair, he would thus prevent the shame of his condemnation from falling upon the order as a body: and if the cardinal commanded him to oblige Luther to be silent or to make a full retraction, he would have an excuse for refusing to obey such an injunction. The ceremony we allude to was performed according to the usual customs of the order. Luther now felt the full weight of all he might expect to bear in his future career. His soul was sadly moved when he beheld the tearing asunder of those close ties which he had formed in the enthusiasm of his youth. The order which he had chosen had now rejected him, and his natural protectors had taken their leave of him, while already he had become as a stranger to his brethren. But although his heart was thus cast down at the thought of exclusion from his order, he recovered his joy when he remembered the promises of that faithful God who had said, *I will never leave you nor forsake you.*

The counsellors of the emperor having acquainted the legate, by means of the bishop of Trent, that Luther was provided with an imperial safe-conduct, and having, at sametime, conveyed an intimation that no action should be pressed against the doctor, De Vio took offence, and angrily replied in these words, so truly Roman, "It is good, but I will do as the pope commands." We already know what were the commands of the pope.

CHAPTER VII.

Communication to the Legate—Second Appearance—Declaration of Luther—Reply of the Legate—Volubility of the Legate—Request of Luther.

The next day preparations were made on both sides for the accomplishment of a second interview, which it was supposed must be decisive. The friends of Luther resolved to accompany him to the house of the legate, and agreed to meet together at the convent of

the Carmelites. The dean of Trent, Peutinger, (both of them counsellors of the emperor,) and Staupitz, arrived in succession at the place of rendezvous. Shortly after their arrival, the doctor had the pleasure to see the party joined by the gallant knight Philip de Feilitsch and Doctor Ruhel, counsellors of the elector, who had received orders from their master to assist at the stated conferences, and to protect the liberty of Luther. They had reached Augsburg on the preceding day, and were designed to act the part, says Mathesius, which the knight of Chlum performed at Constance in the case of John Huss. The doctor also took a notary along with him, and, thus surrounded by his friends, he proceeded towards the house of the legate.

At this moment Staupitz drew near to his friend; he well understood the real position in which Luther was placed; he knew that unless his trust was fixed upon the Lord, who is the deliverer of his people, he must give way. "My dear brother," said Staupitz to Luther, with solemn accents, "always bear in mind the fact that you have begun this affair in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." It is in this manner God encompassed his humble servant with consolations and encouragements.

Luther, upon his arrival at the mansion of the legate, found there a new adversary, in the person of the prior of the Dominicans of Augsburg, who was seated beside his dignified chief. Luther, in conformity with the resolution he had taken, had written out his intended answer. The formal salutations of the meeting having been gone through, he then read with a firm voice the following declaration:—

"I declare that I honour the holy Roman church, and that I will continue to honour it. I have sought the truth in many public disputes, and all that I have said I look upon, even at this hour, as just, true, and Christian. Nevertheless, I am but a man, and I may have deceived myself. I am therefore disposed to receive instruction, and to be corrected concerning those things in which I may have erred. I declare myself prepared to reply, either by word of mouth or in writing, to all the objections and all the reproaches which the lord legate may be able to produce. I declare myself ready to submit my theses to the examination of the four universities of Basle, of Friburg in Brisgau, of Louvain, and of Paris, and to retract whatever opinions they shall declare to be erroneous. In a word, I am ready to do all that can be exacted from a Christian. But I solemnly protest against the procedure which has been adopted in this affair, and against the strange pretension of compelling me to retract without first having refuted my opinions."

Certainly nothing could be more equitable than these propositions preferred by Luther, and they must have fearfully embarrassed a judge for whom the judgment he was to deliver had been beforehand prescribed. The legate, who had paid no attention to this protestation, endeavoured to hide his perplexity by affecting to laugh at the proposals made, and outwardly assuming a mild demeanour. "This protestation," said he to Luther with a smile, "is not at all necessary. I have no wish to dispute with you either in public or in private, but I propose to arrange this matter with fairness, and as a

father." The whole diplomacy of the cardinal consisted in setting aside the strict rules of justice, which protect those who are prosecuted, and to treat the case only as an affair of administration between a superior and his inferior, a most convenient method, which opened a wide field to the consideration of the arbitrary.

Carrying on the semblance of affectionate interest—"My dear friend," said De Vio, "abandon, I pray you, a useless design; rather betake yourself again, acknowledging the truth, and I am ready to reconcile you with the church and with the sovereign bishop. . . . Retract, my friend, retract, such is the will of the pope. Whether you please or whether you do not please, it signifies little; it will be hard for you to kick against the pricks." . . .

Luther, who saw himself treated as if he were already a rebellious son and an outcast from the church, exclaimed—"I cannot retract; but I make an offer to reply in writing: for we have yesterday had sufficient trial in debate."

De Vio lost his temper at the utterance of these words, which convinced him that he had not acted with a proper proportion of prudence; but he recovered his equanimity, and said, laughingly—"Debated, my dear son; I have not debated with you, neither do I wish to have any debate; but I am ready, in order to please his Serene Highness the Elector Frederick, to listen to you, and to exhort you in an amicable and paternal manner."

Luther did not comprehend wherefore the legate should have been so strongly offended with the expression he had used; for, thought he, had I not been anxious to speak in polite terms, I ought rather to have said, not debate, but dispute and quarrel; because it was in reality of this nature our conference partook on the preceding day.*

Still De Vio, who in the presence of the respectable witnesses attending this conference, recognised the necessity of at least appearing to try to convince Luther, now again reverted to the two propositions which he had before stigmatized as fundamental errors; resolved at the same time to allow the reformer to speak as little as possible upon the subject. Thus strong in his Italian volubility, he oppressed Luther with objections to which he never waited for a reply. At one time he amused himself by clever sallies of wit, at another he pretended to scold: again he declaimed in the heat of passion, and anon referred to illustrations of the most fantastical description: he anew made long quotations from St Thomas, and violently traduced all who dared to think in opposition to his views: and he, in conclusion, apostrophised Luther himself. The doctor more than ten times endeavoured to speak; but the legate as constantly interrupted his attempts, and even loaded him with threats of punishment. Retraction! retraction! this was the whole substance of his request; he scolds, he commands, and will only allow himself to be heard in the cause.† Staupitz at last presumed to arrest the legate in his address—"Have the goodness to allow," said he, "Doctor Martin Luther a little time to give answers to your averments." But the legate recommenced his fluent harangue: once more having recourse to citations from the extravagances and

* *Digladatum, battled.* (L. Ep. i. p. 131.) † (L. Op. (L.) xvi. p. 181, 286.) *Decies fere cepi ut loquerer, toties rursus tonabat et solus regnabat.*

opinions of St Thomas ; he was, in truth, the sole spokesman during the continuance of this interview. If he could not convince and if he dared not strike, he strove at least to overcome with the noise of his voice.

Luther and Staupitz clearly saw that they must renounce all hopes, not only of convincing De Vio by means of discussion, but even of making a useful profession of their faith. Luther, therefore, renewed the request which he had made at the beginning of the conference, and which the cardinal had at the time eluded. Since he was not suffered to speak, the doctor requested that he might at all events be permitted to write, and to send his written reply to the house of the legate. Staupitz seconded this demand, and many others present supported the same question, so that Cajetan, in spite of his own repugnance to written documents, which he knew must remain in existence, at last consented to the proposal made by Luther. The meeting thereupon dispersed, and the hope of finishing the business in the course of this second interview was deferred, and must await the result of another formal meeting.

Luther left the mansion of the cardinal rejoicing in the thought that his request had been granted. Both in proceeding towards and in returning from the house of Cajetan, the doctor had been the object of public observation. All men of enlightened minds were interested in his cause, even as if it had been their own ; for it was felt that it was the cause of the gospel, of justice, and of liberty, which at this time was brought to trial within the city of Augsburg. The lower ranks of the people alone took part with Cajetan, and they had, without doubt, given the reformer some significant marks of their opinions, for he has testified his conviction of this fact.

It was, however, more evident than ever that the legate was not willing to hear any other words pronounced by Luther save those of "I retract," while Luther was equally determined not to allow these words to escape his utterance. What shall be the result of a struggle so unequal ? How can it be imagined that the whole powers of Rome, in contest with a single man, shall not accomplish his utter destruction ? Luther was aware of his danger : he recognised the weight of the terrible hand under whose power he was about to place himself. He lost all hope of ever returning again to Wittemberg, or of seeing once more the face of his dear friend Philip, or of finding himself another time in the middle of those generous youths into whose heart he had loved so well to pour the true words of everlasting life. He beheld the penalty of excommunication hanging over his head, and he had little doubt he was soon to be made amenable to its torments. These prognostications afflicted his soul, but they did not destroy its peace. His confidence in God is not removed. God might destroy the instrument he had been pleased to make use of up to this hour ; but he would maintain the truth. Whatever might happen, Luther must defend the truth to the last. He, therefore, set about the composition of the protestation which he resolved to present in the presence of the pope's legate ; and it would appear that he consecrated to this duty a portion of the 13th day of the month.

CHAPTER VIII.

Third Appearance—Treasure of Indulgences—Faith—Humble Request—Reply of the Legate—Response of Luther—
Rage of the Legate—Luther takes his leave—First Defection.

On Friday, the 14th of October, Luther returned to the house of the cardinal, accompanied by the counsellors of the elector. The Italians, as on former occasions, crowded in numbers round the person of the doctor, and hastened to resume their places in the chamber of conference. Luther walked forward into the same apartment and presented his protestation to the legate of the pope. The attendants of the cardinal beheld with astonishment the appearance of this written document so audacious in their eyes. The following is the substance of what the doctor of Wittemberg therein declared before their master:—

“You have attacked my opinions on two different points. In the first instance you oppose my views with a reference to the constitution of pope Clement VI. in which, it is asserted, this affirmation is made—that the treasure of indulgences is composed of the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the saints, which declaration I deny in the theses I have composed and published.

“Panormitanus,” (Luther designated by this name Ives, author of the famous collection of ecclesiastical law entitled *Panormia*, and bishop of Chartres at the end of the eleventh century,) “Panormitanus declares, in his first book, that in what regards the holy faith, not only a general council, but even each faithful believer, is above the pope, if they can quote declarations from Scripture, and give better reasons than those of the pope. The word of our Lord Jesus Christ is raised much above the voice of men, by whatever name they may be known.

“The thing which gives me most pain, and causes me most earnest thought, is that this constitution comprehends doctrines altogether in opposition to the truth. It is therein declared that the merits of the saints are a treasure, whilst the whole Scriptures testify that God rewards much more richly than we have deserved. The prophet exclaims—*Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.*

“Thus then the saints are not saved on account of their merits, but solely by the mercy of God, as I have declared in my theses. I still maintain this fact, and remain steadfast in the belief of it. The words of the Holy Scriptures which declare that the saints have not sufficient merits, must be put before the words of men which affirm that they have too much; for the pope is not above but under the word of God.”

Luther does not stop here: he demonstrates that if the indulgences cannot consist of the merits of the saints, neither can they proceed from the merit of Christ. He shews that these indulgences are barren and unfruitful, since they have no other effect than to exempt men from the performance of good works, such as prayers and alms-giving. “No,” exclaims he, “the merit of Christ is not a fund of indulgences which exempts from doing good, but a treasure of grace which revives the soul. The merit of Christ is applied to the faithful without indulgences, and without keys, by the Holy Spirit alone, and not by the pope. If any one entertains an opinion better grounded than mine,”

adds he, in concluding his reference to this first point, "let him prove it, and then I will retract."

"I have affirmed," said he, "in arriving at the second article, that no man can be justified in the sight of God, if it is not by faith; so that it is necessary for man to believe with a perfect assurance in order to obtain grace. To doubt of this grace is to reject it. The faith of the just is to him righteousness and life."

Luther establishes his proposition by a multitude of declarations taken from the Scriptures.

"Be pleased then to intercede for me before our very holy lord pope Leo X.," adds he, "so that he may not treat me with so much disfavour. . . . My soul seeks after the light of the truth. I am not so wilfully self-conceited, and so desirous of vain glory, that I should be ashamed to retract if I am proved to have taught those things which are false. My most ardent joy shall be in witnessing the triumph of the truth as it is revealed by God. I am only anxious that I should not be forced to do anything whatever contrary to the dictates of my conscience."

The legate had taken the declaration from the hands of Luther. and after running over its contents, he said coldly to the doctor—"You have made use of much useless prattle here; you have written down many vain words; you have foolishly answered the two articles referred to, and you have blotted your paper with a great number of passages taken from the Holy Scriptures which do not in the slightest decree apply to the subject." Then, with a disdainful air, De Vio threw aside the protestation of Luther, as unworthy of his notice, and adopting once more the tone he had so much indulged in during the course of the former interview, he began to exclaim that Luther must retract. But the doctor continued immovable and unmoved. "Brother! brother," then shouted De Vio in Italian, "the last time you have been very good, but to-day you are completely wicked." Afterwards the cardinal commenced a long speech, drawn from the writings of St Thomas; he also again praised extravagantly the constitution of Clement VI., and persisted in asserting that in virtue of that constitution it was the merits of Jesus Christ which were distributed to the faithful by means of indulgences. He believed he had reduced Luther to a state of silence, but the doctor had frequently attempted to speak, at which De Vio grumbled, made severe personal allusions, and determined, as on the former evening, to occupy alone the field of controversy.

This method of acting was calculated to ensure some success on a first attempt; but Luther was not the man to submit a second time to such vaunting accusations. His indignation at last burst forth, and it was now his turn to strike the spectators with astonishment, who had believed him already crushed to the earth under the ponderous volubility of the prelate. The doctor raised his sonorous voice, and pounced upon the favourite objection of the cardinal, making him pay dear for the temerity he displayed in entering into a contest with one so well learned. "Retract, retract," De Vio repeated in the ears of the doctor. "Very well," said Luther, "if it can be proved by this constitution that the treasure of indulgences is composed of the merits even of Jesus Christ, I consent to retract, according to the will and good pleasure of your eminence."

The Italians belonging to the court, who had never been witnesses

of such a scene, stared in astonishment at the daring nature of these words, and could not contain their expressions of joy at beholding the adversary thus inveigled into the net. As for the cardinal, he seemed transported beyond measure; he laughed aloud, but in a strain that evinced the presence of passion and anger; he rose up from his seat, and seizing hold of the book in which this famous constitution was registered, he turns over its leaves with haste, finds the passages in question, and, elated with the pride of a victory he now deemed secure, he reads, at the top of his voice, in accents tremulous on account of inward emotion. The Italians chuckled at the prospect of triumph; the counsellors of the elector are confused and dismayed, and Luther listens to what is said by his adversary. At last, when the cardinal reaches the expression of the following words:—"The Lord Jesus Christ has acquired this treasure by his sufferings," Luther interrupted him. "Very worthy father," said he, "be pleased to consider well, and meditate with care upon this saying: *He has acquired.* Christ has acquired a treasure by his merits; the merits are therefore not the treasure; for, to speak as philosophers do, the cause is another thing than that which proceeds therefrom. The merits of Christ have acquired for the pope the power of giving such indulgences to the people; but it is not the actual merits of the Lord which the hand of the pontiff distributes. Thus then, my conclusion is just and true, and this constitution, which you invoke with so much ardour, bears testimony with me to the truths which I proclaim."

De Vio still held the volume of record in his hand; his eyes are still fixed upon the fatal passage; but he has nothing to say in reply. See him now caught in the snare he had laid; and Luther, holding fast this snare with a powerful gripe, to the utter amazement of the Italian courtiers who crowded the hall. The legate would fain have eluded the difficulty, but he had no means left for doing so; for he had long ago abandoned alike the testimony of the Scriptures and of the fathers, and had taken refuge in the extravagances of Clement VI., in which we see him totally bewildered. Nevertheless he is too cunning to allow his perturbation to appear, and, desirous to cover the sense of his shame, this prince of the church nimbly changes the subject of discussion, and enters with impatience upon the consideration of some other articles. Luther, who perceived the object of this clever manœuvre, did not allow the trick to escape his notice; but busied himself in drawing closer on every side the meshes of the net he had thrown over the cardinal, so as to render all evasion impossible. "Very reverend father," said the doctor, with a sarcastic phrase, clothed in the covering of respect, "your Eminence cannot, however, think that we Germans are unacquainted with our rudiments; to be a treasure and to acquire a treasure are two very different things."

"Retract!" cried De Vio, "retract! for, if you do not do this, I will send you to Rome, there to appear in presence of the judges who have been selected to take cognisance of your case. I excommunicate you, yourself, all your accomplices, with all those who are or who may become favourable to your case, and I cast them out from the church. Complete power has been given me for this purpose by the holy apostolic bench. Do you think that your protectors can stop me, or do you suppose that the pope has any regard for Ger-

many? The little finger of the pope possesses more strength than all the German princes in the world."

"Have the goodness," replied Luther, "to forward to pope Leo X., with my very humble prayers, the reply which I have handed over to you in writing."

The legate, on hearing these words, quite content to find a moment's relaxation, covered himself anew with the presumption of his dignity, and said to Luther in a proud and angry spirit—"Retract! or return no more here."

This saying determined Luther. At this time he resolved to reply otherwise than by discourses; he made his obeisance and retired from the house of the legate. The counsellors of the elector followed him. The cardinal and his Italians remained alone, regarding each other with looks of surprise in consequence of the peculiar determination this debate had taken.

In this manner the Dominican system, invested with renown and graced with the Roman purple, had proudly dismissed its humble adversary. But Luther felt that he possessed in the doctrine of Christianity, in the truth, a power which no authority, either spiritual or secular, would ever be able to subjugate. At the conclusion of two combats, he who had resigned the contest still remained master of the field of battle.

This is the first step by which the church signalized her separation from Popery.

Luther and De Vio never met again face to face; but the reformer had imprinted upon the mind of the legate a deep impression which was never entirely effaced from the tablet of his memory. The expressions Luther had used in treating upon the doctrine of faith, in connexion with what De Vio afterwards read in the later writings of the doctor of Wittemberg, sensibly modified the sentiments of the cardinal. The theologians of Rome saw with surprise and displeasure the opinions he advanced upon justification in his commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. The reformer was not retarded, and did not make any retractions; but his judge, he who had never ceased to call aloud, "Retract!" was found to change his views, and indirectly to retract his errors. Thus was the unchangeable fidelity of the doctor crowned with abundant success.

Luther returned to the monastery wherein he had experienced so much hospitality. He had continued firm; he had borne sure testimony to the truth; he had done what it was his duty to do: God will accomplish the rest! And the heart of Luther was filled with joy and peace in believing.

CHAPTER IX.

De Vio and Staupitz—Staupitz and Luther—Luther to Spalatin—Luther to Carletadi—The Communion—Link and De Vio—Departure of Staupitz and Link—Luther to Cajetan—Silence of the Cardinal—Adieu of Luther—Departure—Appeal to the Pope.

Nevertheless the news which were brought to the doctor were not of the most encouraging nature; for the rumour of the town was said to be, that if he did not choose to retract he must be thrown into a dungeon. The vicar-general of the order, Staupitz himself, it was confidently said, must give his consent to this imprisonment. Luther

could not believe what was said of his friend. No, Staupitz shall not betray him !* With regard to the designs of the cardinal, were one to judge of him by the words he had spoken, it was difficult to entertain a doubt. Still the doctor has no wish to fly at the sight of danger ; his life, like the truth itself, was in the hand of an all-powerful Protector, and, in spite of the perils to which he was exposed, he resolved not to leave the city of Augsburg.

The legate very soon repented of the violence he had shewn ; he was aware of the faults visible in the part he had played, and felt anxious to recover his character. Staupitz had scarcely finished his dinner (it was in the morning the interview had taken place, and the dinner hour was twelve o'clock at noon) when he received a message from the cardinal, inviting him to call at the legate's palace. Staupitz went to this palace accompanied by Wincelauß Link.† The vicar-general found the legate engaged in private conversation with Serra Longa. De Vio immediately rose to receive Staupitz, and accosted him in terms of much mildness. "Endeavour," said the legate, "to persuade your monk and bring him to a promise of retracting. Truly I am in other respects pleased with him, and he has not a better friend than I am."‡

Staupitz.—"I have already done so, and I will again advise him now to submit in all humility to the church."

De Vio.—"It will be necessary for you to reply to the arguments which he draws from the words of the Holy Scriptures."

Staupitz.—"I must confess to you, my Lord, that to do so exceeds my powers ; because Doctor Martin is my superior in intellect and in his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures."

The cardinal smiled, no doubt, at this frank avowal of the vicar-general. He knew from his own experience the difficulty of thus conquering the opinions of Luther. He continued, and said to Staupitz and Link—

"Are you not well aware that, as partisans of a heretical doctrine, you are yourselves exposed to the penalties of the church ?"

Staupitz.—"Be so good as to renew the conference with Luther ; or institute a public dispute upon the points of controversy."

De Vio (frightened at the very thought.)—"I do not wish to dispute any more with this silly fellow, for he has in his head deep eyes and wonderful speculations."

Staupitz obtained at last a promise from the cardinal that he would forward to Luther in writing the substance of what he was required to retract.

The vicar-general returned by way of Luther's abode. Disquieted by the representations of the cardinal, Staupitz tried to bring his friend to the consideration of some accommodation. "Refute, then," said Luther, "the declarations I have advanced from the Scriptures." "That is beyond my powers," said the vicar. "Very well," replied Luther, "it is against my conscience to retract, so long as it is impossible for any one to explain away these passages of Scripture. What I"§ continued he, "the cardinal pretends, according to what you tell me, that he wishes so to arrange this matter, that there may be

* L. Op. (L.) xvii. p. 210. † Ibid., p. 204. ‡ Ibid., p. 185. § Ego nolo supinus cum hac bestia disputare habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo. (Myconius, v. 23.)

no shame or disadvantage experienced by me on the occasion. Ah! these are Roman words, which signify in plain German, that such a concession would prove my disgrace and eternal ruin. What else could be expected from him who, from the fear of man, and in contradiction to his own conscience, denied the truth?"

Staupitz did not persist in his entreaties; he only further announced to Luther the promise given by the cardinal to transmit in writing the points of which he demanded the retraction. The vicar also, no doubt, apprised the doctor of the resolution he had formed for quitting Augsburg, where he had no longer any business to transact. Luther likewise communicated a plan he had designed with a view to fortify and comfort their souls. Staupitz then promised to return to the convent, and they separated for a short time.

Left to himself in the seclusion of his cell, Luther turned his thoughts upon the remembrance of many friends dear to his heart. He carried his recollections back to Weimar and to Wittemberg. He felt anxious to inform the elector of what had passed, but, fearing to exhibit a want of discretion by directly addressing his communications to the prince, he wrote to Spalatin, and requested him to make his master acquainted with the present state of affairs. Luther gave a history of the whole proceedings, even on to the promise made by the legate to transmit in writing the points of controversy, and finished by saying—"Here lies the main question; but I have neither hope nor confidence in the dealings of the legate. I am not willing to retract a single syllable; and I will publish the reply I have put into his hands, so that if violent measures are adopted, he may be covered with shame in every part of Christendom."

The doctor afterwards took advantage of a few moments' leisure which still remained to him, in order to prepare an account of his situation for his friends in Wittemberg.

"Peace and happiness," wrote he to Doctor Carlstadt. "Accept of these few words, as if they constituted a long letter; for time and circumstances press hard upon me. At another time I will write to you and some others more at length. Behold, for three days my case has been under consideration, and matters have reached to such a point, that I can no longer entertain any hope of being allowed to return to you, but must regard excommunication as my inevitable lot. The legate absolutely refuses to grant me permission to dispute either in public or in private. He does not wish to be my judge, he says, but my father, and yet he will not listen to any other words out of my mouth save those of 'I retract, and I acknowledge that I have deceived myself.' And, for my part, I do not wish to utter these expressions.

"The perils of my situation are so much the greater, from my cause being before judges who are not only implacable enemies, but also men incapable of comprehending its merit. Still the Lord God lives and reigns; it is to his protection I recommend myself, and I do not doubt that, in answer to the prayers of many pious souls, he shall send me help. I believe in my persuasion that prayers are offered up in my behalf.

"Whether I shall return home to you without any evil done to me, or whether, branded with excommunication, I shall be doomed to seek an asylum elsewhere, I know not; but however this may be, com-

port yourself bravely, stand fast, and exalt Christ intrepidly and with joy.

"The cardinal always calls me his dear son. I know it is proper to believe him. But I am nevertheless persuaded that I would be more agreeable and more dear to him were I willing to pronounce that simple word, *Revoca*, that is to say, I retract. But I will not become a heretic, by retracting the faith which has made me become a Christian. I would rather be persecuted, cursed, burned, and put to death.

"Be of good cheer, my dear doctor, and shew this letter to the theologians of our school, to Amsdorff, to Philip, to Otten, and to others, so that you may pray for me and likewise for yourselves; for it is also your affair which is at issue here. It is the cause of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and of the grace of God."

Sweet thought, which always fills with consolation and peace the heart of those who have borne testimony to Jesus Christ, to his divinity and to his grace, when the world, from every quarter, has poured down upon them its judgments, its rejections, and its disgrace. "Our cause is that of faith in the Lord!" And how much endearment also is to be found in this conviction expressed, at same time, by the reformer—"I am persuaded that prayers are offered up in my behalf." The Reformation was the work of piety and prayer. The contest between Luther and De Vio was that of the first principles of religion, which again appeared full of life, in opposition to the expiring fancies of reasoning logic cultivated during the existence of the middle ages.

In this manner Luther continued his intercourse with his absent friends. Staupitz soon returned to the convent; Doctor Buhel and the knight of Feilitsch, both sent by the elector, also arrived at the dwelling of Luther, after having taken leave of the cardinal. Other friends of the gospel likewise join the familiar circle; and Luther, beholding thus re-united these generous men, who were about to separate from each other, and from whose presence he was himself perhaps soon to be banished for ever, proposed that they should then celebrate together the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The proposal was acceded to, and this little flock of faithful followers eat of that bread and drank of that wine which represent the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

How endearing must have been the feelings which filled the hearts of those friends of the reformer, at a moment when, celebrating with him the death of our Redeemer, they reflected that perhaps this was the last time he might be permitted to partake of the communion! What joy and what love must have animated the soul of Luther, in seeing himself so graciously received by his Master, at the instant when men were ready to drive him from their society. How solemn must this celebration of the Lord's Supper have been! How holy the recollections of such an evening!

The next day Luther expected to receive a copy of the articles the legate had engaged to forward; but not receiving any message from him, the doctor requested his friend, Doctor Wincelaus Link, to wait upon the cardinal. De Vio received the visit of Link in the most affable manner, and assured him that he had no wish to act in the matter but as a friend. "I no longer regard," said he, "Doctor Martin

Luther as a heretic. I do not wish on this occasion to excommunicate him, at least if I do not receive more definite orders from Rome. I have sent his reply by an express to the pope." Then, to give assurance of his favourable dispositions, he added, "If Doctor Luther be willing to retract only what refers to indulgences, the affair shall very soon be settled; for with respect to what concerns faith in the sacraments, that is an article which each one is at liberty to interpret and understand for himself." Spalatin, who reports these words, adds this sarcastic but just remark. "It is, therefore, clearly shewn from this, that Rome more earnestly seeks after money than after the holy faith or the salvation of souls."

Link went back to the habitation of Luther, where he also met with Staupitz, and recounted to both these friends the particulars of his interview with the cardinal. When he repeated the unexpected concessions admitted by the legate, "It would have been worth while," said Staupitz, "for Doctor Wincellaus to have carried along with him a notary and witnesses, in order to have preserved these words in writing; for if such a design came to be known, this would cause much prejudice to the Romans."

Nevertheless, the more the words of the prelate became agreeable, the less the honest Germans put their trust in him. Many men of substance to whom Luther had been recommended held a consultation together. "The legate," said they, "intends some mischief by the despatch of this courier he speaks of, and it is much to be feared that you shall all be seized and cast into prison at once."

Staupitz and Wincellaus decided, therefore, upon quitting the city. They embraced Luther, who persisted in remaining at Augsburg, and took their departure in pressing haste, by two different ways, on their route to Nuremberg, but not without suffering some uneasiness at the doubtful courage of their testimony which they had thus exhibited by their flight.

Sunday passed over quietly enough. But Luther in vain looked to receive a message from the legate, who made no communication to the doctor. Luther resolved at last to write De Vio. Staupitz and Link, before their departure, had supplicated the doctor to evince towards the cardinal as much condescendence as possible. Luther had not yet had experience of Rome or its envoys; he is now about to make his first trial of their character. If condescendence did not succeed, he would be able to use his experience in this as a warning. Now at least it was his duty to follow such a course. With regard to himself, there was not a day in which he did not condemn his own conduct, in which he did not mourn over the facility with which he allowed himself to be dragged into expressions whose force exceeded the proportionate meaning. Wherefore should he not avow to the cardinal that which he every day confessed to God? Luther had, moreover, a heart easily moved, and which harboured no suspicions of evil. He, therefore, took up his pen, and, in the spirit of a respectful benevolence, he wrote the following letter to the cardinal:—

"Very worthy Father in God—I come yet once more, not orally, but in writing, to supplicate your paternal goodness to listen to me with favour. The reverend doctor, Staupitz, my very dear father in Christ, has requested me to humble myself, to renounce my own thoughts, and to submit my opinions to the judgment of pious and

impartial men. He has also praised your paternal goodness, and has completely convinced me of the favourable sentiments with which you are animated in my behalf. This news has filled me with joy.

"Now, therefore, very worthy father, I confess, even as I have already before done, that I have not shewn, as it is said, enough of modesty, or mildness, or of respect for the name of the sovereign pontiff; and, although I have been grievously provoked, I understand that it would have been better for me to have treated the affair with more humility, meekness, and veneration, *and not to have answered the fool according to his folly, for fear of becoming like unto him.* (Proverbs.)

"This circumstance grieves me greatly, and I ask pardon of my offence. I wish to acknowledge the same to the people from the height of the pulpit, as to others I have already often done. I wish to apply myself, with the grace of God, to the use of other words. Moreover, I am ready to promise, without being requested to do so, not to say another word more upon the subject of indulgences, if that business is arranged. But also, let those who have brought me to the commencement, be obliged, on their part, to moderate their expressions, henceforth, in their speeches, or to remain silent.

"With regard to the truth of my doctrine, the authority of St Thomas or of other teachers shall not be sufficient for me. It will be necessary that I should hear, if I am worthy thereof, the voice of the spouse, that is, of the church. For it is certain that she hears the voice of the Husband, that is, Christ.

"I, therefore, in all humility and submission, pray your paternal love to refer the whole of this matter, if still undecided at this hour, to our very holy lord Leo X., so that the church may decide, pronounce, and ordain, and that it may be possible to retract with a good conscience, or to believe with sincerity."

Upon reading this letter, a reflection is still pressed upon our notice. It is evident that Luther did not act in conformity with a system previously arranged, but simply in virtue of convictions impressed successively upon his mind and his heart. Very far from possessing a completed system, a concerted opposition, he was, at times, undoubtedly, in contradiction with himself. Many ancient convictions still reigned within his mind, although opposite convictions had already there secured a place; and, nevertheless, it is among these marks of sincerity and truth that arms have been sought wherewith to assail the reform; it is because this reform has followed the same obligatory law of progression which is imposed in all things upon the human mind, that the history of these variations has been recorded. It is amidst those very tracts which display its sincerity, and which consequently make it honourable, that one of the most eminent Christian geniuses has found his most powerful objections!

. Inconceivable aberrations of the mind of man.*

Luther did not receive any answer to this letter. Cajetan and his courtiers, after having been so strongly agitated, had become all at once immovable. What could be the reason of this? Must it not have been the calm that succeeds a storm. Some persons were of the opinion expressed by Pallavicini. "The cardinal waits," he remarks, "until the proud monk, like a pair of inflated bellows, should rise by

* Hist. of the Variations of Bossuet. (Book i. p. 25.)

little and little the wind with which he is filled, and should become completely humble." Others, who thought better on the ways of Rome, persuaded themselves that the legate entertained the intention of laying hold upon Luther, but that, not daring on his own responsibility to come to such extremities, on account of the imperial safe-conduct, he waited the return of his messenger from Rome. Others again could not suppose that the cardinal was willing to remain so long in a state of suspense. The emperor Maximilian, said they, and such a conjecture might indeed prove true, will not evince any greater scruple in delivering over Luther to the judgment of the church, in spite of the safe-conduct, than Sigismund displayed in turning over John Huss to the council of Constance. The legate is perhaps at the present time carrying on negotiations with the emperor. The authority of Maximilian may be received from one hour to another. Inasmuch as he formerly shewed himself in opposition to the pope, equally, at this moment, and until the imperial crown encircles the brow of his grandson, will Maximilian pretend to flatter the pontiff. There is not a moment to lose. "Prepare," said these generous men, who surrounded him, to Luther, "prepare an appeal to the pope, and leave Augsburg without delay."

Luther, whose presence in this town during the last four days had been of no avail, and who had sufficiently demonstrated, by remaining at his post after the departure of the Saxon counsellors sent thither by the elector to watch over his safety, that he entertained a fear of no one, and was ready to answer every call; Luther, we say, at last yielded to the solicitations of his friends. But he wished, in the first place, to inform De Vio of his purpose, and, therefore, wrote him another letter on Tuesday, the evening before he left the town.

This second letter was more firm in its strain than the first. It would appear that Luther, seeing that all his advances were made in vain, began to embolden his carriage under a conviction of his own right and of the injustice of his enemies.

"Very worthy Father in God," wrote he to De Vio, "your paternal goodness has witnessed—yes, I say, witnessed—and sufficiently acknowledged my obedience. I have willingly undertaken a distant journey, exposed to imminent dangers, while suffering under weakness of body, and, in spite of my great poverty, at the order of our very holy lord Leo X., I have appeared personally before your Eminence: in short, I have cast myself at the feet of his Holiness, and I now await the decision he may deem it expedient to pronounce, whether it may tend to my condemnation or justification. I therefore enjoy the persuasion of having omitted no duty which it was becoming in an obedient son of the church to render.

"I consequently believe it is not incumbent upon me to prolong, uselessly, my stay in this place; besides, such delay it is impossible for me to undergo, because I am deficient in resources; and your paternal goodness has commanded me peremptorily never to appear again in your presence unless I be willing to retract.

"Under these circumstances, I am about to depart in the name of the Lord, anxious to see whether it shall be possible for me to find any place of rest wherein I may live in peace. Several individuals of more importance than myself have recommended me to appeal from your paternal goodness, and even from our very holy lord Leo X., as

now ill-informed, to his Holiness himself, when better informed: Although I know that such an appeal would be more agreeable to his Serene Highness the elector than a retraction, nevertheless, had I been obliged merely to consult myself, I would not have made it. . . . I have not committed any fault, and ought, therefore, to fear nothing."

Luther having written this letter, which was not to be delivered to the legate till after his departure, made preparations for leaving Augsburg. God had protected him up to the present hour, and his heart, therefore, gave thanks unto the Lord; but he must not tempt God. He took an affectionate farewell of his friends, Peutenger, Langemantel, the Adelmanns, Auerbach, and the prior of the Carmelites, who had received him with so much Christian hospitality. On Wednesday, before sunrise, Luther was up and ready to depart. His friends had advised him to use every possible precaution, for fear that, his actions being observed, obstacles might yet be thrown in his way. Luther paid strict attention to this advice. A pony, which Staupitz had left behind, was brought round to the door of the convent. Once more the doctor bade adieu to his brethren, then mounted his palfrey, without a bridle on its head, and rode off unprovided with either the requisites of boots, or spurs, or any description of arms. The magistrate of the town had furnished him with a mounted guide, who was well acquainted with the roads. This conductor led the way through the less frequented streets of Augsburg, and directed their course towards a small gate sometimes made use of, in the walls of the city. One of the counsellors, Langemantel, had given instructions to have it left open. But Luther was still within the power of the legate. The hand of Rome might still be laid upon him. And, without doubt, had the Italians known how near their prey was about to escape from their clutches, they would have raised a hue-and-cry after the doctor. Who could know but that the intrepid adversary of Rome might yet be seized and thrown into a dungeon? At last Luther and his attendant reach the little gate, and passed beyond its threshold. They are now, too, beyond the confines of Augsburg, and, immediately urging their horses to the gallop, they quickly gained a distant position from the town.

Luther, on parting, had placed his appeal to the pope in the hands of the prior of Bomesaw. His friends were opposed to its being served upon the legate; and the prior was intrusted with the duty of having it posted, two or three days after the departure of the doctor, on the doors of the cathedral, in presence of a notary and competent witnesses. These orders were regularly completed.

Luther, in the document now referred to, declared that he thereby made an appeal from the very holy father the pope, ill-informed, to the very holy lord and father in Christ, Leo X. by name, by the grace of God better informed. This appeal had been drawn out in the proper style and from, with the assistance of the imperial notary Gall de Herbrachtingen, in presence of two Augustine monks, Bartholomew Vitzmair and Wengel Steinbies, and was dated on the 16th of October.

When the cardinal heard of the departure of Luther, he was amazed; and even, as he acknowledges in a letter to the elector, startled and alarmed at the import of such news. He had in truth wherewithal to displease his dignity. This departure, which in a

manner so hastily put an end to all negotiations, disconcerted particularly the vain hopes with which his pride had been so long flattered. He had been ambitious of the honour to heal the plagues of the church, as well as to re-establish in Germany the wavering influence of the pope : and not only had the heretic escaped without being punished under his directions, but even without his having succeeded in obliging the delinquent to become humbled in his pretensions. The conferences had only served more clearly to expose, on the one hand, the simplicity, the rectitude, and the firmness of Luther, and on the other, the imperious and unreasonable conduct of the pope and his ambassador. Since Rome had gained nothing in the contest, she must have lost ; if her authority was not thereby strengthened, it must have received a new check. What would now be said in the assembly of the Vatican ? What instructions were now on their way from Rome ? The difficulties of his situation would be forgotten, and the disgraceful issue of this affair would be attributed to his want of skill. Serra Longa and the Italians, those exceedingly clever personages, were furious at seeing themselves defeated by a German monk. De Vio had great difficulty in hiding the fury of his anger. Such an affront cried aloud for vengeance, and we shall very soon see this rage vented in the expression of a letter addressed to the elector.

CHAPTER X.

Flight of Luther—Admiration—Desire of Luther—The Legate to the Elector—The Elector to the Legate—Prosperity of the University.

Luther continued, under the directions of his guide, to flee to a distance from Augsburg. He hurried on his horse at a pace as rapid as the strength of the little animal would permit. He bore in memory the real or supposed flight made by John Huss, the manner of his being overtaken, and the assertion used by his adversaries, who pretended that Huss, having, by his flight, annulled the authority of the emperor's safe-conduct, they had in consequence a right to condemn him to the flames. Nevertheless these fears only crossed the mind of Luther. At a distance from the city wherein he had passed ten days under the terrible hand of Rome, which had already crushed to the earth so many thousand witnesses of the truth, and had made to flow around her such quantities of their blood ; now that he was at liberty, that he breathed the pure air of the country, that he passed through villages and across fields, and saw himself wonderfully delivered by the arm of the Lord, he blessed, with his whole soul, the name of the Eternal. He might, indeed, exclaim at this hour with perfect reliance, *Our soul is escaped, like a bird from the net of the Fowler. The net has been broken and we have escaped. Our help is in the name of the Eternal, who hath made the heavens and the earth.* The heart of Luther was thus filled with joy. But his thoughts likewise reverted to the condition of De Vio. "The cardinal," said he to himself, "would have liked to keep me within his grasp and to have sent me to Rome. He is now, no doubt, chagrined with the circumstance of my escape. He imagined that he was sure of me in Augsburg, and held me at his pleasure, but he had caught the eel by the tail. Is it not a shame that these folks should estimate me at so high a price ? They

would give many crowns to have me in their power, whilst our Lord Jesus Christ has been sold for no more than thirty pieces of silver.”*

Luther travelled on the first day of his journey fourteen leagues. In the evening he reached an inn where he wished to pass the night, and was so overcome with fatigue, (his horse had a very hard trot, one of his historians informs us,) that, on dismounting, he could not stand upright, and threw himself down upon a bed of straw. He nevertheless enjoyed a certain degree of rest, and on the next day he continued his journey. He found Staupitz at Nuremberg, on a visit to the convents of his order. It was also in this town the doctor saw, for the first time, the brief which the pope had forwarded respecting his case to Cajetan. Luther was very indignant at the contents of this paper, and it is most probable that, if he had read the brief before leaving Wittemberg, he would never have made his appearance before the cardinal. “It is impossible to believe,” said he, “that anything so monstrous could have proceeded from the orders of a sovereign pontiff.”†

Everywhere, in the course of his route, Luther was the object of general interest. He had ceded nothing to the wishes of his adversaries. A victory so decided, gained by a mendicant monk over a representative of Rome, filled every heart with admiration. Germany appeared avenged of the contempt shewn her by Italy. The eternal word had been honoured more than the word of the pope. This vast power, which had for so many centuries ruled the world, had now received a formidable check. The progress of Luther was one of triumph. The obstinacy of Rome was applauded, in the hope that it might lead to her fall. Had she not displayed such an eager desire to preserve the possession of shameful gains, had she been wise enough not to have betrayed her contempt for the Germans, had she reformed certain crying abuses, perhaps, according to human views, all things might have fallen back into that state of death out of which Luther had himself been transported. But Popery has no wish to yield; and the doctor shall yet see himself constrained to expose before the light of day many more errors, and to advance in the knowledge and manifestations of the truth.

Luther arrived on the 26th of October at Græfenthal, situated on the verge of the forest of Thurginia. He there met with the count Albert of Mansfeld, the same who had so strongly persuaded him not to go to Augsburg. The count laughed heartily at beholding the strange equipage of the monk, but the former took hold of the latter and obliged him to become his guest. Very soon afterwards Luther again set forth on his journey.

Luther made all the haste he could, as he was anxious to reach Wittemberg on the 31st of October, in the expectation that the elector would be found there during the celebration of the Feast of All Saints, and that he might thus have an opportunity of conversing with his protector. The brief which the doctor had read at Nuremberg had convinced him of the imminent danger to which he was now exposed. In truth, already condemned at Rome, he could not expect to remain either at Wittemberg, or to obtain an asylum in any convent, or to find in any other place a refuge of peace and safety. The protection of

* Luther, Op. (L.) xvii. p. 220.

† Ibid, Ep. i. p. 166.

the elector might perhaps be sufficient to defend him ; but he was far from certain that he was able to procure this defence. He could no longer count upon the assistance of two friends whom he had formerly possessed at the court of this prince. Staupitz had lost the favour he had so long enjoyed, and had quitted Saxony. Spalatin was still the friend of Frederick, but had no great influence over his conduct. The elector himself was not sufficiently versed in the doctrines of the gospel to expose himself on that account to manifest perils. Still Luther believed that he could not act in a more prudent manner than to hasten his return to Wittemberg, and there await whatever fate the eternal and merciful God might prepare for him. If, as many imagined, he might be left at rest, he resolved to devote himself entirely to study and to the instruction of youth.

Luther accomplished his return to Wittemberg on the 30th of October. He had hurried himself beyond measure in vain. Neither the elector nor Spalatin had come thither to attend the Feast of All Saints. His friends at home, however, were rejoiced to see the doctor once more among themselves. Luther immediately, even on the day of his arrival, gave intimation of his return to Spalatin. "I have again entered Wittemberg this day safe and sound, by the grace of God," said he, "but how long I shall remain here I cannot tell. . . I am filled with joy and peace, in so much that I am much astonished the trial I have endured should appear so great to so many illustrious individuals."

De Vio had not long postponed, after the departure of Luther, the exhibition of all his indignation in the sight of the elector. A letter addressed to this prince breathed nothing but vengeance. The cardinal depicts to Frederick the details of the conference, with an air of confidence. "Since brother Martin," says he in conclusion, "cannot be lead by paternal kindness to acknowledge his errors and to remain faithful to the Catholic church, I request your Highness to send him to Rome, or to drive him beyond the confines of your states. Be well assured that this difficult affair, wicked and full of malice, cannot continue much longer ; for as soon as I shall have acquainted our very holy lord with the existence of so much virulence or cunning, a speedy termination will be put to the subject." In a postscript, written with his own hand, the cardinal solicits the elector not to stain in so shameful a degree his honour and that of his illustrious ancestors in the support of a miserable little brother.

Perhaps the heart of Luther was never excited by the feelings of a more noble indignation than at the moment when he perused the contents of this letter, a copy of which was sent to him by the elector. The persuasion of the sufferings he was destined to endure, the price of the truth for which he fought, the contempt which the conduct of the legate of Rome inspired in his bosom, combined to complete his resentment. His reply, composed under the influence of these agitations of soul, is resplendent with marks of that courage, that elevation, and that faith, which are always manifested in the most trying circumstances of his life. He gives a picture, too, in his turn, of the conference held at Angsburg, and after describing the conduct of the cardinal, he goes on to say—

"I should very much like to reply to the legate in the place of the elector.

"Prove that you speak with knowledge, I would say to him; let the whole affair be put down in writing; then I will send brother Martin to Rome, or rather I shall myself make him to be laid hold of and put to death. I will take care of my conscience and of my honour, and I will not allow the least stain to dim the lustre of my glory. But so long as your certain knowledge flees from the light and can only be recognised in loud protestations, I cannot place faith in darkness.

"It is in this manner I would wish to frame my reply, very excellent prince.

"Let the reverend legate, or even the pope himself, specify my errors in writing; let them exhibit their reasons; let them afford me instruction, me who desires to be instructed, who requests information, who wishes for it and waits for it so eagerly, that a very Turk would not refuse to grant my petition. If I do not retract, and do not condemn myself, when they shall have proved to me that the passages which I have quoted ought to be understood otherwise than I explain them, then, O very excellent elector, let your Highness be the first to persecute and hunt me down; let the university repel and cover me with its displeasure. . . . Yea more, and I take heaven and earth to witness the result, let the Lord Jesus Christ cast me off and condemn me too! . . . The words which I use are not the dictates of presumption, but of an unshaken conviction. I wish that the Lord God may take from me his grace, and that every creature of God may refuse me their countenance, if, when they shall have shewn me better a doctrine, I do not embrace it.

"If they despise me too much on account of my base or low condition, me, a poor little mendicant brother, and if they refuse to give me lessons in the paths of truth, let your Highness beseech the legate to point out to me in writing in what respect I have erred; and if they refuse this favour even to your Highness, let them write their thoughts, either to his Imperial Majesty, or to some one of the arch-bishops of Germany. What ought I, what can I, say more?

"Let your Highness listen to the voice of your conscience, and of your honour, and do not send me to Rome. No man on earth can command you to do so: for it is impossible I can be in a safe condition at Rome. The pope himself is not there quite sure of his life; and it would be equivalent to giving you an order to betray the blood of a Christian. They have in Rome plenty of paper, pens, and ink, and there are also within that city an infinite number of notaries. It would therefore be easy for them to state in writing in what and wherefore I have erred. While absent, it will cost them less to instruct me by means of written communications, than, when present, to take my life away by stratagem.

"I have resigned myself to a state of exile. My adversaries have laid snares for me on every side, in so much that I cannot live longer anywhere in safety. In order that no evil may overtake you on account of my cause, I will leave, in the name of God, your states. I wish to go wherever the eternal and merciful God desires that I should go. Let him do with me whatever is well-pleasing in his sight.

"Thus, then, most serene elector, I address you with becoming veneration. I recommend you to the mercy of God, and I return you everlasting thanks for all the benefits you have conferred on me.

Among whatever people I may in future be doomed to dwell, I shall perpetually remember your kindness, and I will continually pray with gratitude for your happiness and that of your family. I am still, thanks be to God, full of joy, and I bless his name in that Christ the Son of God has judged me worthy to suffer in a cause so holy. May he for ever watch over your illustrious Highness! Amen."

This letter, so replete with truth, made a profound impression upon the mind of the elector. "He was moved by the strain of a very eloquent letter," says Maimbourg. It had never entered into his thoughts to deliver over an innocent man into the hands of Rome; perhaps he might have recommended Luther to keep himself for some time under hiding, but he did not wish even in appearance to seem as if he yielded in any degree to the threats of the legate. He wrote to his counsellor, Pfeffinger, who was in attendance at the court of the emperor, to acquaint that prince with the real condition of affairs, and to entreat him to write to Rome, with the view of having the matter finally arranged, or at least that cognizance should be taken of it in Germany before a commission of impartial judges.

Some days afterwards, the elector replied to the legate—"Seeing that Doctor Martin has appeared before you at Augsburg, you ought to remain satisfied. We could not ourselves expect that, without having convinced him, you should pretend to compel him to retract. Not one of the learned men who reside in our principalities has told us that the doctrine which Martin maintains is impious, antichristian, and heretical." The prince, in the sequel, refuses to send Luther away to Rome, or to drive him beyond the confines of his dominions.

The contents of this letter, which were communicated to Luther, filled him with joy. "Good God!" he wrote to Spalatin, "with what joy have I read and re-read this epistle! I know how much confidence can be placed upon these words, teeming at once with a strength and a modesty so admirable. I fear that the Romans shall not be able to comprehend the whole force of their meaning; but they must understand, at least, that that which they had already considered as finished has not yet even commenced. Be pleased to present to the prince my acknowledgment of thanks. It is strange that he (De Vio) who, but a short time ago, was a mendicant monk like myself, should not fear to approach without respect the most powerful princes, to summon them, to threaten them, to command them, and to treat them with inconceivable manifestations of pride. Let him learn that temporal power is from God, and that it is not permitted to crush its glory under foot."

The circumstance which encouraged Frederick to reply to the legate, in a style which had been little reckoned on by the latter, was, no doubt, a letter which the university of Wittemberg had addressed to himself. That college had good reason to espouse the cause of the doctor, for she flourished still more and more, and now eclipsed the fame of every other school. A crowd of students resorted to her classes from every quarter of Germany, especially with the intention of studying under that extraordinary man, whose manner of teaching seemed to open up a new era in the ways of religion and science. These young men, proceeding from all the provinces, were wont to stop on their journey whenever they discovered at a distance the sound

of the bells of Wittenberg, and, raising their hands towards heaven, they praised God for having made to shine forth from that city, as formerly from Zion, the light of the truth, and to send it oven to countries the most remote. A life and an activity, until then unknown, animated the members of this university. "Students are excited to study here after the fashion of ants," were the words used by Luther, in a letter to one of his friends.

CHAPTER XI.

Thoughts of Departure—Farewell to the Church—Critical Moment—Deliverance—Courage of Luther—Discontent at Rome—Bull—Appeal to a Council.

Luther, believing that he might very soon be driven out of the territories of Germany, occupied himself in the publication of the debates at the conference in Augsburg. He was anxious that these debates should remain as a testimony of the struggle between Rome and himself. He saw the cloud ready to burst over his head, but he was not alarmed. He expected to receive from day to day the maledictions of Rome, and he disposed and arranged all his matters so as to be prepared when their infliction arrived. "Having tucked up my gown and girded my loins," said he, "I am ready to depart like Abraham, without knowing whether I shall go, or rather well knowing where, seeing that God is in every place." He had intended to leave behind him a farewell address. "Have then the courage," he wrote to Spalatin, "to read the letter of an accused and excommunicated man."

His friends were filled with fear and solicitude on his account. They begged him to render himself up as a prisoner into the hands of the elector, in order that that prince might put him into some place of sure keeping.

His enemies were equally at a loss to find out on what support Luther so confidently relied. One day the conversation turned upon this subject at the court of the bishop of Brandenburg, and it was questioned upon what stay he could place his trust. "It is Erasmus," said they, "or Capiton, or some other learned men on whom he rests his confidence." "No, no," replied the bishop, "the pope disturbs himself very little about these men. It is upon the university of Wittenberg and the Duke of Saxony Luther lays his assurance." . . . Thus both the one and the other were ignorant of the fortress on which the reformer depended.

Thoughts of departure, however, crossed the mind of Luther. It was not the fear of dangers which causes them to arise before the eyes that guided the reformer, but the preception of those obstacles continually increasing in Germany against the free profession of the truth. "If I remain here," said he, "the liberty to say and to write many things shall be denied me; but if I depart hence, I will be able to pour out freely the thoughts of my heart, and I will devote my life to Jesus Christ."

France was the country wherein Luther hoped to have the power of announcing the truth unfettered in his proceedings. The liberty enjoyed by the teachers and the university of Paris excited in his breast feelings of envy. He was, moreover, in unison with them

upon many points. What would have happened him had he been transported from Wittemberg into France? Would the Reformation have been therein established in like manner as in Germany? Would the power of Rome have been there dethroned, and would France, which had been destined to behold the hierarchical principles of Rome and the destructive principles of an irreligious philosophy for long engaged in active contests within her bowels, have become a happy home of evangelical truth? It is vain to indulge in useless suppositions on this subject; but, perhaps, had Luther gone to Paris, he might have changed some prospects in the destinies of Europe and of France.

The soul of Luther was fervently moved; and he often preached in the city church, instead of Simon Heyens Portanus, the pastor of Wittemberg, who was almost constantly sick. He thought it his duty, at all hazards, to take leave of this people to whom he had so often announced the glad tidings of salvation. "I am," said he one day from the pulpit, "a preacher most unstable and uncertain. How many times have I already gone away, on a sudden, without having bid you adieu? . . . Should this case occur again, and I am restricted from returning, receive now my farewell salutations!" Then, having added a few more words, he concluded by saying with firmness and serenity, "I warn you, so that you may not be cast into dismay, should the censures of the pope be heaped on me beyond measure, impute not this evil to the pope, and do not wish for harm to him, nor to any other mortal whatever; but refer all things to the will of God."

The decisive moment appeared at last to have arrived. The prince made it be known to Luther that he wished to see him removed to a distance from Wittemberg. The desires of the elector were too sacred in the sight of the doctor not to impose upon him the necessity of instant obedience thereto. He thus made hasty preparations for his departure, without well knowing in which direction to turn his steps. He wished, however, for a last time to collect together his friends, and he made ready for them, with this design, a farewell repast. Seated with them at the same table, he enjoyed again the pleasures of their amiable conversation, and of their tender and jealous friendship. A letter was at this moment put into his hands. . . . It came from the court. He opened it and read its contents, and his heart beat with emotion; for it contained a fresh order to depart. The prince asks him, "wherefore he so long delayed his removal to a distance." His soul was overwhelmed with sorrow; but he quickly regained his courage, and, raising his head, he said with resolution and joy, addressing those who encircled his table, "Father and mother have cast me off, but the Lord will take me up." He must now be gone, and his friends were in despair; for what must hereafter become of him? If the protector of Luther rejects his advances, who will dare to receive him? And the gospel, the truth, and that admirable work, . . . all, without doubt, are about to fall into forgetfulness along with their illustrious witness. The Reformation seemed to be held by one thread alone, and at the moment Luther leaves the city of Wittemberg, must not that thread be broken? Luther and his friends uttered but few words. Stunned with the blow that had fallen upon their brother, they lifted up their voices

and wept ; but, in a few seconds afterwards, a second message arrived. Luther again opened the letter, expecting undoubtedly to find therein another urgent summons. But, O all-powerful hand of the Lord, for the moment he is saved. Everything had assumed a new aspect. "As the intelligence received from the pope, hopes, it is written to him, that all may be arranged by means of a conference—remain still." How important was the present hour ! and what must have happened if Luther, always in haste to obey the pleasures of his prince, had quitted Wittenberg immediately after the receipt of the first letter ? Never were Luther and the work of the Reformation at a lower ebb than at the moment we now speak of. It was the turning point, it may be said, of their destiny ; an instant might have sufficed to change their course. Arrived at the lowest degree of his track, the doctor of Wittenberg therefrom ascended in rapid progress, and his influence from that moment never ceased to increase. The Eternal commands, according to the language of one of the prophets, and his servants descend into the abyss and rise again towards heaven.

Spalatin summoned Luther to appear in Lichtemberg, in order to have, in conformity with his orders, an interview with Frederick of Saxony. A long conversation is there entered into between them upon the situation of affairs. "If the censures of Rome arrive, certainly," said Luther, "I shall not remain at Wittenberg." "Be on your guard," replied Spalatin, "of too eagerly precipitating your journey into France." . . . His friends quitted him, by saying, attend to these advices. "Recommend only my soul to Christ," said Luther in reply. "I see that my adversaries harden themselves in their purpose to destroy me ; but Christ strengthens me at same time in this, that I should not yield to them."

Luther then accomplished his publication of the *Debates of the Conference at Augsburg*. Spalatin had written him on the part of the elector, not to complete this work ; but the communication in question came too late to hand. The prince, after the publication was finished, bestowed upon it his approbation. "Great God !" said Luther, in the preface, "what new and astonishing crime is this, to seek the light and the truth ? . . . and above all in the church, that is to say, in the very kingdom of the truth." "I send you my *Debates*," he writes to Link : "they are more cutting than my lord legate no doubt hopes to find them ; but my pen is made to produce very great things. I do not know myself whence these thoughts proceed. In my opinion the affair is not yet commenced, however much it may be necessary for the great in Rome to hope that it is already finished. I will send you what I have written, so that you may see whether I have well guessed in believing that the antichrist of which St Paul speaks, now reigns in the court of Rome. I think it quite possible to demonstrate that it is worse at present than the Turks themselves."

From every quarter sinister rumours reached the ears of Luther. One of his friends wrote him that the new envoy from Rome had received orders to seize upon him and to deliver him up to the pope. Another informed him that having been on a journey, he had met with, at some place or other, one of the courtiers, and that the conversation falling upon the affairs which at present so much agitated Germany, the said courtier had declared that he had undertaken to surrender

Luther into the hands of the sovereign pontiff. "But the more their fury and their violence increase," the reformer replied, "the less I tremble for the consequences."

Great discontent was felt at Rome with the conduct of Cajetan. The vexation which was experienced on beholding an account of the business committed to paper was at first thrown upon him. The Roman courtiers thought themselves justified in reproaching him with a failure in that prudence and artfulness which, as they believed, constituted the first qualifications of a pope's legate, and for not having ably wielded, on an occasion so important, the strict principles of the divinity schools. The whole fault, it was said, lay with him. His heavy pedantry had spoiled everything. Wherefore had he incensed Luther with insults and threats, in place of reconciling him with the promises of a good bishopric, or even with the hat of a cardinal. These mercenary men formed this judgment of the reformer by their own standard. Nevertheless it was found necessary to repair this fault. On one hand Rome was bound to pronounce sentence; and on the other she was compelled to manage the elector, who might prove very useful to her in the choice that was soon to be made of an emperor. As it was impossible for Roman ecclesiastics to conceive in what the main support of Luther's mind consisted, they imagined that the elector was much deeper implicated in the affair than he really was. The pope, therefore, resolved to adopt another line of conduct. He commanded his legate to publish in Germany a bull in which he confirmed the doctrine of indulgences, precisely in the points attacked, but wherein he neither spoke of the elector nor of Luther. As the reformer had always declared that he would submit to the decision of the Roman church, the pope thought that he must now either fulfil his word or display himself openly in the character of a disturber of the peace of the church and a despiser of the holy apostolic see. In either of these cases it appeared that the pope must gain a victory; but nothing is ever gained by an obstinate opposition to the truth. In vain the pope had threatened the penalty of excommunication against whoever should be found to teach otherwise than he had ordained; the light was not stopped in its course by such commands. It would have been more prudent to have modified with certain restrictions the operations of the disposers of these indulgences. This decree issued by Rome was therefore a new fault. By legalizing such crying abuses or errors, it gave offence to every intelligent man, and it rendered impossible the return of Luther. "It was believed," said a Catholic historian, a great enemy to the Reformation, "that this bull had only been made for the interests of the pope and mendicant friars, who began to find that people were no more willing to give them anything for their indulgences."

The cardinal De Vio published this decree at Lintz, in Austria, on the 13th of December 1518; but Luther was already placed under shelter from the attacks of this device. On the 28th of November he had made an appeal, in the chapel of the Body of Christ at Wittemberg, from the pope to a general council of the church. He foresaw the storm that was gathering around him, and he knew that God could alone command its progress, but that which he was called upon himself to do he did. He must, without doubt, quit Wittemberg, were it only on account of the elector, immediately after the

arrival there of the Roman maledictions, at the same time he was not willing to leave Saxony and Germany without sending forth a particular protestation. He had thus prepared such a protest, and so that it might be ready to be distributed at the moment when the furies of Rome, as he expressed it, were expected, he had got the protest printed under an express condition that the printer was to send every copy thereof to his own house. But this person, greedy of gain, sold the greater number of these copies, while Luther was quietly awaiting their delivery to himself. Luther was much vexed at this conduct ; but the thing was done. This bold protestation was thus, in the manner we have described, spread abroad in every quarter. Luther declared anew therein that he had no intention of saying anything against the holy church, nor against the authority of the apostolic see, or of the pope well advised. "But," continued he, "in consideration that the pope, who is the vicar of God on earth, can, like other men, err, sin, and lie, and that the appeal to a council-general is the only means of salvation against unjust actions which it is impossible to resist, I have seen myself obliged to have recourse to this alternative."

Behold the Reformation now brought forward on new grounds. It is no longer on the pope and his resolutions that it is made to depend ; it is referred to a universal council. Luther addresses himself to the whole church, and the voice which went forth from the chapel of the Body of Christ must be heard in the midst of all the flocks of the Lord. It was not courage that was wanting in the mind of the reformer, for of this he gives a new example here. Shall God, then, be found to fail him ? This question shall be solved to us in the various periods of the Reformation which have still to be exhibited before our eyes.

BOOK V.

THE DISPUTE AT LEIPSIC.

CHAPTER I.

Dangers of Luther—God Saves Luther—The Pope Sends a Chamberlain—Journey of the Legate—Brief of Rome—Circumstances Favourable to the Reform—Miltitz in the House of Spalatin—Terror of Tezel—Caresses of Miltitz—He Demands a Retraction—Luther Refuses and Offers to be Silent—Agreement between Luther and the Nuncio—The Salvo of the Legate—Tezel Crushed by the Legate—Luther against the Separation—De Vio and Miltitz at Trier—The Cause of Luther Extends over Different Countries—The Writings of Luther Commence the Reform.

Dangers were accumulated around the person of Luther and the cause of the Reformation. The appeal of the doctor of Wittemberg to a general council constituted a new attack upon the powers of the pope. A bull, issued by pope Pius II., had pronounced the penalty of extreme excommunication against those emperors even who dared so egregiously to rebel. Frederick of Saxony, himself but as yet half established in evangelical truths, was ready to banish Luther beyond the boundaries of his states. A new order from Leo X. would have, therefore, had the effect of driving the reformer into the company of strangers who might have been fearful of compromising their own safety by receiving within their habitations a monk branded with the curse of Rome ; and although the sword of certain nobles might be drawn to defend his life, these plain knights, contemned by the

powerful princes of Germany, must have been compelled to desist from their hazardous undertaking.

But at the very moment when all the courtiers of Leo X. were urging him to adopt measures of excessive rigour, and when a last effort would have secured possession of his adversary's person, this pope suddenly altered his manner of proceeding, and had recourse to means of conciliation and of apparent clemency. It may be affirmed, without doubt, that Leo deceived himself with regard to the dispositions of the elector, and considered them more favourable to the cause of Luther than they really were; it may equally be admitted that the public voice and the spirit of the age, these new powers, at the time quite in their infancy, had appeared in the sight of the pope to surround the reformer with insurmountable bulwarks; or it may be supposed, as one of his historians has done, that the pontiff followed the determination of his own judgment and heart, which were naturally inclined to moderation and mercy. Still this new method of acting on the part of Rome, at such a moment, is so singular, that it is impossible not to recognise therein a higher and more powerful agency.

A Saxon noble, the chamberlain of the pope and canon of Mentz, Triers, and Meissen, was at this period in waiting at the court of Rome. He had ingratiated himself into favour at this court, and boasted of his near relationship to the Saxon princes, insomuch that the Roman courtiers were in the habit of calling him, at times, the Duke of Saxony. In Italy he foolishly extolled his Germanic nobility, while in Germany he as simply imitated the Italian manners and elegance of deportment. He was addicted to intemperance, and his love of wine had been increased by his residence at the court of Rome. Nevertheless the Roman courtiers entertained high hopes of advantage from their connexion with this Saxon noble. His German origin, his insinuating manners, and his business talents, combined to raise their belief that Charles de Miltitz (such was his name) would succeed in arresting, by his prudent conduct, the powerful revolution which threatened to agitate the world.

It was of importance to conceal the true object contemplated in the mission of the Roman chamberlain. But success therein was luckily accomplished. Four years previous to this date, the pious elector had requested from the pope the insignia of the golden rose. This rose, the most beautiful of flowers, represented the body of Jesus Christ, and was consecrated by the sovereign pontiff and offered to one of the first princes in Europe. It was resolved on this occasion to send the rose to the elector. Miltitz was despatched on this errand, with instructions to inquire into the state of affairs, and to secure the co-operation of Spalatin and Pfeffinger, the counsellors of the elector. He carried with him particulars, letters of introduction to these high officials. In thus endeavouring to conciliate those who were near to the person of the German prince, Rome hoped very soon to become master of its formidable adversary.

The new legate arrived in Germany in the month of December 1518, and busied himself during his journey with sounding the current of public opinion. To his great astonishment, he observed, wherever he stopped, that the larger number of the inhabitants were in favour of the Reformation. Luther was spoken of with enthu

siasm; and for one person who maintained the rights of the pope, three were found favourable to the cause of the reformer. Luther has preserved for us a trait of this mission. "What do you think of the bench (or tribunal) of Rome?" the legate often asked at the different hostesses and servants of the inns. One day one of these poor women artlessly replied to him—"Truly, we do not know whether the benches you have at Rome are made of stone or wood."

The simple report of the arrival of the new legate filled the court of the elector, the university, the town of Wittemberg, and all Saxony with suspicion and alarm. "Thanks be to God Martin still breathes," were the words used by the terrified Melancthon. It was asserted that the Roman chamberlain had received orders to seize upon Luther either by stratagem or by force. From every quarter the doctor was admonished to be on the watch against the snares of Miltitz. "He comes," it was said, "for the purpose of laying hold upon you and of delivering you over to the pope. Some persons worthy of credit have seen the briefs he brings along with him." "I await the pleasure of God," replied Luther.

In reality, Miltitz arrived intrusted with letters addressed to the elector, to his counsellors, to the bishops, and to the burgomaster of the city of Wittemberg. He was provided with seventy apostolic briefs. But if the flattery and the favour of Rome accomplished their purpose, if Frederick delivered Luther over into the hands of the legate, these seventy briefs would become for him, in some respects, the guarantee of passports. He longed to exhibit these tokens of his authority, and to display openly one of them in every town through which he had to pass, and imagined that in this way he would be able to succeed in conveying his prisoner, without opposition, even within the very stronghold of Rome.

The pope appeared to have completed all his measures. Even now at the electoral court it was not known which side ought to be taken. Violence had been determinately resisted; but how oppose the chief of christendom, when thus speaking with so much complacency and such a show of reason? Would it not be proper, it was suggested, for Luther to hide himself in some secret corner until the storm had passed? . . . An unexpected event occurred which brought Luther, the elector, and the Reformation, out of this sore dilemma. The aspect of the world was in an instant changed.

On the 12th of January 1519, Maximilian, the emperor of Germany, died. Frederick of Saxony, conformably to the Germanic constitution, became administrator of the empire. From that moment the elector no longer feared the project of the nuncios. New interests arose to agitate the court of Rome, which compelled her to use caution in her negotiations with Frederick, and to use, at the same time, the means of averting the blow, no doubt contemplated by Miltitz and De Vio.

The pope entertained an eager desire to remove to a distance Charles of Austria, already king of Naples, from the imperial throne. He believed that a king in close neighbourhood was more to be feared than a monk residing in Germany. Anxious, therefore, to secure the good graces of the elector, who, in this matter, might be of

great service to him, the pope resolved to give some relaxation to the monk, in order the better to oppose the king ; but both of these adversaries made progress in their vocations in spite of the pope.

In this manner Leo X. was changed.

Another circumstance more occurred to dispel the cloud that lowered around the Reformation. Many political troubles broke out immediately after the death of the emperor. In the south of the empire the Swabian Confederation was intent upon punishing Ulric of Wurtemberg, who had become faithless in his alliance. In the north the bishop of Heildesheim waged war, sword in hand, against the bishop of Minden, and upon the territories of the duke of Brunswick. How, amidst the throng of such agitations, could the grandees of the age be expected to attach any importance to a dispute upon the remission of sins? But God caused the reputation for wisdom enjoyed by the elector, now vicar of the empire, especially to forward the progress of the reform, in union with the protection he afforded to the new teachers. "The tempest suspends its fury," said Luther, "and Papal excommunication begins to fall into contempt. Under shelter of the elector's curacy, the gospel extends its influence afar, and in this manner great injury is done to Popery."

Besides, during the freedom of an interregnum, the most exact precautions naturally lose their force. Everything becomes more unrestrained and easy. The rays of liberty which now shone upon the beginning of the reform, powerfully disclosed the beauty of that still delicate light, and it was from that moment possible to distinguish in what manner political liberty might be favourable to the progress of evangelical Christianity.

Miltitz, who had reached the territories of Saxony before the death of Maximilian, had hurried on to meet his former friend, Spalatin; but scarcely had the pope's chamberlain begun to prefer his complaints against Luther, before the chaplain interrupted him with equal remonstrances against Tezel. He had advised the nuncio of the lies and blasphemies of the seller of indulgences, and had declared to him that all Germany attributed to the Dominican the divisions that rent the church.

Miltitz remained in astonishment. From the condition of an accuser he had become the accused. It was, therefore, upon Tezel that he now directed the expressions of his anger ; and the Dominican was summoned to appear in Altenbourg, there to give an account of his conduct before the nuncio.

Tezel, as much a coward as a bully, fearing the people whom his frauds had incensed, had discontinued his excursions through the country districts and towns, and had sought shelter in Leipsic, within the college of St Paul. He turned pale when he read the letter from Miltitz. Rome had herself abandoned him ; she even loads him with threatenings, yea, and condemns him, and is wishful to drag him out of the only asylum wherein he believed himself in safety, and to expose him to the rage of his enemies. . . . Tezel refused to obey the summons of the nuncio. "Most assuredly I would not regret the trouble of the journey," he wrote to Miltitz, on the 31st of December 1518, "if it were possible for me to leave Leipsic without exposing my life to danger. But the Augustine, Martin Luther, has so persuaded and exasperated powerful individuals against me, that I am

no where exempt from impending destruction. A large number of Luther's partisans have sworn to kill me. I cannot, therefore, come to meet you." There was, indeed, a striking contrast between the characters of these two men, who, at this time, respectively dwelt within the college of St Paul at Leipsic and the cloister of the Augustines at Wittenberg. The servant of God displayed intrepid courage in the presence of danger; the servant of man betrayed despicable cowardice.

Miltitz had instructions to employ, in the first instance, instruments of persuasion, and it was only in the event of this method failing to succeed that he was empowered to produce his seventy briefs, and at same time to lavish upon the elector the temptations of every Roman favour, so as to induce him to restrain the deeds of Luther. The nuncio thus testified a wish to meet by appointment with the reformer. Their mutual friend, Spalatin, offered his house as a place of rendezvous, and Luther quitted Wittenberg on the 2d or 3d of January, on his journey to Altenbourg.

During the continuance of this concerted interview Miltitz exhausted all the ingenuity of a Roman courtier and diplomatist. Scarcely had Luther entered the room before the nuncio addressed him with eager demonstrations of friendship. "Oh," thought Luther, "how is his violence changed into meekness. This new Saul came into Germany armed with more than seventy apostolic briefs, in order to lead me alive but in chains within the confines of homicide Rome; but the Lord has overthrown him on the way."* "Dear Martin," said the chamberlain of the pope, with a flattering voice, I thought that you had been an old theologian, who, quietly seated behind his stove, entertained many theological fancies, but I see that you are still a young man, and in the prime of life.† Do you know," continued he, adopting a grave tone, "that you have carried away the whole world from the pope, and have drawn it to yourself?"‡ Miltitz was well aware that it is by flattering the pride of men we best succeed in seducing them: but he did not know the spirit of him with whom he had now to deal. "Although I had an army of 25,000 men," added he, "I would not really undertake to convey you out of this country and to conduct you to Rome." Rome, in spite of all her power, felt herself weak in the presence of a poor monk; while the monk felt himself strong in the presence of Rome. "God," said Luther, "arrests the waves of the sea upon its banks, and stops these waves as . . . with sand."

The nuncio, thinking that he had in this manner prepared the mind of his adversary, went on to say—"Bind up yourself the wound which you have given the church, and which you alone are able to heal. Take care," added he, while shedding a few tears, "take care that you do not raise a storm that shall ensure the destruction of christianity." Then he by degrees attempted to insinuate that a retraction could alone suffice to remedy the evil; but immediately strove to modify the shock which this avowal was calculated to produce, by assuring Luther that he regarded him with the highest esteem, and

* Sed per viam a Domino prostratus, . . . mutavit violentiam in benevolentiam fallacissime simulatam. (Luth. Ep. i. p. 206.) † O Martine, ego credidam te esse senem aliquem theologum qui post fornacem sedens, . . .
(Luth. Op. Lat. in Præf.) ‡ Quod orbem totum mihi conjuxerim et pape abstaxerim. (Ibid. p. 281.)

by personal accusations against the conduct of Tezel. The net was held by an able hand; how is it possible to escape out of its meshes? "If the archbishop of Mentz had spoken on this fashion to me from the beginning," said the reformer at an after period, "this affair would not have made such a noise."

Luther then spoke in turn, and exposed with calmness, but with dignity and power, the just complaints of the church; he gave full vent to his indignation against the archbishop of Mentz, and boldly remonstrated upon the unworthy manner in which he had been treated by Rome, in defiance of the purity of his intentions. Miltitz, who had not expected to hear language of this decided nature, was, nevertheless, sufficiently prudent to command his temper.

"I promise you," continued Luther, "to keep silence for the future regarding these matters, and to let this affair die away of its own accord, provided that my adversaries become equally silent on their part; but if they persist in attacking me, very soon a small quarrel shall be increased into a serious combat. My weapons are fully prepared. I will do more still," added he, an instant afterwards, "I will write to his Holiness, to acknowledge that I have been somewhat too violent, and to declare to him that it was in the spirit of a faithful child of the church I have fought against a strain of preaching which drew down upon her the insults and abuses of the people; I even consent to publish a statement, in which I will request all those who read my books not to behold in them any attack against the Roman church, and to remain submissive to her authority. Yes, I am disposed to do everything, and to support everything; but, with reference to a recantation, do not hope ever to receive such a thing from me."

Miltitz understood, from the decided tone in which Luther spoke, that the wisest plan was to appear satisfied with whatever the reformer was pleased to promise. He merely proposed that an archbishop should be named to act as arbitrator upon certain points still liable to fall under debate. "Be it so," said Luther, "but I strongly fear the pope is not disposed to accept of a judge, and in which case no more will I accept of the judgment of the pope, so that the struggle shall again be commenced. The pope will propose the text; I will have to make a commentary thereon."

In this manner was brought to a close the first interview between Luther and Miltitz. A second afterwards took place, in which the treaty of truce, or rather of peace, was signed. Luther immediately communicated to the elector a notice of what had occurred. "Most serene prince and very gracious lord," he writes to him, "I hasten very humbly to acquaint your electoral highness, that Charles de Miltitz and myself have at last come to terms of agreement, and have terminated the affair by concluding upon the two following articles:—

"*Firstly*, It is forbidden to the two parties to preach, write, or to act further in respect to the dispute which has arisen.

"*Secondly*, Miltitz shall immediately make known to the holy father the state of affairs. His Holiness shall instruct an enlightened bishop to inquire into the business, and to point out the erroneous articles which I must retract. If it be proved to me that I am in error, I will willingly retract, and I will not again do anything

which can injure the honour or the authority of the holy Roman church."

The agreement thus completed, Miltitz appeared overjoyed at the happy result. "For the last hundred years," he exclaimed, "no matter has caused more anxiety than this to the cardinals and to the Roman courtiers. They would have given ten thousand ducats rather than consent to its being prolonged beyond this period."

The chamberlain of the pope was lavish in his demonstrations of thankfulness in the presence of the monk of Wittemberg. At one time he was elated with joy, and at another so far overcome as to shed abundance of tears. This singular display of sensibility had little effect on the reformer, but he took care not to betray his sentiments on the occasion. "I shewed no appearance of comprehending what was meant by these crocodile tears," said he. It is supposed that the crocodile only weeps when he is sure of his prey.

Miltitz invited Luther to sup with him, and the doctor accepted his invitation. The host laid aside the rigidity belonging to his high station, and Luther yielded himself over to the natural gaiety of his character. The entertainment was cheerful, and when the moment of separation had arrived, the legate took hold of the heretical doctor's hand and kissed him. "The kiss of Judas," thought Luther. "I looked," he wrote to Staupitz, "as if I did not understand all these Italian airs."

And shall this kiss, indeed, be found to reconcile Rome and the infant Reformation to one another? Miltitz entertained this hope, and rejoiced therein, for he now beheld, much closer than the courtiers of Rome, the terrible consequences the Reformation was fitted to inflict upon Popery. If Luther and his adversaries remain silent, said he to himself, the dispute shall be finished, and Rome, by availing herself of certain favourable circumstances, shall be able to regain all her former influence. It thus appeared that the debate was fast approaching to its conclusion. Rome had held out her arms, and the reformer appeared to have thrown himself into their embrace; but this work depended not upon a man, but upon God. The error Rome committed was to regard that as the quarrel of a monk which was a revival of the church. The kiss given by a chamberlain of the pope was ineffectual to stop the renovation of christendom.

Miltitz, in faithful conformity with the agreement he had just concluded, set out from Altenbourg on his journey to Leipsic, where Tezel had fixed his abode. There was, however, no need to inculcate silence upon this preacher of indulgences; because, rather than speak again, he had, as it were, hid himself in the bowels of the earth, but the nuncio was eager to vent upon him the pent up fury of his passion. The moment Miltitz arrived in Leipsic, he summoned the unhappy Tezel to appear before him. He overwhelmed him with reproaches, accused him of being the author of the whole mischief, and threatened him with the displeasures of the pope. Nor was this enough. The agent of the house of Fugger, who happened at the time to be in Leipsic, was confronted with Tezel, and Miltitz presented to the inspection of the Dominican the accounts rendered by this house, along with the papers signed by himself, and proved that he had either improperly expended or had embezzled considerable sums of money. . . . The wretched man, whom nothing could frighten in the days of his prosperity, was crushed underneath the

weight of these just accusations ; he fell into a state of despair, which grievously impaired his bodily health, and he could no longer find a covering for his shame. Luther was informed of the miserable condition his adversary had fallen into, and was the only person who expressed sympathy for his sufferings. "I feel pity for Tezel," he wrote to Spalatin. Nor did he confine himself to these words of fellow-feeling ; for it was not the man but his evil deeds that he hated. At the moment, however, when Rome was loading him with her anger, Luther wrote a letter to Tezel full of consolation, but all to no purpose. Tezel, smarting alike under the remorse of a wounded conscience, the fears engendered by the reproaches of his best friends, and dreading the anger of the pope, died shortly after this period in a miserable plight. It was believed that grief had caused his premature death.

Luther, in just accordance with the promises he had given Miltitz, wrote, on the 3d of March, the following letter to the pope—"Blessed Father—May it please your beatitude to lend your paternal ears, which are even like those of Christ, to the bleating of your poor sheep, and listen with kindness to its plaint. What shall I do, very holy father ? I cannot bear the bursting of your anger, and yet I know not how to escape from your wrath. I am commanded to retract. I would hasten to do so, if that could lead to the end proposed. But the persecutions of my adversaries have spread my writings far and wide, and they are too deeply engraved upon the hearts of men to allow the possibility of erasing them therefrom. A retraction would only have the effect of dishonouring still more the church of Rome, and of drawing from the lips of every one a shout of accusation against her. Very holy father ! I declare, in the presence of God and before all his creatures, I have never wished, nor do I now wish, to make an attempt, by force or by cunning, upon the power of the Roman church, or upon that of your Holiness. I acknowledge that nothing either in heaven or earth should be put above that church, if it be not Jesus Christ the Lord of all."

These words may appear strange and even reprehensible as proceeding from the mouth of Luther, if it be not constantly kept in mind that he came to the light, not all at once, but by slow and progressive approaches. Such sentences testify a very important fact, that the Reformation was not simply an opposition set up against Popery. It was not a war concerted after this or that fashion ; it was not this or that negative tendency which it was destined to accomplish. The opposition to the pope was in this reform no more than a secondary symptom. A new life, a positive doctrine, were here the generative principle. "Jesus Christ, Lord of all, and who must be preferred before all," and before Rome herself, as Luther has expressed it at the end of his letter ; he is the essential cause of the Revolution of the sixteenth century.

It is probable that, a short time before this period, the pope would not have allowed to pass unnoticed a letter wherein the monk of Wittenberg distinctly refused all recantation. But the emperor Maximilian was dead ; and the question of who should be his successor occupied the business of the moment, so that Luther's letter was neglected in the bustle of those political intrigues which at the time agitated the city of the pontiff.

The reformer, in reality, made now a better use of his time than

did his powerful adversary. Whilst Leo X., engaged in those interests which belonged to him as a temporal prince, was stretching every nerve to drive from the throne a neighbour whom he dreaded, Luther increased each day in knowledge and in faith. He carefully studied the decrees of the popes; and the discoveries he therein made mediated, in a great measure, his former opinions. "I am reading the decrees of the pontiffs," he wrote to Spalatin, "and (I tell it you in secrecy) I know not whether the pope is antichrist himself, or whether he is his apostle, so greatly is Christ perverted and crucified in these decrees."

Nevertheless he still esteemed the ancient church of Rome, and did not contemplate a separation from her communion. "That the Roman church," said he, in the explanations which he had promised Miltitz to publish, "should be honoured of God above all other, is what cannot be doubted. St Peter, St Paul, forty-six popes, and several hundreds of thousands of martyrs, have shed their blood in her support, and have conquered hell and the world, so that the eye of God is particularly fixed upon her. Although all is found at present there in a most sad condition, this is not a motive why we should separate ourselves from her. On the contrary, the more the affairs are in a bad state, the more we ought to attach ourselves to the church; because it is not by separation she can ever be made better. We must not abandon God on account of the devil, or the children of God who are still the inhabitants of Rome on account of the multitude of the wicked. There is no sin, or any evil, that ought to destroy charity, or to tear asunder the unity of the church; for charity can do all things, and nothing is difficult for unity to accomplish."

It was not Luther who forced a separation from Rome; but it was Rome that compelled him to separate from her, and which thus rejected the ancient faith of the Catholic church, of which he was then the representative. It was not Luther who robbed Rome of her authority, and who drove her bishop from a usurped throne; the doctrines he announced, the word of the apostles which God manifested anew in the church universal with a mighty power and an admirable purity, could alone prevail against that dominion which for many ages had enslaved the church.

These declarations, which were published by Luther at the end of February, did not yet satisfy the desires of Miltitz and De Vit. These two vultures, having both failed in seizing their prey, had retired within the ancient walls of Triers. In this place they expected, seconded by the prince archbishop, to attain together the object which each of them had individually missed. These two nuncios were aware that there was nothing to be expected from Frederick invested in the empire with supreme power. They saw, too, that Luther resisted all direct recantation. The only means of success, therefore, remained in abstracting the heretical monk from the protection of the elector, and to bring him close to their own defences. When once the reformer should be lodged in Triers, in a state under subjection to a prince of the church, he must be very clever if he were able to escape therefrom without fully satisfying the exigencies of the sovereign pontiff. They, therefore, applied themselves to the work. "Luther," said Miltitz to the archbishop elector of Triers, "has accepted your grace as arbitrator. Summon him, therefore, to appear before you." The

elector of Triers, consequently, wrote a letter, dated the 3d of May, to the elector of Saxony, requesting him to expedite the dispatch of Luther towards his territories. De Vio, and afterwards Miltitz, himself wrote likewise to Frederick, in order to announce to him the arrival of the golden rose at Augsburg under the care of the Messrs Fugger. It was, thought they, the identical moment for striking a decisive blow.

But the affairs of the world had assumed a different aspect; neither Frederick nor Luther allowed themselves to be disturbed. The elector wisely computed his new position. He no longer feared the pope, and was far less moved by the operations of his servants. The reformer, seeing Miltitz and De Vio united together, guessed the fate that awaited him, if he were to accept of their invitation. "Everywhere," said he, "and in every manner my life is sought after."* Besides, he had requested the pope to give his opinion, and the pope, completely occupied with the interests of crowns and intrigues, had not pronounced a sentence. Luther wrote to Miltitz—"How can I begin a journey without orders from Rome, in the middle of the troubles with which the empire is convulsed? How can I confront so many perils, or expose myself to the outlay of so much money, me the poorest of men?"

The elector of Triers, a prudent man, of moderate views, and the friend of Frederick, wished to arrange matters himself with the German prince. He had, moreover, no wish to intermeddle in this affair, or at least to be positively called to act in its negotiations. He agreed, therefore, with the elector of Saxony, that the proposed examination should be referred to the meeting of the next diet, which was appointed to assemble two years afterwards in the city of Worms.

Whilst a providential hand thus dispersed, one after another, every danger that threatened the safety of Luther, the doctor himself advanced with courage towards a mark he was himself ignorant of. His reputation increased; the cause of the truth waxed stronger; and the numbers of students at Wittemberg were augmented, among whom were discovered many of the most distinguished young men belonging to the various provinces of Germany. "Our town," wrote Luther, "can scarcely accommodate all those who visit her houses." And on another occasion, "The number of students increases excessively, and resembles a water overflowing its banks."

But even now it was not in Germany alone the voice of the reformer was heard repeated. It had extended its influence beyond the frontiers of the empire, and began to shake among the diverse people of christendom the foundations of Roman authority. Frobenius, the famous printer at Basil, had published a collection of Luther's works. This production was rapidly distributed, and at Basil the bishop himself applauded the writings of Luther. The cardinal of Sion, after having read these works, exclaimed, with a mixture of irony in the tone, of a play upon the doctor's name:—"O Luther, thou art a true *Luther*!" (a true purifier, *Lauterer*.)

Erasmus was residing at Louvain when the writings of Luther

* Video ubique, undique, quocumque modo, animam meam queri. (L. Ep. ii. p. 274, 16th May.)

reached the districts of the Netherlands. The prior of the Augustines at Antwerp, who had studied at Wittenberg, and who, according to the testimony of Erasmus, possessed the true spirit of primitive Christianity, with other Belgians besides, read these books with avidity. But those who only looked to their own interests, said the wise man of Rotterdam, and who furnish the people with old women's stories, strive to promulgate a melancholy fanaticism—"I know not how to express to you," said Erasmus to Luther, "the emotions, and truly tragic agitations, which have been excited by your writings."

Frobenius sent 600 copies of these works into France and Spain. They were publicly sold in Paris, and the teachers of La Sorbonne read them, as it appears, with approbation. It is high time, said many among them, that those who are engaged in the pursuit of holy learning should speak with a freedom of this description. In England the works we speak of were received with greater eagerness. Spanish merchants got them translated into their own language, and sent them from Antwerp into Spain. "Certainly these merchants were of monkish blood," said Pallavicini.

Calvi, a learned librarian of Pavia, carried a great number of copies of these books into Italy, and distributed them in all the transalpine cities. It was not the love of gain which animated this learned man, but an ardent desire to contribute towards a revival of piety. The ability shewn by Luther in supporting the cause of Christ afforded Calvi excessive joy. "All the learned men of Italy," he wrote, "have joined my train, and we shall send you some verses composed by our most distinguished writers." Frobenius, in forwarding to Luther a copy of this publication, related to him all these glad tidings, and added, "I have sold all the copies except ten, and I have never made a more successful speculation." Other letters besides this one expressed to Luther the joy produced by the perusal of his works. "I am glad," said he, "that the truth affords such satisfaction, although it be spoken with so little knowledge, and in a manner so rude."

Such was the commencement of the revival in the different countries of Europe. If we except Switzerland, and also France, where the gospel had already met with support, the appearance of the writings of the doctor of Wittenberg formed everywhere the first page of the history of the Reformation. A printer in Basil scattered abroad these first seeds of the truth. At the very moment when the Roman pontiff believed he could smother the work in Germany, it shewed itself alive in France, in the Netherlands, in Italy, in Spain, in England, and in Switzerland. Although Rome should fell the primitive trunk, what does it signify? . . . The seeds are already scattered far abroad.

CHAPTER II.

The Combat seems Finished in Germany—Eck Reanimates the Struggle—Debates between Eck and Carlstadt—The Question of the Pope—Luther Replies—The Truth alone Triumphs—Refusal of Duke George—Gasey of the Mosellanus, Friars of Erasmus.

Meanwhile it would appear as if the combat which had commenced beyond the boundaries of the empire, had almost ceased to exist in its particular provinces. The most impetuous soldiers of Rome, a few Franciscan monks belonging to Juterbock, who had imprudently

attacked Luther, had made a hasty retreat, after a vigorous reply from the reformer, and had resumed their wonted silence. The partisans of the pope held their peace. Tezel was beyond the call of battle. The friends of Luther had beseeched him not to continue the struggle, and he had promised to follow their advice. The theses were about to fall into oblivion. This perfidious tranquillity had struck the eloquent voice of the reformer with impotence. The Reformation seemed arrested in its progress. "But," said Luther afterwards, when speaking of this period, "men projected a vain thing; for the Lord had arisen to judge the people. God does not lead me," said he elsewhere, "he drives me, he carries me away. I am not master of myself. I would wish to live in quietness, but I am precipitated into the middle of tumult and revolutions."

Eck, the scholastic, the former friend of Luther, the author of the *Ovelisks*, was the individual who recommenced the combat. He was sincerely attached to the cause of Popery, but he seemed to have been wanting in real religious sentiments, and had belonged to that class of men which is far too numerous in every age, and who consider every science, even those of theology and religion, as justifiable means for acquiring to themselves singular reputation in the world. Vain glory is sometimes hid beneath the cassock of the priest, as well as under the gay trappings of the warrior. Eck had applied himself to the art of argument according to the rules of the divinity schools, and had become a proficient in this description of contest. Whilst the knights of the middle ages and the warriors in the century of the Reformation sought for glory within the circle of the tournaments, the schoolmen coveted the same distinction in scholastic disputes, of which the academies often were the scenes of competition. Eck, inflated with high ideas of himself, proud of his talents, of the popularity of his cause, and of the victories he had gained in eight universities in the provinces of Hungary, Lombardy, and Germany, ardently longed for an opportunity of employing in opposition to the Reformation all his strength and all his address. He had put forth every exertion to secure for himself the renown of one of the most celebrated scholars of the age. He constantly endeavoured to organize some new theme of dispute, whereby to excite a sensation, and thus aspired to procure, by his exploits, every enjoyment this life could afford. An excursion he had made into Italy had been rendered, according to his own account, an unbroken succession of splendid victories. The most learned of learned men had been obliged to set his hand to his theses. An experienced warrior, he fixed his attention upon a new field of battle, where he already believed himself sure of an easy victory. This *little monk*, who had thought of becoming all at once a giant—this Luther, who, until now, no one had been able to vanquish—dazzled his pride and excited his jealousy.* Perhaps, in seeking his own glory, Eck may lose Rome. . . . But the vanity of the scholastic is not of a nature to be curbed by such considerations. Theologians, as well as princes, have been found more than once to sacrifice the general interest to their own peculiar

* Nihil cupiebat ardentius, quam sui specimen præbere in solemnî disputatione cum cumulo. (Pallavicini, tom. i. p. 55.)

glory. We are about to contemplate the circumstances which furnished the doctor of Ingoldstadt with the means of entering into competition with his troublesome rival.

The zealous but too ardent Carlstadt was still in correspondence with Luther. These two theologians were especially united to each other by their attachment to the doctrine of grace, and by their admiration for St Augustine. Carlstadt's mind was tinged with enthusiasm, and possessing little prudence, he was not the sort of man to be restrained by the address and political cunning of a Miltitz. He had published, in answer to the *Obelisks* of Doctor Eck, some theses wherein he defended Luther and the faith which was common to them both. Eck had made a reply, and Carlstadt did not allow him to have thus the last word in the controversy. The contest had, in fact, waxed warm. And Eck, desirous of seizing an opportunity so favourable, had thrown down the glove in the face of Carlstadt, who, in his impetuous manner, had snatched it from the ground. God made use of the passions of these two men to further the purposes of his own design. Luther had taken no part in the debates we have alluded to, although he was destined to become the hero of the piece. He appertained to that class of men whom the force of events always drags forward into the scene of action. It was agreed upon that Leipsic should be chosen as the place of discussion. Such was the origin of that dispute of Leipsic which has enjoyed a reputation so long celebrated.

Eck was no ways over anxious either to join in conflict with Carlstadt, or even to overcome him. It was Luther he regarded as his competent adversary. He, therefore, arranged matters so as to draw the doctor out upon the field of battle, and published, with this intention, thirteen theses, which he composed in contradiction to the principal doctrines already professed by the reformer. The thirteenth proposition was thus conceived:—"We deny that the Roman church cannot be said to have been elevated above many other churches before the time of pope Sylvester; and we recognise in all times as the successor of St Peter and vicar of Jesus Christ the man who has occupied the seat of St Peter, and who has professed his faith." Sylvester lived in the time of Constantine the Great. Eck, therefore, denied by this thesis that the pre-eminence enjoyed by Rome had been bestowed upon her by that mighty emperor.

Luther, who had consented, not without some difficulty, to keep henceforth silent on these subjects, was vividly agitated at the reading of these propositions. He perceived that it was at him the blow was aimed, and felt that he could not honourably avoid the terms of the challenge. "This man," said he, "names Carlstadt as his antagonist, and at the same time makes his attacks upon me. But God reigns. He knows what he would have to result from the consequences of this tragedy. It shall neither be to Doctor Eck nor to me he will put the question. The purposes of God shall be accomplished. Thanks to Eck, this affair, which up to this time has been no more than a game, shall become at last serious, and will bring down a heavy blow upon the tyranny of Rome and of the Roman pontiff."

Rome herself had broken the compact. She had done more; for, in giving anew the signal of combat, she had begun the struggle upon a point which Luther had never, as yet, directly attacked. It was

the pre-eminence of the pope that Doctor Eck held up in the face of his adversaries. He thus imitated the dangerous example shewn him beforehand by Tezel. Rome invoked as it were the blows of the gladiator, and if she leaves in the gymnasium some palpitating members, it is because she has herself drawn down upon her own head his formidable arm.

The pontifical pre-eminence once overthrown, the whole scaffolding of Roman authority must fall to the ground. The most imminent danger, therefore, awaited the cause of Popery, and yet neither Miltitz nor Cajetan moved one step to avert the consequences of this new tumult. Did they imagine that the Reformation would be easily conquered, or were they struck with that foolish blindness which inveigles the powerful on to their destruction?

Luther, who had exhibited a rare example of moderation in so long preserving his promised silence, replied without fear to the provocation of his antagonist. He issued immediately a list of new theses in answer to those of Doctor Eck. The last of Luther's propositions ran in the following strain:—"It is by the pitiable decretals of Roman pontiffs, composed 400 years ago and less, that the pre-eminence of the church of Rome is proved; but this pre-eminence has opposed to her the statements of history worthy of faith for 1100 years, the declarations of the Holy Scriptures, and the conclusions of the Council of Nice, the most holy of all councils."

"God knows," he wrote at same time to the elector, "that my firm intention was to have remained silent, and that I was glad to see this game had at last terminated. I have so faithfully observed the compact concluded with the commissary of the pope, that I have not made any reply to Sylvester Prierias, notwithstanding the insults of adversaries and the advice of my friends. But now Doctor Eck attacks me, and not only me, but also the whole members of the university of Wittemberg. I cannot allow that the truth should be thus covered with opprobrium."

At the same time Luther also wrote to Carlstadt—"I do not wish, excellent Andrew, that you should engage yourself in this quarrel," said he, "since it is against me that it is raised. I shall leave here with joy my serious meditations, to occupy myself with these flatterers of the Roman pontiff." Then, in apostrophising his adversary, "Now, therefore, my dear Eck," he wrote to him from Wittemberg, to Ingoldstadt, with superb disdain, "thou strong man, be courageous and gird thy sword upon thy thigh. If I cannot please you as a mediator, perhaps I shall better please you as an antagonist. Not that I propose to overcome you, but that, after all the triumphs which you have gained in Hungary, in Lombardy, and in Bavaria, (if at least we are bound to believe you,) I may furnish you with an opportunity of obtaining the name of conqueror over Saxony and Misnia, so that you may for ever hereafter be saluted with the title of the Glorious Augustus."

All the friends of Luther did not partake of his own courage, for no one until this hour had dared to oppose the sophisms of Doctor Eck. But the cause of their particular alarm was the subject of the quarrel, namely, the pre-eminence of the pope. . . . How could the poor monk of Wittemberg dare to attack this giant power, which had, for so many centuries, crushed to the earth all its enemies? The

courtiers at the court of the elector were shaking with fear. Spalatin, the confident of the prince and the intimate friend of the reformer, is full of anxiety. Frederick is disturbed and uneasy. The very sword of the knight of St Sepulchre, with which he had been armed at Jerusalem, would not be sufficient to engage in such a war. Luther alone preserved his composure. *The Eternal*, thought he, *will deliver him into my hands*. He found also in the faith which animated his own soul the means of comforting his friends. "I beseech you, my dear Spalatin," said he, "do not allow yourself to fall into fear. You know well that if Christ had not been for me, all that I have done up to the present hour had been sufficient to ensure my destruction. Lately, too, has it not been written from Italy to the chancellor of the Duke of Pomerania that I had ruined Rome, and that no one knew how to appease the tumult I had raised, so that it was proposed to attack me, not in accordance with the rules of justice, but in the cunning of Roman stratagem. (Such are the expressions which have been used,) that is to say, with poison, snares, and assassination. I have calmed myself, and, for the love of the elector and of the university, I have kept in my possession many things which I would have hurled against Babylon had I been situated elsewhere. O my poor Spalatin, it is impossible to speak with truth concerning the Scriptures and the church without irritating the Beast. Never hope, therefore, to see me at rest, at least unless I renounce theology. If this affair is of God it will not terminate before all my friends have abandoned me as all the disciples of Christ abandoned their Lord. Truth shall alone remain, and shall triumph in its own right, and not by mine or by yours, or by that of any other living man." If I am subdued, the whole world shall not perish along with me. But, miserable as I am, I fear that I am not worthy to die for such a cause." "Rome," he wrote again about the same time, "Rome burns with a desire to destroy me, and I wait in vain in making a mockery of her. I have been assured that there has been publicly burned in Rome, in the park of Flore, a paper Martin Luther, after it had been covered with execrations. I thus await their fury." "The whole world," continued he, "is agitated and trembles. What is about to happen to it, God knows. For me, I foresee nothing but wars and disasters. May God have pity upon us."

Luther wrote letter after letter to the Duke George, in order that that prince, within whose states Leipsic was situated, might permit him (Luther) to appear in said city, and to take part in the coming dispute; but he received no answer to his repeated communications. The grandson of the king of Bohemia, Podierbrad, alarmed at the spirit of the proposition published by Luther upon the authority of the pope, and dreading the occurrence of wars in Saxony like those which had so long wasted the territories of Bohemia, was unwilling to consent to the requests of the doctor. Luther therefore resolved to publish explanations upon these thirteen theses. But this production, far from persuading Duke George, served, on the contrary, to confirm him in his original determination, and led him absolutely to refuse the reformer's petition to be allowed to take part in the dispute.

* *Et sola sit veritas, quae salvet se dextera sua, no mea, no tua, non ullius hominis.* (Luth. Ep. i. 261.)
 † *Epecto furorem illorum.*

granting merely a simple permission for Luther to attend the debate. Luther in this experienced a heavy disappointment. Still he had but one will, that, namely, of shewing obedience to God. He shall go and see, and await the issue.

At the same time, the prince encouraged with all his influence the dispute between Eck and Carlstadt. This George was devoted to the ancient doctrine, but he was upright and sincere, as well as a friend to free examination, and did not imagine that every opinion must be condemned as heretical merely because it was displeasing to the court of Rome. Besides, the elector interceded with his cousin, and George, persuaded by the words of Frederick, gave orders for the celebration of the dispute.

Adolphus, bishop of Merseburg, in whose diocese Leipsic was situated, understood better than Miltitz or Cajetan the danger of referring questions of such importance to the chances of individual combat. Rome could not expose to that kind of hazard the fruits of her labour during the space of many centuries. All the theologians of Leipsic, not less alarmed, entreated their bishop to prevent the prosecution of this dispute. Adolphus consequently presented Duke George with the most energetic remonstrances; but the duke replied thereto with excellent sense—"I am surprised to see a bishop indulging so much repugnance to the ancient and laudable customs of our fathers, in the examination of doubtful questions respecting the affairs of faith. If your theologians refuse to defend their doctrines, it would be better to maintain with the money given them a number of old women and children, who could at least spin and sing for their wages."

This response had, however, little effect upon the bishop or his theologians. Error has a secret conscience, that makes her dread the exposure of examination, even at the time when she most loudly calls for minute investigation. After having pushed forward with hasty imprudence, she draws back with crouching cowardice. Truth does not provoke contest, but she remains steadfast. Error provokes the attack, and flees from its engagement. The prosperity of the university of Wittemberg had also become an object of jealousy in the sight of the college at Leipsic. The monks and priests of this latter town admonished the people from their pulpits to avoid strenuously the new heretics. They scandalized the character of Luther, and represented his conduct, as well as that of his friends, in the most abominable light, with a view to prejudice the ignorant classes against the doctor and the cause of the Reformation. Tezel, who was still in life at this period, aroused his energies to exclaim, from the depths of his retreat—"It is the devil who urges on this combat."

All the professors in Leipsic were not, however, implicated in the same aversion to active inquiry; for some of them belonged to that class of indifferent beings who are always ready to laugh at the faults of both parties. In this number was included the professor of Greek, Peter Mosellanus. He cared little about either John Eck, Carlstadt, or Martin Luther; but he looked forward to the enjoyment of much personal amusement in the course of the debate. "John Eck, the most illustrious gladiator in the use of the pen and rhodomontades," wrote he to his friend Erasmus; "John Eck, who, like

Socrates in Aristophanes, despises the very gods, is determined to come to blows in a dispute with Andrew Carlstadt. The combat will finish with loud exclamations. Ten Democratuses will there find sufficient food for laughter."

The timid Erasmus, on the other hand, was frightened at the idea of such a combat, and his cautious prudence urged him to counsel the arrest of this dispute. "If you are willing to believe Erasmus," he wrote to Melancthon, "you will apply yourself more to the advancement of correct literature than to the pursuit of enemies. I believe that in this manner we shall accomplish greater progress. Above all, let us not forget in the struggle that we ought to conquer, not only by eloquence, but also by meekness and modesty." Neither the fears of the priests nor the prudence of pacificators were now sufficient to prevent the decision of the combat. Each individual prepared their weapons and awaited the issue of the fray.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Eck and the People from Wittemberg—Amsdorf—The Students—Fall of Carlstadt, Flacard, &c.—Eck and Luther—La Plaisenburg—Shall Judges be named?—Luther Opposes the Proposal—His Consents to it.

At the same time wherein the electors had congregated together at Frankfort for the purpose of selecting a new emperor for Germany, (in June 1519,) the theologians were assembled in Leipsic to commemorate an act unperceived by the world, but whose importance was destined to become as memorable in the annals of the future.

Eck arrived first at the appointed place of meeting. On the 21st of June, he entered Leipsic in company with Poliander, a young man whom he had brought from Ingolstadt to write out a report of the dispute. Every mark of honour was bestowed upon the scholastic doctor. Clothed in priestly robes, and at the head of a numerous procession, he paraded the streets of the town on one of the grand festivals of the season. All were anxious to look upon this distinguished stranger. The whole body of the inhabitants were in his favour, he himself hath said, "although," added he, "the report was prevalent that I would give way in the course of this combat."

The next day after the feast, namely, St John's Day, the 24th of June, the people from Wittemberg also arrived. Carlstadt, who was appointed to contest with Doctor Eck, rode alone in his chariot, which preceded all the other carriages.* The Duke Barnim of Pomerania, who at this time was a student in the university of Wittemberg, and who had been chosen rector of the same establishment, followed Carlstadt, seated in an open coach, having on each side of him two mighty theologians, the fathers of the Reformation, Melancthon and Luther. Melancthon would not consent to leave his friend. "Martin, the soldier of the Lord," he wrote to Spalatin, "has stirred up these rank marshes. My spirit is wroth when I think of the shameful conduct pursued by the theologians of the pope. Be firm, and remain with us." Luther himself was anxious that his Achates, as he called him, should join the party to Leipsic.

John Lange, the vicar of the Augustines, several doctors of law, some masters of arts, two licentiates of theology, and other ecclesiastics, amongst whom was seen Nicolas Amsdorf, closed the proces-

sion from Wittenberg. Amsdorf, the sprig of a noble family in Saxony, holding in little esteem the brilliant career offered to his acceptance by the distinctions of his birth, had consecrated his talents to the study of theology. The theses upon the subject of indulgences had directed him towards a knowledge of the truth. He had, immediately after their appearance, made a courageous profession of faith. Endowed with a strong mind and quick spirit, Amsdorf often pushed Luther, himself sufficiently vehement in his nature, on to the commission of deeds, it may be said, of an imprudent caste. Born in an elevated rank, he did not fear the presence of the great, and spoke to them sometimes with a freedom that verged upon rudeness. "The gospel of Jesus Christ," said he one day before a noble assembly, "belongs to the poor and the afflicted, and not to you, princes, lords, and courtiers, who live incessantly in the midst of delicacies and pleasures."

But those we have already named did not complete the cortege from Wittenberg. A vast number of students accompanied the train of their masters. Eck has declared that there were nearly two hundred of these young men. Armed with pikes and halberts, they surrounded the chariots of their teachers, ready to defend them, and proud of their cause.

Such was the order in which the retinue of the reformers arrived at Leipsic. When they had already passed the gate of Grimma, and had reached the front of St Paul's churchyard, a wheel belonging to Carlstadt's carriage gave way. The archdeacon, whose self-importance was flattered by the solemnity of his imposing entrance, was precipitated into the mud; and, although he received no injury from his fall, he was obliged to approach on foot the house selected for his residence. The coach in which Luther sat, and which followed that of Carlstadt, pushed past the broken vehicle, and conveyed the doctor in safety to his appointed lodgings. The people of Leipsic, who had anew gathered together in crowds to witness the entrance of the champions from Wittenberg, recognised in this accident a luckless omen for the cause of Carlstadt, and very soon conclusions were come to in the city that he would be overthrown in the contest, but that Luther would therein afterwards become the conqueror.*

Adolphus of Merseburg did not remain idle at his post. As soon as he heard of the approach of Luther and Carlstadt, and even before they had descended from their carriages, he caused to be posted upon all the doors of the different churches a prohibition against the commencement of the dispute, under the penalty of excommunication. Duke George, amazed at the commission of such an audacious deed, commanded the counsellor of the city to have the bishop's placard torn down, and to cast the bold intermeddler, who had dared to execute the order, into prison. George had, in fact, come to Leipsic in person, accompanied by his whole court, and, among others, by the same Jerome Emser in whose house Luther had passed at Dresden a memorable night already mentioned by us. George presented the combatants on both sides with the usual complimentary gift. "The duke," said Eck, with much pride, "has bestowed on me a fine stag, while he has only given Carlstadt a roebuck."

* Seb. Froschel vom Priesterthum. Witten. 1585, in Praef.

The moment Eck heard of the arrival of Luther, he went to pay a visit to the doctor. "Ah! how is this?" said he, "I have been told that you refuse to dispute with me!"

Luther.—"How shall I dispute, seeing that the duke has forbidden me?"

Eck.—"If I cannot dispute with you, I care very little about coming into controversy with Carlstadt. It is on your account I have come hither." Then, after a moment's silence, he added—"Should I procure for you the permission of the duke, will you appear on the field of battle?"

Luther, (joyfully.)—"Do procure it for me, and we shall have a contest."

Eck immediately proceeded towards the house of the duke. He strove to dissipate the fears of this prince. He assured him that he (Eck) was certain of obtaining a victory, and that the authority of the pope, far from suffering wrong in consequence of this dispute, would be relieved therefrom covered with glory. It is with the head we must encounter. If Luther remains unsubdued or erect, all must continue in the same position, but if he fall, all falls with him. George granted the permission thus earnestly sought.

The duke had caused to be properly fitted up a large hall in his own palace, named La Pleissenburg. There were in this room two pulpits erected in front of each other, while tables were arranged for the accommodation of the notaries whose duty it was to write out a report of the dispute, and forms were also placed for the use of the spectators. The pulpits and the forms were covered with beautiful tapestry, and on the pulpit set apart for the doctor of Wittemberg was suspended a picture of Saint Martin, whose name he bore; at sametime the rostrum destined for Doctor Eck was adorned with a portrait of the knight St George. "We shall see," said the presumptuous Eck, on turning his eye upon this emblem, "whether or not I shall be able to gain a horse from my enemies." Everything evinced the importance attached by all to the results of this controversy.

On the 25th June a meeting was held in the castle, in order to arrange and proclaim the order to be observed in the coming dispute. Eck, who confided greatly in the volubility of his declamations, exclaimed—"We shall dispute freely, with fluency; and the notaries shall not take down our words in writing."

Carlstadt.—"It has been agreed that the dispute shall be written out, published, and submitted to the judgment of all."

Eck.—"To write down all that is said, only serves to depress the spirits of the combatants, and to lengthen out the time of conflict. What then becomes of that rapture which an animated discussion requires? Let us not in this manner stay the torrent of our words."

The friends of Doctor Eck supported his proposal, and Carlstadt persisted in his objections. The champion of Rome must, however, yield.

Eck.—"Let it be written then; but at least the written dispute, as given by the notaries, shall not be published until it shall have undergone the examination of certain judges."

Luther.—"The truth of Doctor Eck and of his class is thus afraid to be brought to the light."

Eck.—"We must have judges."

Luther.—"And what judges?"

Eck.—"When the dispute shall have been finished, we shall turn our attention to their selection."

The designs of the partisans of Rome were very evident. If the theologians of Wittenberg accepted of judges, they were lost; for their adversaries knew certainly beforehand upon whom this choice would fall. If they refused, they would be covered with shame, by having it reported abroad that they feared to submit their cause to the decision of impartial judges.

The reformers were anxious to refer as judges, not to such or such individuals whose opinions were settled beforehand, but to the whole inhabitants of christendom. It was to an universal suffrage they made their appeal. Besides this, it was of little importance to them whether they were condemned or not; in pleading their cause before the world, they were directing some souls into the paths of truth. "Luther," says a Roman historian, "demanded as judges all the faithful, that is to say, a tribunal of such vast numbers that it would be impossible to find a ballot-box large enough to contain their votes."

The meeting broke up. "See what cunning they employ," said Luther and his friends to one another; "they wish, no doubt, to secure the pope or the universities for their judges."

In reality, the very next morning, the theologians of Rome sent one of their number to wait upon Luther, with the identical purpose of proposing to him as judge . . . the pope. . . . "The pope!" said Luther, "how shall I be able to admit him?" . . .

"Take care," exclaimed his friends, "how you accept conditions so monstrously unjust." Eck and his party consulted again. They renounced the pope and offered to consideration some of the universities. "Do not deprive us of the liberality which you have before granted," replied Luther. "We are unable to yield to you on this point," replied the others. "Very well," cried Luther, "I shall not dispute."

The conference is ended, and the whole town is occupied with conversations upon what had passed. "Luther," in every quarter, exclaimed the Romans, "Luther is unwilling to engage in the dispute. . . . He will not acknowledge any one as judge." They comment upon and pervert the meaning of his words, striving to attribute to them the most unfavourable intentions. "Is it indeed true that he does not wish to dispute?" said some of the reformer's best friends. These friends, moreover, waited upon Luther and expressed their fears to him. "You refuse to combat," said they, "and your refusal will be sure to bring eternal shame upon your university and your cause." Such an appeal touched Luther in his most sensitive part. "Very well," replied he, his heart swelling with indignation, "I accept of the conditions proposed to me; but I reserve the right of appeal, and I take an exception against the court of Rome."

CHAPTER IV.

The Retinue—Mass—Mosellanus—Veni, Sancte Spiritus—Portraits of Luther and of Carlstadt—Doctor Eck—The Books of Carlstadt—Merit of Convenience—Natural Powers—Scholastic Distinctions—Point at which Rome and the Reform are Separated—Grace gives to Man Freedom—The Books of Carlstadt—Noise in the Galleries—Melancthon during the Dispute—Opinion of Melancthon—Manœuvres of Eck—Luther Preaches—The Body of the Citizens of Lelpsic—Quarrels among the Students and the Teachers.

The 27th of June was the day fixed upon for the commencement of the dispute. Early in the morning an assembly is formed in the college of the university, whence the procession, composed of the persons thus congregated together, proceeded to the church of St Thomas, in which a solemn mass was performed, in accordance with the orders, and at the expense of the duke. This service completed, the assistants therein walked in order towards the ducal castle. Duke George and the Duke of Pomerania headed the ceremonious train; then followed the counts, succeeded by the abbots, knights, and other personages of distinction, the line being closed by the doctors belonging to both parties. A guard composed of seventy-six citizens armed with halberds surrounded the cortege, with flags unfurled, and regulated in their march by the sounds of a military band.

A halt was made at the gates of the castle; and, the cortege passing on afterwards into the interior of the palace, each person assumed his allotted place in the hall where the dispute was destined to take place. Duke George, the hereditary Prince John, the Prince George of Anhalt, a boy twelve years old, and the Duke of Pomerania, occupied the benches prepared for their reception.

Mosellanus mounted the pulpit, to call to the memory (by order of the duke) of the theologians in what manner they were bound to proceed. "If you exasperate one another into the violence of quarrels," said the orator, "where shall be found the difference between a theologian who discusses and an impudent duellist? Upon what does the victory rest here, if it be not in leading back a brother from the error of his ways? . . . It appears as if each one should rather wish to be conquered than to conquer." . . .

This address concluded, the hum of sacred music vibrated through the vaults of the palace; the whole assembly fell upon their knees, and the ancient hymn used for the invocation of the Holy Spirit, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, was sung. A solemn hour in the sacred records of the Reformation. Three times the invocation was repeated, and during the melodious delivery of this touching appeal, joined together, or huddled next each other, the defenders of the ancient and the champions of the new doctrine, the men belonging to the church of the middle ages, and those who longed to re-establish the church of the apostles, bent, in humble posture, their faces to the ground. The ancient bond of one and the same communion again reunited in a heap all these divers spirits; the same petition again issued forth from all their mouths, as if one heart had animated their devotions.

These were the last moments of an exterior unity—of a unity that had no life in it—but a new unity of body and spirit was about to spring up. The Holy Spirit was invoked upon the church, and the

Holy Spirit was about to reply, and to renew the whole disposition of christendom.

The song and prayer ended, the audience arose from their knees. The dispute should now have been entered upon, but the hour of noon having struck, the meeting was adjourned until two o'clock in the afternoon.

The duke invited to his table the principal personages who were disposed to assist in the debate. After dinner the company returned to the castle. The hall was crowded with spectators; for disputes of this kind were, in those days, the public assemblies of the people, and it was in them the representatives of the age discussed the questions which pre-occupied the attention of every mind. In a short time the chief orators were at their post. In order that the appearance of these distinguished individuals may be the more perfectly portrayed, we will give their descriptions as recorded by one of the most impartial witnesses of the struggle.

"Martin Luther is of the middle stature, and so thin, on account of his constant study, that it is almost possible to count his bones. He is in the prime of life, and possesses a clear and sonorous voice. His knowledge and his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures are incomparable; the word of God is completely at his command.* He has besides this a large store of ideas and arguments. Perhaps a little more judgment might be desirable in him, so as to enable him to arrange matters in better unison with their nature. In conversation he is polite and affable; there is nothing stoical or proud about him; he knows how to accommodate his humour to each individual; his manner of speaking is agreeable and full of pleasantry. He exhibits decision, and has always a satisfied air, whatever turn the threats of his adversaries may take; in so much that one is obliged to believe that it is not without the aid of God he accomplishes such great things. He is blamed nevertheless of being, in his responses to others, more bitter than is consistent with the character of a theologian, especially when announcing new opinions upon religious subjects.

"Carlstadt is less in stature, with a dark sun-burnt countenance: his voice is disagreeable; his memory is less sure than that of Luther's; and he is more readily excited to anger. Nevertheless there are perceptible in him, although in a less degree, the qualifications which distinguish his friend.

"Eck is of lofty stature, has broad shoulders, and a voice equally strong and marked in its German qualities. He has good lungs; so that he could make himself very well heard in the theatre, and would even make an excellent crier. His accent is rather thick than distinct. He has not that grace so much admired by Fabius and Cicero. His mouth, his eyes, and the whole expression of his countenance gives you rather the notion of a soldier or of a butcher than of a theologian.† He has an excellent memory, and if he possessed an equal share of intelligence, he would be a complete man. But he is

* Seine Gelehrsamkeit aber und Verstand in heiliger Schrift ist unvergleichlich; so dass er fast alles im Griff hat. (Mosellanus in Seckend. 296.) † Das Maul, Augen, und ganze Gesicht, presentirt che einen Fleischer oder Soldaten, als einen Theologum. (Ibid.)

slow of comprehension, and is devoid of judgment, without which all other gifts are useless. Thus, in disputing, he accumulates without choice or discernment a heap of passages from the Bible, of quotations from the fathers, and proofs of every kind. He is, in addition to all this, blemished with inconceivable impudence. If he finds himself embarrassed, he flies from the subject of debate, rushes into another subject, and sometimes seizes upon the opinion of his antagonist, by making use of other expressions, and attributes to his adversary, with extraordinary address, the absurdity he had himself committed."

Such were, according to the views of Mosellanus, the distinguishing characteristics of the men who now attracted the attention of the crowd pressed together within the grand hall of the palace of Pleissenburg.

The dispute began between Eck and Carlstadt. Eck, for the space of some moments, fixed his eyes upon certain objects which lay upon the book-board attached to the pulpit of his rival, and which seemed to give him uneasiness. These offensive objects consisted of the Bible and the holy fathers. "I refuse to dispute," cried Eck, all at once, "if you are permitted to make use of books." A theologian having recourse to his books in order to dispute! The astonishment of Doctor Eck was more astonishing still. "It is the leaf of a fig-tree with which this Adam intends to hide his shame," said Luther. "Has not Augustine consulted books in combating against the Manichees?" It does not signify! The partisans of Eck make a great outcry on the occasion. It is repeated. "This man has no memory at all," said Eck. At last a resolution is proposed, in the words of the chancellor of Ingolstadt, that each one shall only be allowed to make use of their memory and their tongue. "In this manner," retorted several voices, "there can be no question in this dispute respecting a search after the truth, but merely an exhibition of praise lavished upon the memory or the speeches of the combatants."

As it is impossible for us to record at full length the details of this dispute which lasted for seventeen days, we must, as recommended by an historian, imitate the painter, who, when he undertakes to represent a battle, exhibits in the foreground the most renowned achievements, and leaves the rest undescribed in the distance.

The subject of dispute between Eck and Carlstadt was important. "The will of man, before his conversion," said Carlstadt, "can be effective of no good; every good work comes exclusively and entirely from God, who gives to man at first the will to do it, and afterwards the strength to accomplish it. This truth has been clearly proclaimed in the Holy Scriptures, which say, *For it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* And by St Augustine, who, in his dispute with the Pelagians, has announced the same doctrine in nearly the same words. Every work in which the love of God and obedience to God are wanting is despoiled in the sight of God of that which can alone render it truly good, although it were in fact produced by the influences of the most honourable human motives. Now, there is in man a natural aversion to God, and it is beyond the power of man to overcome this opposition. He has not the power to

do so ; he has not even the will to effect such a reconciliation. That reconciliation must, therefore, be completed by the Divine power alone.

Herein lies the question, so much discredited in the world, and yet so simple, of free-will. Such had been the doctrine of the church. But the divinity schools had explained it in a manner so peculiar as to alter its whole signification. "Without doubt," said they, "the natural will of man can do nothing which could be truly agreeable to God ; but this will can do much to render man more capable of receiving the grace of God, and more worthy to obtain it." They call these preparations a merit of convenience ; "because it is *convenient*," said Thomas d'Aquin, "that God should treat with very particular favour he who makes a good use of his own will." And, with respect to the conversion which must be wrought in man, it was, without doubt, the grace of God, which, according to the divinity schools, must also accomplish this change, but without excluding the natural faculties of man. "These faculties," say they, "have not been annihilated by sin—sin only raising up obstacles against their full developement ; but so soon as these obstacles are removed, (and this is what, in their opinion, the grace of God has to do,) the operation of these faculties recommences." The bird, to use one of their favourite comparisons, the bird which has been tied for some time, has not in that condition lost either its faculties or forgotten the art of flying, but there is only wanted a strange hand to undo its fetters, in order that this bird may again be able to make use of its wings. So it is, say they, with man.

And such was the question at issue between Eck and Carlstadt. Eck had at first appeared to set himself in complete opposition to the propositions of Carlstadt upon this subject ; but finding that it was difficult to maintain the ground he had taken up, he said—"I agree that the will has not the power of doing a good work, and that it receives this power from God." "Do you acknowledge then," asked Carlstadt, quite delighted at having obtained so important a concession, "that a good work proceeds entirely from God ?" "Every good work comes indeed from God," subtilely replied the scholastic, "but not entirely." "Behold," exclaimed Melancthon, "a labour well worthy of theological science." "An apple," added Eck, "is all produced by the sun, but not wholly and without the concurrence of the tree." It had never been maintained, without doubt, that an apple may not all be produced by the sun.

Very well, said then the opponents, diving farther into this very delicate question, equally important in the sight of philosophy and religion, let us examine then how God acts upon man, and how man demeans himself in this action. "I acknowledge," said Eck, "that the first impulsion for the conversion of man comes from God, and that the will of man is therein entirely passive." So far the two antagonists were agreed. "I acknowledge," said Carlstadt on his part, "that, after this first action, which comes from God, has been accomplished, it is necessary that something should also proceed from the side of man, that, namely, which St Paul calls *will*, and which the fathers designate *consent*." And here, again, both were agreed. But from this moment they ceased to be in unison. "The consent on the part of man," said Eck, "proceeds in part from our natural will,

and in part from the grace of God.”* “No,” said Carlstadt; “for it is necessary that God should create entirely this will in man.”† Thereupon, Eck manifested great astonishment and anger, at hearing the expression of these words, so well calculated to make man feel his utter nothingness. “Your doctrine,” exclaimed he, “turns man into a stone, or log of wood incapable of any reaction.” . . . “How so?” replied the reformers, “the faculty of receiving those powers which God works in him, this faculty which man in our opinion possesses, does it not sufficiently distinguish his nature from that of a stone or log of wood?” . . . “But,” resumed their antagonist, “you place yourselves in contradiction with experience by refusing to man all natural strength.” “We do not deny,” responded his adversaries, “that man may not possess some powers, and that there may not be in him the faculty of reflecting, of meditating, or of choosing. We merely consider these powers and those faculties as so many simple instruments, which can be productive of no good before the hand of God is applied to regulate their movements. They are like a saw held in the hand of a man.”‡

The grand question of liberty was here discussed, and it were easy to shew that the doctrine of the reformers did not take away from man the liberty of a moral agent, or resolve him into a mere passive machine. The liberty of a moral agent consists in the power of acting in conformity with his own choice. Every action performed independent of outward constraint, and in consequence of the real determination of the soul, is a free action. The soul is determined by motives; but it is constantly observable that the same motives operate differently upon different souls. Many men do not act conformably with those motives whose full force they, nevertheless, openly acknowledge. This inefficacy of motives proceeds from those obstacles which the corruption of the understanding and of the heart opposes to their influence. Now, God, in giving man a new heart and a new spirit, takes away these obstacles; and, by taking them away, he, far from depriving man of liberty, carries off, on the contrary, the very things which hinder man from acting with freedom, or from following the dictates of his own conscience, and, in the words of the gospel, renders him *truly free*.”—(John viii. 36.)

A little incident occurred which interrupted the dispute. Carlstadt (it is Eck who mentions the circumstance) had prepared various arguments, and, like many of our orators of the present day, he read the statements he had written. Eck saw in this only the tactics of the schoolboy. He objected to the proceeding. While Carlstadt, embarrassed, and fearing his inability to retire from the contest with honour if his papers were taken from him, persisted in his intention to read his speech. “Ah!” said the scholastic doctor, in evident pride of the advantage he believed he had gained over his adversary, “he has not so good a memory as I have.” The matter was referred to arbitrators, who allowed the reading of passages from the fathers, but resolved that, with this exception, the speeches should be made by recitation.

* The first part of the dispute was often interrupted by the noise of

* *Motionem seu inspirationem prevenientem esse a solo Deo; et ibi liberum arbitrium habet se passive.*

† *Partim a Deo, partim a libero arbitrio.*

‡ *Consentit homo, se consensus est donum Dei. Consentire non est agere.*

the audience. They clapped their hands or cried aloud. A proposition unwelcome to the ears of the majority excited at once their angry clamour, and then, as in our own day, it was necessary to call the horde of spectators to order. The combatants themselves were at times irregular in their behaviour, carried away in the heat of their debate.

Next to Luther was observed Melancthon, who attracted almost as much notice as the reformer. He was of small stature, and had the appearance of being not more than eighteen years old. Luther, who was a whole head taller, seemed united to this little man in bonds of closest friendship. They spoke much together, and left the house to enjoy one another's society in frequent walks about the place. "To look upon Melancthon," says a Swiss theologian who studied at Wittenberg, "you would call him a young boy; but for understanding, knowledge, and talent, he is a giant, and it is difficult to comprehend how such heights of wisdom and of genius can be found shut up in so small a body." Between the sittings, Melancthon conversed with Carlstadt and Luther. He assisted them to prepare for the combat, and suggested to them many arguments which his vast erudition discovered to his perceptions; but during the dispute, he continued quietly seated in the middle of the spectators, and followed with attention the discourses of the theologians. Sometimes, however, he came to the aid of Carlstadt; when this combatant seemed ready to give way under the clamour of the powerful declamation made use of by the chancellor of Ingolstadt, the young professor would whisper a word in his ear, or slip into his hand a piece of paper, whereon were traced the appropriate replies. Eck, having on one occasion discovered this traffic, in anger that this grammarian, as he called him, should dare to intermeddle with the dispute, turned round towards him, and haughtily exclaimed, "Be silent, Philip; attend you to your studies, and leave me alone." Perhaps Eck foresaw at this time how formidable was the adversary he was afterwards doomed to find in the person of this young man. Luther felt hurt at the insolent reproof given to his friend, and said, "The judgment of Philip has more weight in my estimation than that of a thousand Doctor Ecks."

The placid Melancthon quickly discerned the weak sides of this discussion. "It is impossible not to be surprised," said he, with that wisdom and charm which were visible in all his sentences, "at the thought of the violence which has been shewn in treating of these various subjects. How could any advantage be derived from such exhibitions of passion? The Spirit of God delights in solitude and silence: it is when we are thus situated that that Spirit penetrates our hearts. The spouse of Christ is not seen in streets and public places, but she leads her husband into the house of his mother."

Both parties claimed to themselves the victory. Eck employed every stratagem to make the appearances of triumph complete in his favour. When the points of divergency were placed, as it were, in immediate contact with one another, he frequently took the opportunity of exclaiming that he had brought his adversary over to his opinion; or rather, like a new Proteus, said Luther, he all at once turned and expressed, under different terms, the very opinions of Carlstadt, demanding of him, in accents of triumph, whether or not he did not see himself constrained to yield the question in his (Eck's)

favour. . . . And the indiscriminating multitude, who were unable to discern the tricks of this sophist, were willing to join their applause and shouts of victory to his! . . . In many respects the parties were not equal. Carlstadt was possessed of a slow mind, and some times left unanswered to the following day the objections urged by his adversary. Eck, on the contrary, was master of his science, and therein found at the very moment the defences he stood in need of. He maintained a bold bearing: he mounted the ascent to his pulpit with a firm step; there he appeared at perfect ease, moved backwards or forwards as suited the eloquence of his delivery, and made the vaults of the hall to ring with the sounds of his voice. He contrived an answer to every opposite argument, and amazed the audience with the efforts of his memory and consummate address. Nevertheless Eck, without being sensible of his defalcations, conceded during the course of the dispute much more than he had intended. His partisans laughed immoderately at each of the turns he made; "but," said Luther, "I strongly believe that they assumed this appearance of merriment, and that it was at bottom a heavy cross for them to see their chief, who had commenced the combat with so much bravado, abandoning his standard, deserting his arms, and becoming, in fact, a shameful runagate."

Three or four days after the commencement of the conference, the dispute was interrupted on account of the festival of the apostles St Peter and St Paul.

The Duke of Pomerania requested Luther to preach on this occasion before him, in his private chapel. Luther accepted the invitation with joy; but the chapel was soon over-filled, and, the audience still increasing in great numbers, the congregation had to remove into the great hall of the castle, where the dispute was usually carried on. Luther preached, in accordance with the text of the day, upon the grace of God and the powers of Peter. The same views which Luther was accustomed to support in the presence of an audience composed of learned men, he now repeated before a mixed assembly of the people. Christianity exposes the light of the truth with equal force to the minds of highest capacity and of humblest experience. In this consists her peculiar distinction from all other forms of religion or of philosophy. The theologians of Leipsic, who had gone to hear the reformer preach, made haste to repeat before Eck the scandalous words with which their ears had been saluted. "An answer must be given to them," said they; "it is needful that these subtle errors should be publicly refuted." Eck wished for nothing better. All the churches were at his service, and four times in succession he went into their pulpits to cry down Luther and his sermon. The friends of Luther were offended in their turn. They demanded a rehearing on behalf of the theologian of Wittemberg. But their petition was made in vain. The pulpits were open to the adversaries of gospel truth; they were shut to those who proclaimed its doctrines. "I kept silence," said Luther, "and I must allow myself to be attacked, injured, and calumniated, without the power even of framing an excuse or of defending myself."

It was not only, however, the members of the ecclesiastical body who shewed themselves opposed to the evangelical teachers; the citizens of Leipsic were, in this respect, on a par with the individual clergy. A blind fanaticism had bound them over to believe in the lies

and hatred which it was then the fashion to propagate. The principal inhabitants took no notice either of Luther or Carlstadt. If they were met on the streets no symptoms of recognition were made, while endeavours were used to malign the reformers in the mind of the duke. But, on the contrary, these citizens paid visits, and eat and drank every day in company with the doctor of Ingolstadt. Eck, in fact, enjoyed the pleasures of the table with his new associates, and in good taste drew comparisons between the qualities of the beer made in Saxony and in Bavaria; his manners were in this somewhat too free to demonstrate a very high sense of moral decorum.

It was considered enough to offer Luther the present of wine due to the combatants in the dispute. In other respects, those who wished well to the reformers hid their preference from the knowledge of others; several Nicodemites visited them in secret or during the night. Two men only did honour to themselves by publicly declaring their friendship for the reformers. These were Doctor Auerbach, whom we have already noticed at Augsburg, and the younger Doctor Pistor.

The greatest excitement was visible in every part of the town. The two parties formed, as it were, two opposing camps, who sometimes met in active hostilities. The students of Leipsic and those of Wittenberg had frequent quarrels in the different inns of the place. It was affirmed, even among the assemblies of the clergy, that Luther carried about with him a devil shut up in a small box. "Whether it is in a box the devil lies, or whether it is only under his cassock he lives," replied the jealous Eck, "I know not; but it is certain he is under the one or the other."

Several doctors of both parties lodged during this dispute in the house of the printer Herbigopolis. These lodgers were so much exasperated against each other that their landlord was obliged to post at the head of his table a town serjeant armed with a halbert, and ordered to prevent the guests, if need were, from coming to blows. One day the vender of indulgences, Baumgartner, entered so hotly into a quarrel with a gentleman, the friend of Luther, that in his rage he fell to the ground and expired. "I was among the number who carried him to the grave," says Froschel, who records the fact. In this manner the general fermentation of the corporate body was inflamed. In those days, as in our own, the discourses of the rostrum were commented upon and discussed in the parlours and in the streets.

Duke George, although strongly inclined to favour Eck, did not evince the same passionate regard for the doctor of Ingolstadt as was betrayed by his subjects. He invited Eck, Luther, and Carlstadt, to dine together in his palace. He even invited Luther to pay him a private visit; but he very soon displayed tokens of the prejudices with which he had been impregnated against the reformers. "By your writings upon the Lord's Prayer," said the duke to Luther, jokingly, "you have misled a number of consciences. There are some persons who complain of not being able to say a single *Pater* in the course of more than four days."

CHAPTER V.

Hierarchy and Rationalism—Two Sons of Peasants—Eck and Luther Commence—The Head of the Church—The Pre-eminence of Rome—Equality of the Bishops—Peter is the Foundation—Christ is the Foundation—Eck insinuates that Luther is a Hussite—Luther on the Doctrine of Huss—Agitation among the Audience—Witticisms of Doctor Eck—The Word alone—The Jester of the Court—Luther at Mass—Speech of the Duke—Purgatory—End of the Dispute.

It was upon the 4th of July that the combat again commenced between Eck and Luther. Everything gave evidence that the struggle would likely now become more violent, more decisive, and more interesting than the contest which had been but lately finished, and which had by degrees emptied the hall of spectators. The two combatants entered the field of battle, determined not to lay down their arms until victory should be decidedly declared in favour of the one or other of them.

The whole community was in a state of lively excitement; for the pre-eminence of the pope was set down as the subject of debate. Christianity has two great adversaries; namely, hierarchy and rationalism. It was rationalism, in its application to the doctrine of the powers of man, which had been attacked by the supporters of the Reformation in the first part of the dispute of Leipsic. It was hierarchy, considered in the point of view which forms at once its summit and its base, namely, the doctrine of the pope, which was destined to become the object of combat in the second part of this dispute. On the one side appeared Eck, the defender of the then established religion, and glorying in the disputes he had already maintained; as the general of an army boasts of the number of battles he has won.* On the other side Luther approached, who seemed fated to gather from the consequences of this struggle persecutions and ignominy, but who was bold in the possession of a good conscience, a firm resolution to sacrifice everything in the cause of the truth, and an expectation full of faith in God and in the deliverances he accomplishes. Convictions of a perfectly new description had penetrated the soul of the reformer; they were not yet reduced in his mind into any form or regular system; but, in the fervour of debate, they flashed abroad like lightning. Grave and resolute, he exhibited a decision which made no account of threatened shackles. His countenance was marked with traces of the storms his soul had sustained, and with this courage he had resumed to confront the perils of new tempests.

The sons of two peasants, representing the two tendencies which still at that hour divided christendom, were about to engage in a struggle on which mainly depended the future condition of the church and state.

At seven o'clock in the morning the two antagonists were seen in their pulpits, surrounded by a numerous and attentive assembly.

Luther arose, and, using a necessary precaution, he said in a modest tone:—

"In the name of the Lord! Amen. I declare that the respect I bear for the sovereign pontiff would have restrained me from engaging in this dispute, if the excellent Doctor Eck had not drawn me into the controversy."

* *Faciebat hoc Eccius quia certam sibi gloriam propositam cernebat, propter propositionem meam, in qua negabam Papam esse jure divino caput Ecclesie; hic patuit et campus magnus. (L. Op. in Præf.)*

Eck.—"In thy name, gentle Jesus! before joining in conflict, I protest in your presence, noble lords, that all that I shall say is under the judgment of the first of all tribunals, and of the Master who therein presides."

After a moment's silence, Eck continued:—

"There is in the church of God a pre-eminence which comes from Christ himself. The church militant has been established in the image of the church triumphant. Now this latter church is a monarchy wherein all rises hierarchically up to the very head, which is God. It is for this reason Christ has established a similar order upon earth. What a monster would the church be without a head!"

Luther, (turning round with his face towards the assembly.)—"When the worthy doctor declares that it is necessary for the church universal to have a head, he does well. If there be any one in this assembly who believes in a contrary opinion, let him rise; as for me this question has no concern."

Eck.—"If the church militant has never been without a monarch, I would very much like to know who this monarch could have been if it were not the pontiff of Rome."

Luther.—"The head of the church militant is Christ himself, and not a man. I believe this according to the testimony which God himself has given. '*Christ*,' says the Scriptures, '*must reign, until he shall have put all his enemies under his feet*,' (1 Ep. to Cor. xv. 25.) Let us not listen, therefore, to those who banish Christ into the church triumphant in heaven. His reign is a reign of faith. We cannot see our Head, but nevertheless we possess him."

Eck, not supposing himself defeated, and having recourse to other arguments, replied:—

"It is from Rome, as explained by St Cyprian, that the priestly unity has arisen."

Luther.—"For the church of the West, I grant. But did not this Roman church herself issue forth from that of Jerusalem? It is this last-mentioned church which is properly the mother and fosterer of all the churches."

Eck.—"St Jerome declares that, if an extraordinary and superior power over all the others were not given to the pope, there would be in the church as many schisms as pontiffs."

Luther.—"Given, said he; that is to say, if all the other believers should consent thereto, this power could be conferred by human law upon the premier pontiff. And, for myself, I do not deny that if all the faithful in the whole world were to agree to acknowledge, as first and sovereign pontiff, the bishop of Rome, or of Paris, or of Magdeburg, it would be necessary to recognise such chosen bishop as pope, on account of the respect which would be justly due to this agreement of every church; but such an accordance has never yet been seen, nor ever shall be seen. In our own day, does not the Greek church refuse her assent to the pre-eminence of Rome?"

Luther was quite ready, then, to acknowledge the pope as the first magistrate of the church, freely elected by her; but he denied that the pope was established by God. It was only at an after period that he denied that any one was obliged, in any manner, to submit himself to the pope. This was a step which the dispute at Leipsic caused him to take. But Eck had taken up ground which Luther was better

acquainted with than himself. Luther, it is true, could not maintain his theses, that Popery had only existed for 400 years. Eck quoted many authorities of an anterior date, to which Luther could only acquiesce. The review had not yet reached the case of the false decretals; but the more the dispute referred to primitive times, the more strong Luther became. Eck constantly appealed to the fathers, while Luther replied to him from the fathers, and all the audience were struck with the superiority the reformer displayed over his rival.

"That the meaning I adopt," said he, "may be shewn to be the same with the sense given by St Jerome, I will take my proof from the epistle of St Jerome to Evagrius. 'Every bishop,' said he, 'whether of Rome, or of Eugubium, or of Constantinople, or of Rhegium, or of Alexandria, or of Tanis, has the same merit and the same priesthood. The power of riches or the humiliation of poverty alone place the bishops in a higher or a lower condition.'"

From the writings of the fathers, Luther passed on to the decrees of the councils, which recognise in the bishop of Rome no more than the first among his equals.

"We read," said he, "in the decree of the council of Africa, that the bishop of the first see may not be called either Prince of Pontiffs or Sovereign Pontiff, or have any other name of this description ascribed to him, but merely Bishop of the First See. If, then, the monarchy of the bishop of Rome were derived from divine right," continued Luther, "would not these words constitute an heretical sentence?"

Eck replied, with one of those subtle distinctions in which he was so familiarly conversant:—

"The bishop of Rome, if you please, is not universal bishop, but bishop of the church universal."

Luther.—"I am very willing to remain silent on that answer, which our audience may judge of for themselves. Certainly," said he afterwards, "we behold here a comment worthy of a theologian, and very proper to satisfy a disputer devoid of glory. It is not for nothing that I have remained at great expense in the city of Leipsic, since I have here learned that the pope is not, it is true, the universal bishop, but that he is bishop of the church universal."

Eck.—"Ah, very well! I now come to the essential part of the question. The venerable doctor has asked me to prove that the pre-eminence of the church of Rome is held from divine appointment; I prove this by these words spoken by Christ:—'*Thou art Peter, (a stone,) and upon this stone I shall build my church.*' St Augustine, in one of his letters, has thus explained this passage:—'*Thou art Peter, and upon this stone, that is to say, upon Peter, I will build my church.*' It is true that this same Augustine has elsewhere explained that by this stone it is necessary to understand Christ himself; but he has not retracted his first exposition."

Luther.—"If the reverend doctor wishes to attack me, let him first himself reconcile the contrary sentences composed by St Augustine; for it is certain that St Augustine has *very often* said that the stone meant Christ, and perhaps, it may be, *once* applied the phrase to Peter himself. But although St Augustine and all the fathers should say that the apostle is the stone of which Christ speaks, I myself alone will resist their exposition, resting myself upon the authority of the

Holy Scriptures, that is to say, upon the divine right ; for it is written, ' *No person can lay ANY OTHER foundation than this that is laid, that is to say, Jesus Christ,*' (1 Cor. iii. 2.) Peter himself calls Christ ' *the chief corner-stone upon which we are built for to be one house in the Spirit,*' (1 Peter, ii. 4, 5.)

Eck.—"I am astonished at the humility and modesty with which the reverend doctor proposes to set himself singly in opposition to many illustrious fathers, and pretends to know more in this matter than the sovereign pontiffs, the councils, the teachers, or the universities ! . . . It will be astonishing to find, no doubt, that God should have hid the truth from so many saints and martyrs . . . even to the appearance of the reverend father !"

Luther.—"The fathers are not against me ; St Augustine, St Ambrose, and the most celebrated teachers speak as I speak. *Super isto articulo fidei, fundata est ecclesia.* The church is founded upon this article of faith, says St Ambrose, in his explanation of what must be understood by the stone upon which the church rests. Let my adversary, therefore, restrict his language. To express himself in the manner he does, is to stir up ill-will, and not to discuss like a worthy doctor."

Eck had not expected to find his adversary so thoroughly instructed in knowledge, and made an attempt to back out of the labyrinth into which he had tried to wander his opponent. "The reverend doctor," said he, "has come down into this arena after having well prepared his subject. May your Lordships be pleased to excuse me if I do not display before you such an accumulation of exact researches ; for I have come here to dispute and not to compose a book." Eck was astonished, but he was not overcome. Having no more reasons to offer, he had recourse to a contemptible and odious artifice, which must, if it did not vanquish his adversary, at least throw him into great embarrassment. If the accusation of being a Bohemian, a heretic, and a Hussite, applies to Luther, he is conquered ; for the Bohemians are detested in the church. The place of combat was not far distant from the frontiers of Bohemia, and Saxony, in consequence of the condemnation pronounced by the council of Constance against John Huss, had been exposed to all the horrors of a long and ruinous war. This latter country, therefore, gloried in any resistance she could shew to the Hussites ; while the university at Leipsic had been established in opposition to the tendencies encouraged by John Huss. Moreover, the dispute had taken place in the presence of princes, of nobles, and of citizens, whose fathers had been worsted in the celebrated struggle above referred to. To make it appear, therefore, that Luther and Huss were of one mind, was to expose the former to a most terrible revenge. It was to such a warlike stratagem the doctor of Ingolstadt had recourse. "From primitive times," said he, "it has been acknowledged by all good Christians, that the church of Rome held its pre-eminence from Christ himself, and not from human law. I ought to confess, however, that the Bohemians, in defending with stubbornness their errors, have attacked this doctrine. I ask pardon of the venerable father, if I shew myself an enemy to the Bohemians, because they are enemies of the church, and if the present dispute has brought back to my recollection these heretics ; for . . . in my weak judgment . . . the conclusions which the doctor has drawn,

support completely these errors. It is even asserted that the Hussites also glory excessively in the same opinions."

Eck had made a wise supposition. All his partisans received with special favour this perfidious insinuation. There was a loud expression of applause made by the audience. "These insults," said the reformer afterwards, "delighted them much more agreeably than the dispute itself."

Luther.—"I do not admire, and never shall admire, the cause of a single schism. Since, of their own accord, the Bohemians have separated from our unity, they have done wrong, although even the divine right should be found in favour of their doctrine; for the supreme divine right consists in charity and in unity of spirit."

It was on the 5th of July, during the morning meeting, that Luther had made use of these words. The meeting soon after dispersed, the hour of dinner having arrived. Luther felt ill at ease. Had he not been very much at fault in condemning thus the Christian people of Bohemia? Did they not maintain many doctrines which Luther supported at the present moment? He was convinced of the peculiar difficulty his immediate situation imposed. Shall he rise up in opposition to a council which had condemned John Huss, or shall he renounce that grand idea of a universal church of Christ which had taken possession of his soul? The steadfast Luther did not hesitate. "Do your duty, happen what may." Thus the assembly having reopened its meeting at two o'clock in the afternoon, he presented himself to the audience, and said with calm determination:—

"Among the articles possessed by John Huss and the Bohemians, there are some most Christian maxims. This is a certain fact. Such, for instance, as the following:—That there is only one universal church; and that it is not necessary to salvation to believe the Roman church superior to all others. Whether it be Wickliffe, or whether it be John Huss who says so, it is of little consequence to me . . . for this is the truth."

This declaration made by Luther produced an immense sensation in the minds of the audience. Huss, Wickliffe, these abhorred names, pronounced with commendation in the heart of a Catholic assembly! . . . An almost general murmur was heard to resound through the hall. The Duke George himself was fearfully startled. He imagined he beheld the same standard of civil war again erected in the middle of Saxony, which had so long desolated the states of his maternal ancestors. Being unable to contain his emotion, he placed his hands upon his haunches, and, shaking his head, he cried out, in a voice audible in every part of the hall, "It is madness that compels him to speak thus."* The whole audience were in a state of consternation. They arose in numbers from their seats, and spoke in earnest conversation with each other, while those who had fallen asleep suddenly awoke. The adversaries of Luther manifested a feeling of triumph, and his friends were cast into a state of dismay. Several persons who had until now listened to him with pleasure, began to entertain doubts of his orthodoxy. The impression produced by this sentence was never lessened in the mind of George; from that moment he regarded the reformer with an evil eye, and became his enemy.

* Das walt die Sucht.

As for Luther, he did not allow himself to be intimidated by these symptoms of dissatisfaction. One of his chief arguments had been, that the Greeks had never recognised the pope, and yet they had never been declared heretics; that the Greek church had subsisted, did subsist, and would subsist, independent of the pope, and that the said church belonged to Christ as much as the church of Rome. Eck, on the contrary, affirmed impudently that the Christian church and the Roman church were one and the same church; that the Greeks and the eastern nations, in abandoning the pope, had likewise abandoned the Christian faith, and that they were incontestibly heretics. "Indeed," exclaimed Luther, "Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil the Great, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and an immense number of other Greek bishops, are they not saved? and yet they did not believe that the church of Rome was superior to the other churches! It is not in the power of the pontiffs of Rome to construct anew articles of faith. There is no other authority in the sight of the faithful Christian than that of the Holy Scriptures. They alone constitute the *Divine right*. I beg the worthy doctor to remember and allow that the pontiffs of Rome have been men, and not to evince a strong desire to regard them as gods."

Eck had again recourse to one of those witticisms which confer gratuitously on them who seek their aid a simple air of triumph.

"The reverend father, who does not completely understand the art of cookery," said he, "has made an unsavoury mixture of many saints and Greek heretics, in so much that the perfume of holiness in some prevents the perception of poison in the others."

Luther, (interrupting Eck with sprightliness.)—"The worthy doctor speaks thoughtlessly. There is not, in my sight, any communion between Christ and Belial."

Luther had now made great progress in his course. In the years of 1516 and 1517 he had only dared to attack the orations of the disposers of indulgences and the scholastic doctrines, but had shewn respect to the decrees of the pope. At a later period, he had rejected these decrees, making therefrom an appeal to a council. Now, he had abjured this last authority itself, declaring that not one council could establish a new article of faith, or pretend not to be subject to error. In this manner every human authority had successively crumbled into dust before his inspection; the sands which the rain and the torrents had accumulated were dispersed, and there remained, whereon to raise anew the ruins of the house of the Lord, nothing but the eternal rock of the word of God. "Venerable father," said Eck, "if you believe that a council, legitimately assembled, can err, you are, in my opinion, a pagan and a publican."

Such was the substance of the discussions which occupied the talents of the two doctors. The assembly had manifested marked attention to the subjects of dispute, although that attention did at particular times become less fervent, and the audience were highly pleased when any incident occurred to divert or enliven their fixed studies. Frequently, indeed, the most grave and interesting topics were confounded with objects of drollery and contempt. These were the scenes that were enacted at Leipsic.

The Duke George, according to the custom of the times, had a court fool. Some idle people said to this jester, "Luther maintains

that a fool of court can marry. Eck supports the contrary opinion." In consequence of this remark, the fool regarded Eck with decided aversion, and every time he entered the hall, in the suite of the duke, this jester cast a threatening look upon the learned theologian. The chancellor of Ingolstadt not disdaining to join in any encounter of their wits, closed one of his eyes, (the fool was blind of an eye,) and with the other peered significantly upon the little man. This personage, much irritated, assailed the grave doctor with a torrent of abuse. The whole assembly, says Peiffer, was thrown into a fit of laughter, and this divertisement relieved for a moment the extreme tension of their engaged minds.

Meanwhile, within the houses and churches of the city occurrences took place which displayed the horror inspired into the spirits of the partisans of Rome by the bold assertions delivered by Luther. An especial outcry against this scandal was made in the convents attached to the pope. One Sunday, the doctor of Wittemberg had entered the church of Dominicans before the celebration of grand mass. There were only present at the time a few monks, who were occupied in the performance of low mass at separate altars. Scarcely was it known in the cloister that the heretic Luther had entered the church, before the monks rose hastily from their positions, laid hold upon the show emblems, which they put into the tabernacle and shut fast up, watching over them with care, lest the most holy sacrament should be profaned by the looks of the heretical Augustine from Wittemberg. At the same time, those who read the mass gathered together with precipitation every article that belonged to its celebration, fled from the altar across the church, and sought safety in the vestry, as if the devil had been behind them, says a historian of the period.

In every quarter the dispute formed the subject of conversation. In the inns, in the university, and at court, each individual freely expressed their sentiments. Duke George, whatever might have been his irritation, did not obstinately refuse all opportunity of being convinced. One day when he entertained Eck and Luther at his dinner table, he interrupted their conversation by saying, "Whether the pope may be constituted pope in virtue of divine or human law, it is still he who is the pope." Luther was highly satisfied with these words. "The prince," said he, "would never have pronounced them had my arguments not influenced his opinions."

For five days the dispute lasted concerning the pre-eminence of the pope. On the 6th of July they approached the consideration of the doctrine of purgatory. This dispute only continued for the space of little more than two days. Luther still admitted the existence of purgatory, but he denied that such a doctrine was found taught in the Scriptures or in the writings of the fathers, in the manner in which the divinity schools and his adversary contended. "This Doctor Eck," said he, "in making allusion to the superficial mind of his adversary, has to-day skimmed over the Holy Scriptures without scarcely touching them . . . just like a spider over the water."

On the 11th of July, the subject of indulgences was commented upon. "This was nothing more than a game and a dispute of merriment," said Luther. "The cause of indulgences fell flatly to the ground, and Eck was nearly in everything of the same opinion with

myself." Eck himself admitted that "If I had not disputed with Doctor Martin on the pre-eminence of the pope, I might almost have been said to have been in accordance with him."

The discussion afterwards turned to the contemplation of repentance, the absolution of the priests, and satisfactions. Eck, in conformity with his custom, quoted the scholastics, the Dominicans, and the canons of the pope. Luther closed the dispute with these impressive words:—

"The reverend doctor flees from before the Holy Scriptures like the devil from the face of the cross. For myself, saving the respect due to the fathers, I prefer the authority of these Scriptures, and it is their contents which I recommend to the attention of our judges."

And thus ended the dispute between Eck and Luther. Carlstadt and the doctor of Ingolstadt disputed again during the course of two days, upon the merits of man in the performance of good works. On the 16th of July the conference was concluded, after having continued for twenty days, by a discourse from the rector of Leipsic. The moment this sermon was finished, the sound of music arrested the attention of the audience, and the whole solemnity was terminated by the singing of *Te Deum*.

But, while this solemn hymn was sung, the same spirit did no longer pervade the thoughts of the assembled multitude which animated their minds at the repetition of *Veni Spiritus*. Even now the presentiments of many seemed to have been realized. The blows which had been exchanged by the two champions of the different doctrines had inflicted a severe wound upon the cause of Popery.

CHAPTER VI.

Interest of the Laity—Opinion of Luther—Confessions and Boastings of Doctor Eck—Effects of the Dispute—Pollander—Cellarius—The young Prince of Anhalt—The Students of Leipsic—Cruciger—Vocation of Melancthon—Liberation of Luther.

Theological disputes like the one we have now been considering, and to which, at this day, the people of the world would not be willing to devote the consideration of a few short moments, had been, at the period we speak of, followed and listened to with great attention for more than twenty years. The laity, equally with knights and princes, had evinced a strong interest in their proceedings. Duke Barnim of Pomerania and Duke George particularly distinguished themselves in their assiduous regard for the present meeting. But some of the theologians of Leipsic, the friends of Doctor Eck, on the contrary, slept "soundly" during the sittings we have referred to, as reported by an eye-witness of the scene. It was, in fact, necessary to rouse them from their slumbers, when the dispute stopped, so as to prevent them from losing their dinners.

Luther first took his leave of Leipsic; Carlstadt soon followed him; but Eck remained in that city several days after the departure of his opponents.

There had been no decision declared with reference to the dispute. Each individual was left to form their own conclusions. "There happened at Leipsic," said Luther, "much loss of time, but no research after the truth. For the last two years that we have been examining the doctrine of the adversaries, we have counted all their bones. Eck,

on the contrary, had hardly grazed the surface ; but he has talked more in one hour than we have done for two long years."

Eck, while writing in confidence to his friend, acknowledged his own defeat in many respects ; but he was not wanting in reasons to account for his overthrow. "The Wittenbergians have conquered me on several points," wrote he, on the 24th July, to Hochstraten, "in the first place, because they brought a collection of books with them ; in the second place, because they had their speeches written out, and examined them at their leisure in their lodgings ; and, thirdly, because there was a host of them present, namely two doctors, (Carlstadt and Luther,) Lange, vicar of the Augustins, two licentiates, Amstorf, and a very arrogant nephew of Reuchlin, (Melancthon,) three doctors of law, and many masters of arts, who all gave their assistance in the business of the dispute, either in public or in private. But for myself, I went to the combat alone, having no companion beyond the attendants necessary on a journey." Eck had forgotten to name Emser, the bishop, and all the teachers in Leipsic.

But if such an avowal did escape from the pen of Eck in the exercise of his familiar correspondence, it was quite otherwise in the declarations he made publicly. The doctor of Ingolstadt and the theologians of Leipsic raised a mighty clamour upon what they called *their victory*. They spread abroad in every direction false reports of the affair. Every person belonging to the same party repeated the statements thus prepared with confidence. "Eck everywhere triumphs," wrote Luther to his friends ! But these splendid laurels were questioned in the camp of Rome. "If we had not come to the rescue of Eck," said the theologians of Leipsic, "the illustrious doctor would have been conquered." "These theologians of Leipsic are worthy men," said the doctor of Ingolstadt on his part, "but I had expected too much from them. I did the whole battle myself." "You see," said Luther to Spalatin, "that they are singing a new Iliad and Æneid. They have had the goodness to make of me another Hector or Turnus, while Eck is transformed into Achilles or Æneas. The only difficulty that remains to be solved is whether the victory was completed by Eck or by the theologians of Leipsic. The whole of my evidence on the subject amounts to this, that while Doctor Eck never ceased from speaking, the theologians of Leipsic never once opened their mouths ?"

"Eck has triumphed in the opinion of those who do not understand the matter, and who have grown old under the instruction of the divinity schools," said the elegant, the spiritual, the wise Mosellanus ; "but Luther and Carlstadt remain conquerors of the field in the judgment of all those who possess either knowledge, intelligence, or modesty."

The dispute of Leipsic was not destined to vanish in the air. Every work undertaken with sincerity of heart is sure to produce its corresponding fruit. The words of Luther had pierced the hearts of his audience with an irresistible force, and many of them who had thronged the hall of the castle every day of the dispute, were brought into subjection to the truth. It was even in the midst of its most decided enemies that this truth especially flourished. The secretary of Doctor Eck, his boon companion and his disciple, Poliander, was chained over to the cause of the reform, and publicly preached the

gospel in Leipsic at the commencement of the year 1522. John Cellarius, professor of Hebrew, one of the keenest opponents against the reform, began to search deeper into the contents of the Holy Scriptures, and hastily leaving his situation, filled with urgent humility, he went to Wittemberg, there to continue his studies at the feet of Luther. He became, at an after period, pastor at Frankfort and at Dresden.

Among those who had attended in the court party, taking his seat on the bench appropriated for their accommodation, was a young prince only twelve years of age, the descendant of a family long celebrated for its wars against the Saracens, namely, George of Anhalt. He was at this time prosecuting his studies in the city of Leipsic, under the superintendence of a preceptor. A lively interest in the acquirements of knowledge, and an ardent desire to follow the truth, had already distinguished the dispositions of this young noble. He was often heard to repeat these words uttered by Solomon—"A lying tongue is not fit for a prince." The dispute at Leipsic created serious thoughts in the bosom of this child, and engendered therein a decided preference for the sentiments of Luther.* Some time afterwards, he was offered the dignity of a bishop's see, and his brothers, in unison with all his relations, beseeched him to accept of this preferment, as they were anxious to see him promoted to the highest honours in the church; but he was immoveable in his refusal of this exaltation. His pious mother, the secret friend of Luther, having died, he found himself possessed of all the writings published by the reformer. He was constant and fervent in his prayers to God, wherein he entreated the Almighty to bend his heart towards the truth; and often, in the retirement of his closet, he craved with tears this earnest supplication—"Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach me thy commandments."† His prayers were heard. Convinced and constrained, he ranged himself without fear on the side of the gospel. In vain his tutors, and, above all, Duke George, beset him with entreaties and representations. He remained inflexible; and George, half convinced by the reasoning of his pupil, exclaimed—"I have, in fact, nothing to say in answer to his arguments; but I shall, however, remain within the bosom of my own church, for it is not possible to train anew an old dog." We shall hereafter meet with this truly amiable prince, in the character of one of the ablest supporters of the Reformation, who himself addressed to his own subjects the word of life, and to whom were applied the words used by Dion with reference to the emperor Mark Anthony—"He was, during the whole course of his life, like unto himself; he was a man of worth, and there was no dissimulation in him."

But it was chiefly among the students that the words of Luther were received with enthusiasm. They perceived the difference that existed between the spirit and the life of the doctor of Wittemberg and the sophistical distinctions and vain speculations employed by the chancellor of Ingolstadt. They beheld Luther resting his assertions upon the word of God, while they equally discovered that he relied himself of no better foundation for the truth of his words than the traditions of men. The effect thus organized was decisive. The

* L. Op. (W.) xv. 1440. † A Deo petiit flecti pectus suum ad veritatem, se lacrymans sæpe hæc retulit. (M. Ad. Vita Georgii Anhalt, p. 248.)

scholars belonging to the university of Leipsic soon left this seat of learning after the conclusion of the dispute. A peculiar circumstance, no doubt, contributed to the dispersion we allude to, namely, a report that the plague had broken out in the city. But there were many other universities, such as that of Erfurt or Ingolstadt for instance, to which the students might have resorted. Still the force of the truth attracted them to Wittemberg, where the number of students received a twofold increase.

Among the individuals who removed from the one to the other of these universities, there was included a young man, sixteen years of age, whose character was deeply tinged with melancholy, who seldom spoke, but who, often in the middle of the conversations or games of his schoolfellows, seemed absorbed in private meditation. His parents had at first considered him a boy of weak intellect; but they soon afterwards discovered in him such an aptitude for learning, with an incessant application to study, that their doubts were changed into lively hopes of future distinction. His integrity, his candour, his modesty, and his piety, acquired for him the esteem of all who knew him, and Mosellanus described him as a model for the students of all the universities. The name of this young person was Gaspard Cruciger and he was a native of Leipsic. The new student at Wittemberg at an after period became the friend of Melancthon and the assistant of Luther in his translation of the Bible.

The dispute at Leipsic was, however, crowned with yet greater effects. It was there the theologian of the Reformation may be said to have received his call. Modest and silent, Melancthon had assisted in the discussion without seeming to take any part therein. Up to the time of this meeting he had occupied himself exclusively in the pursuits of literature. But the proceedings at this conference had given him a fresh impulsions, and had turned the current of the thoughts of this eloquent professor into the contemplation of theology. From this moment he caused the highest attainments in science to bend before the word of God. He received the intimations of evangelical truth with the simplicity of a child. And his hearers heard him expounding the doctrines of salvation with a grace and perspicuity that charmed their souls. He boldly advanced in the new career he had chosen; for, said he, "Christ never forsakes his own." From this moment also the two friends prosecuted their plans together, eagerly seeking to forward the cause of liberty and truth, the one with the force of St Paul and the other with the mildness of St John. Luther has admirably described the difference of their vocations—"I have been born," said he, "to meet in conflict on the field of battle with factions and demons; wherefore it is that my writings are full of war and fury. It was necessary that I should root out both the stumps and the trunks, that I should cut away the briars and the thorns, and that I should fill up the swamps and the trenches. I am the unseemly pioneer, whose duty it is to clear the way and level the roads. But the master of arts, Philip, proceeds in a tranquil and complacent mood: he cultivates and plants, or he sows and waters in joy, according to the gifts which God has bestowed on him with a liberal hand."

If, moreover, Melancthon, the peaceful sower, was called to the work in consequence of the dispute at Leipsic, Luther, the active woodsman, equally found his arm strengthened and his courage more

ardently inflamed by the exercise of his talents. Indeed the most powerful effect of that discussion was produced in Luther himself. "The scholastic theology," said he, "then fell completely to the ground before my wondering eyes, under the triumphant presidency of Doctor Eck." The veil which the schools and the church had together held up before the sanctuary, was rent, in the sight of the reformer, from top to bottom. Forced to engage in new researches he was rewarded with unexpected discoveries. He now beheld with equal astonishment and indignation the evil in all its magnitude. By scrutinizing the annals of the church, he found out that the supremacy of Rome had no other origin than ambition on one hand and credulous ignorance on the other. To the limited view with which he was accustomed until then to regard the church, there succeeded a more enlarged and comprehensive prospect. He recognised in the Christians of Greece and eastern nations, real members of the Catholic church; and instead of a visible head, seated on the banks of the Tiber, he worshipped as the only head of the people of God that invisible Redeemer who, according to his own promise, is constantly in the middle of all the people of the earth, with those that believe in his name. The Latin church was no longer in the sight of Luther the universal church; he beheld the straitened barriers of Rome to fall down at his feet, and he uttered exclamations of joy when he descried beyond their confined boundaries the glorious dominions of Jesus Christ. Henceforth he understood how it was possible for him to be a member of the church of Christ without being joined to the church of the pope. But the writings of John Huss made, most particularly, a strong impression on his mind. He therein met with, to his great surprise, the doctrine of St Paul and St Augustine, that doctrine a belief in which he had himself reached at the expense of so many combats. "I have believed and I have taught, without being aware of it, the identical doctrines of John Huss; and even Staupitz has done the same. In short, without our entertaining any suspicions on the subject, we are all Hussites! St Paul and St Augustine themselves being of the number. I am confounded, and do not know what to think. . . . Oh! how terrible are the judgments of God which men have deserved, seeing that evangelical truth, disclosed and published for more than a hundred years, has been condemned, burned, and suffocated. . . . Oh, wo, wo be to the earth!"

Luther detaches himself from Popery, and now conceives for it a fixed aversion and a holy indignation, while all the testimonies which in every age had been raised against Rome were, one by one, exposed to his meditation as farther demonstrations of her guilt, and proofs of many certain abuses or positive errors. "O darkness!" he exclaimed to himself.

Nor was he allowed to remain silent upon the subject of these momentous discoveries. The pride of his adversaries, their pretended triumph, and the efforts which they made to extinguish the light, all conspired to settle his resolution. He proceeded in the way wherein God had directed his steps without becoming uneasy as to the issue to which it tended. Luther has described this moment as that of his liberation from the thralldom of Popery. "Learn from me," said he, "how difficult it is to disentangle yourself from errors which the whole world confirms by its example, and which, from long custom,

have become for ourselves a second nature. Seven years had now elapsed during which I had read and publicly explained with great zeal the Holy Scriptures, in so much that I could repeat nearly the whole of their contents by heart. I had received also all the first fruits of the knowledge and of the faith in my Lord Jesus Christ; that is to say, I knew that we were not justified or saved by our works, but by faith in Christ; and, moreover, I maintained openly that it was not by divine right the pope was established as head of the Christian church. And, nevertheless, . . . I could not discern the inference that flowed from this conviction, namely, that of certainty and of necessity the pope is of the devil. For that which is not of God must necessarily be of the devil." Luther, a little farther on, added, "I no longer give vent to my indignation against those who are still attached to the pope, seeing that I myself who had for so many years read with anxious care the Holy Scriptures did yet cling to Popery with unyielding stubbornness." Such were the real consequences of the dispute at Leipsic, much more important in their nature than the dispute itself. That dispute may be compared to those first successes which ensure the discipline of any army and inflame its courage.

CHAPTER VII.

Eck Attacks Melancthon—Defence of Melancthon—Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures—Firmness of Luther—The Brethren in Bohemia—Emser—Staupitz.

Eck abandoned himself to the full enjoyment of that intoxication which followed the results of an action he so much wished to call a victory. He reviled Luther, and accumulated accusation upon accusation against the proceedings of the reformer. He wrote, too, to Frederick, wishing, like a skilful general, to profit by the troubles which always follow the completion of a battle, and thereby obtain from the prince important concessions. In expectation of the measures to be taken against his adversary in person, he devotes to the flames the writings of Luther, even those he had not been at the pains to read. He entreated the elector to convoke the meeting of a provincial council. "Let us exterminate all that remains," said the vulgar doctor, "before they increase around us to excess."

But it was not only against Luther he poured out the vials of his wrath. His imprudence urged him to make an attack upon Melancthon. This learned person, united in bonds of intimate friendship with the excellent Ecolampade, had forwarded a description of the dispute to his associate, wherein Doctor Eck was spoken of in terms of commendation. Still the pride of the chancellor of Ingolstadt was wounded, and he took up his pen in opposition to the statements of this grammarian of Wittemberg, who is not ignorant, it is true, of Latin and Greek," said he, "but who had dared to publish a letter in which he had insulted him, Doctor Eck."

Melancthon replied, and this reply composed his first writings upon theology. In this production, too, is displayed that exquisite urbanity for which this excellent man was eminently distinguished. Adopting the fundamental principles of Hermeneutics, he demonstrates that it is impossible to explain the Holy Scriptures by means of the fathers, but the fathers by means of the Holy Scriptures. "How

often has not Jerome deceived himself," says he; "how often Augustine? How often Ambrose? In how many instances are they not of different opinions? How often do they not retract their errors? There is only one single Scripture, inspired by the Spirit from heaven, pure and true in all things.

"Luther does not follow, it is said, certain ambiguous expositions of the ancients; and wherefore should he follow them? When he expounds the passage of St Matthew—*Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I shall build my Church*—he speaks in the manner of Origen, who alone is worth many more; like Augustine in his homily; and like Ambrose in his sixth book upon St Luke, and I pass over the rest in silence. How then, shall you say, do the father's contradict themselves? And what is there astonishing in this? I believe in the fathers, because I believe in the Holy Scriptures. The sense of the Scriptures is one and simple, like celestial truth itself. It is obtained by comparing the Scriptures; it is drawn from the thread and connexion of the discourse. There is a philosophy which is prescribed to us with regard to the Scriptures of God—it is, to bring unto them all the opinions and all the maxims of men, as to the touchstone whereby they must be proved."

It was long since such powerful truths had been explained with so much elegance and force. The word of God was reinstated in its proper place; the fathers were consigned to theirs. The simple way in which the real sense of the Scriptures can be obtained is here distinctly traced. The word rises above all the difficulties and all the explanations of the schools. Melancthon furnishes substance where-withal to reply to those who, like Doctor Eck, render the subject intricate, even to the most distant ages. The weak *grammarian* has stood to his feet; and the broad and robust soldiers of the scholastic gladiator have been made to stoop under the first movement of his arms.

The more feeble Eck felt himself to be, the more loud he made his declamations. He imagined that by such excessive rhodomontade and fearless accusations, he would ensure for himself the victory that had vanished from his disputes. The monks and all the partisans of Rome united their voices to the cry of Eck, and from every quarter of Germany reproaches were denounced against the conduct of Luther, who, nevertheless, remained unmoved. "The more I see my name covered with opprobrium, the more I glory in my cause," said he, at the conclusion of some explanations which he published upon the propositions issued at Leipsic. "It needs must be that the truth, that is to say, Christ, should increase, and that I should decrease. The voice of the Husband and of the spouse, cause me more joy than all these clamours give me dread. Men are not the authors of my miseries, and I harbour not hatred for them in my bosom. It is satan, the prince of mischief, who would wish to destroy me. But he that is in us is greater than he that is in the world. The judgment of our contemporaries is unjust; but posterity will be more equitable."

If the dispute of Leipsic multiplied the number of Luther's enemies in Germany, it augmented likewise at a distance the number of his friends. "What Huss was formerly in Bohemia, you are now in

Saxony, O Martin!" wrote the brethren in Bohemia; "wherefore, do thou pray and be strong in the Lord."

Meanwhile animosity also sprung up, about this time, between Luther and Emser, who was now a professor at Leipsic. This professor wrote to Doctor Zach, a zealous Roman Catholic at Prague, a letter wherein he strove to remove from the Hussites the idea that Luther was one of their fraternity. Luther could not doubt but that, in appearing to justify his conduct, the learned Leipsican was eager to palm upon him the suspicion of his adhering to the Bohemian heresy, and the reformer was wishful to tear in pieces the veil with which his former host at Dresden had chosen to cover his vehement hatred. With this purpose Luther published a letter addressed "to the ram Emser." Emser had a ram for his coat-of-arms, and Luther finished his epistle with these words, which well portrayed his own character—"To love all men, but not to fear any one."

Whilst in this manner new friends and new enemies were declaring their opinions, some ancient friends also appeared to draw back from their connexion with Luther. Staupitz, who had dragged the reformer out of the obscurity he found him in at the monastery of Erfurt, began to evince some signs of diminished regard. Luther had exalted his ideas too high for Staupitz, who could not follow in his train. "You have abandoned me," writes Luther. "I have been the whole day miserable on your account, like the child who weeps when he has been separated from his mother. I have also dreamt of you last night," continues the reformer. "You have torn yourself away from me, and I have sobbed and shed many a bitter tear. But you, holding out your hand, have told me to calm myself, and that you will come back to me again."

The pacificator, Miltitz, was anxious once more to exert his abilities in calming the perturbation of mind again visible. But what hold can be taken of men by him who still stirs up the causes of contention? His attempts were of no avail. He brought the famous golden rose to the elector, but that prince did not exhibit any anxiety to receive this honour in person. Frederick knew the schemes of Rome. It was no longer possible to deceive his cautious mind.

CHAPTER VIII.

Epistle to the Galatians—Christ for us—Blindness of the Adversaries—First Ideas upon the Lord's Supper—Is the Sacrament Sufficient without Faith?—Luther a Bohemian—Eck Attacked—Eck's Departure for Rome.

Far from manifesting any symptoms of a retrograde movement, Luther boldly proceeds in his course. It was now he assailed prevailing errors with one of his most determined attacks, by the publication of his first commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, (September 1519.) The second commentary, no doubt, excelled the first; but, even in the first, the reformer expounded with great force the doctrine of justification by faith. Every word made use of by the new apostle was full of life, and God blessed them to the edification of his people, by making them carry into their hearts a knowledge of himself. "Christ has given himself for our sins," said Luther to his contemporaries. "It is neither silver nor gold he has given for us, nor yet a man, nor even all the angels; it is himself alone, without whom there is nothing that is great or good, he has given.

And this incomparable treasure, he has given it . . . for our sins. Where are now those who vaunt with pride the power of our will? Where are all your lessons of moral philosophy? Where are to be found the power and efficacy of the law? Since it is seen that our sins are so great that nothing can take them away but the payment of a ransom so immense, shall we still pretend to obtain righteousness by the force of our own will, by the power of the law, or by the doctrines of men? What shall we do with all these clever artifices and all these delusions? Ah! we shall cover our iniquities with a deceitful justice, and shall make of ourselves vain hypocrites, whom nothing in the world shall be able to save."

But if Luther in this manner proves that there is no salvation for man but in Christ, he equally demonstrates the fact that this salvation produces a change in man, and causes him to abound in the performance of good works. "The man," says he, "who has truly understood the word of Christ and keeps it, is likewise invested with the spirit of charity. If you should love him who has given you a present of twenty florins, or has done you some service, or in any other way manifested his affection, how much more ought you to love him who has not given for you either silver or gold, but who has given himself; who on your account has received so many wounds, and for you perspired in drops of blood; who for you laid down his life; and, in a word, who, by paying for all your sins, has swallowed up death, and has secured for you in heaven a Father full of sympathy and love! . . . If you do not love him, you have not understood with the heart the things that he has done, you have not believed in them; for faith is rendered efficacious through deeds of charity." "This epistle is my epistle," said Luther, in speaking of the epistle to the Galatians, "I am connected in the bonds of matrimony with her."

His adversaries pushed him forward more hastily than he would otherwise have proceeded. Eck, at this period, instigated a fresh attack upon the reformer from the Franciscans of Juterbock. Luther in his reply was not content with repeating what he had already enforced, but also took notice of several errors he had but lately discovered. "I should like very much to know," said he, "in what part of the Scriptures the power of canonizing saints has been given to the pope; and likewise to be informed of the necessity, or of the utility, there is to canonize these said saints. . . . For the rest," he adds ironically, "let them canonize as many as they choose."

These renewed invasions of Luther remained without contradiction. The ignorance of his enemies was as propitious for him as the exercise of his own courage. They passionately defended the things that were accessory, and when Luther made reference to the foundations of the Roman doctrines, they beheld them to totter at their feet without raising a word to maintain their constancy. They exerted themselves in the defence of some outward fortifications, and at the same time their intrepid adversary marched into the citadel of the place and there nobly planted the standard of the truth. They were, moreover, astonished to behold the fortress, of which they had constituted themselves the defenders, speedily undermined and set on fire, and wasting into ruins, at the very moment they had supposed this redoubt of theirs impregnable, and were still challenging the forces of those who

were completing the assault. So it is great falls are usually accomplished.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper had now begun to occupy the thoughts of Luther. He sought in vain to discover the realization of this holy sacrament in the mass. One day, shortly after his return from Leipsic, he ascended the pulpit: and let us mark the words he speaks; for they are the first he utters upon a subject which has since torn into two parties the church of the Reformation. "There are," said he, "in the holy sacrament of the altar three things which must be distinctly recognised—the sign, which must be exterior, visible, and under a bodily form—the signification, which is inward, spiritual, and in the mind of man—and the faith, which renders useful both the other two." Had this definition not been pushed beyond its meaning in others, the unity of the church had not been destroyed.

Luther continued—"It would be well for the church, in a council general, to direct the distribution of the communion in both kinds to all the faithful, not because one kind may not suffice, for faith alone must be always sufficient." These hardy words afforded satisfaction to the assembled congregation, although a few of the hearers were astonished and displeased. "It is a falsehood and a scandal," said these discontented individuals.

The preacher went on to say—"There is not," said he, "a more intimate union, or one more profound and indivisible, than that which takes place between the aliment and the body at the time nourished by the reception of the aliment. Christ has united himself in the sacrament in such a manner, that he acts as if he were ourselves. Our sins assail him. His justice defends us."

But Luther does not content himself with an exposition of the truth; he sets himself to combat one of the most fundamental errors of Rome. The Roman church asserts that the sacrament is effectual in itself, without any reference to the disposition of him who receives it. Nothing can be more convenient than the belief of such an opinion. Hence the ardour with which a participation in the sacrament is sought after, and hence arises the profits realized by the Roman clergy. Luther attacks this doctrine, and places in opposition to it the contrary doctrine, in virtue of which faith and the good will of the heart are rendered necessary.

This energetic protestation was well calculated to overthrow the structure of ancient superstitions. But it is curious to observe that no one paid any attention to its utterance. Rome allowed to pass unnoticed the very subject which ought to have drawn from her lamentations of distress, and she assailed with impetuosity the very unimportant observation made by Luther at the commencement of his discourse, touching the receiving of the communion in both kinds. This discourse having been published in the month of December, a cry against the heresy was heard in every quarter. "It is the doctrine of Prague in all its purity," shouted the attendants upon the court at Dresden, at which place the sermon arrived during the feast at Christmas. Moreover, the work is written in German, in order that simple people may be able to understand it." The devotions of the prince were disturbed by this production, and on the third day of

the feast, he wrote to his cousin Frederick, "Since the publication of this discourse, the number of those who receive the communion in both kinds, has increased in Bohemia to the extent of 6,000 persons. Your Luther, from a professor at Wittenberg, is about to become the bishop of Prague and an arch-heretic." . . . "He was born in Bohemia," cried others, "of Bohemian parents; he has been reared in the city of Prague, and instructed in the books of Wickliffe."

Luther conceived it incumbent upon him to contradict these reports, in a work wherein he gravely records the history of his origin. "I was born in Eisleben," says he, "and I was baptized in the church of St Peter. Dresden is the nearest place to Bohemia which I have ever visited in the whole course of my life."

The letter sent by Duke George did not dispose the elector to set in opposition to Luther. A few days after this occurrence, the same prince invited the doctor to a splendid entertainment given in honour of the ambassador from Spain, and Luther there spoke valiantly in answer to the minister of Charles. The elector had requested the doctor, by means of his chaplain, to support his cause with moderation. "Too much folly is displeasing to men," replied Luther, to Spalatin, "but too much wisdom is displeasing to God. It is impossible to defend the gospel without invoking tumult and scandal. The word of God is itself a sword, it makes war, it causes ruin and scandal, it is destruction, it is poison, and thus Amos says it presents itself like a bear in the road, or like a lioness in the forest. I seek for, nor demand, nothing. There is in it one greater than me who seeks and asks. If he should fall, I lose nothing thereby; if he should remain upright, I shall therein gain no advantage."

Everything betokened the necessity of more courage and faith on the part of Luther than he had yet displayed. Eck began to form plans of revenge. Instead of the laurels he had counted upon gathering during his contests with the reformer, the gladiator of Leipsic had become the laughing-stock of every man possessed of spirit in his own nation. A compilation of piquant satires were published in allusion to his deeds. It was styled an *Epistle of Ignorant Canons*, and was composed by Ecolampade, giving great offence to the personal feelings of Eck. It formed a libel upon Eck, probably of the excellent Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, remarkable at once for a keenness and dignity of which the *Provincials* of Pascal can alone furnish any idea.

Luther expressed his displeasure at several of these writings. "It is much better," said he, "to attack openly than to wound another while lying, hid in safety behind a hedge."

What an unhappy reckoning the chancellor of Ingolstadt had made. His companions forsake him, and he makes preparations for conveying himself beyond the Alps, there to entreat the succour of strangers. Wherever he journeyed he launched invectives and threats against Luther, against Melancthon, against Carlstadt, and even against the elector himself. "The sublimity of his words," said the Doctor of Wittenberg, "would lead one to believe that he imagined himself to be the All-powerful God. Inflamed with rage and a desire of revenge, Eck, after having published, in February 1520, upon the supremacy of St Peter, a work devoid of all wholesome

criticism, and in which he pretends that this Apostle, as the first of popes, had resided for five and twenty years in Rome, Eck departed for Italy with the hope of receiving there the reward of his supposed triumphs, and with the view of forming in Rome, close to the papal capitol, more powerful thunderbolts than the weak scholastic arms which had gone to shivers in his hands.

Luther computed correctly the full amount of danger to which he was exposed in consequence of the journey undertaken by his antagonist, but he was not excited with fear. Spalatin, more easily frightened, beseeched his friend to make offers of peace. "No," replied Luther; "for, as much as he may cry, I cannot withdraw my hand from the battle. I submit in all things to God. I leave my bark to the care of the winds and the waves. The war is of the Lord. Wherefore do you imagine that it is by means of peace Christ shall advance his cause? Has he not conquered with his own blood, as well as all the martyrs who have suffered since his day."

Such was, at the commencement of the year 1520, the position of the two combatants of Leipsic. The one strove to move the whole powers of Popery, in order to be revenged upon his rival. The other awaited the approach of war with the same calmness as we are wont to regard the return of peace. The year about to open shall witness the ravages of the gathering storm.

SIXTH BOOK.

THE BULL OF ROME—1520.

CHAPTER I.

Character of Maximilian—The Aspirants to the Empire—Charles—Francis I.—Dispositions of the Germans—The Crown Offered to Frederick—Charles is Elected.

A NEW personage is now about to appear upon the scene. God was willing to call into active duty, contemporaneously with the monk of Wittemberg, the most powerful monarch who had held sway in the territories of christendom since the days of Charlemagne. He chose for this purpose a prince in the strength of his youth, and for whom everything gave promise of a reign of long continuance—a prince whose sceptre ruled over a considerable portion of the ancient, and extended its dominion far into the regions of a new world, in so much that, according to a celebrated expression, the sun never went down upon the circle of his vast estates. And this magnificent chieftain was placed in opposition to that humble Reformation which was begun in the obscure cell of a convent at Erfurt, by the agonies and sighs of a mendicant monk. The history of this monarch and his reign were destined, it would appear, to afford to the world a lesson commensurate with their greatness. They were doomed to exhibit the nothingness of all "the power of man" when it presumes to struggle with "the weakness of God." Had a prince the friend of Luther been chosen to direct the affairs of the empire, the success of the reform would have been attributed to his protection; or even if an emperor opposed to the new doctrine, but weak, had occupied the throne, the triumphs of that work would have been explained by a reference to the weakness of the ruling monarch. But it was the noble conqueror of Pavia who was doomed to humble his pride before the power of the

Divine word ; and all the world were witness to the fact that he for whom it was an easy thing to drag captive Francis I. into the city of Madrid was destined to lay down his sword before the son of a poor miner.

The emperor Maximilian was dead, and the electors had assembled together at Frankfort in order to fix upon his successor. This was an affair of much importance to the interests of Europe, situated in circumstances of peculiar moment, whilst all christendom was engaged in the issue of this election. Maximilian could not be considered as a great prince ; but his memory was dear to his people. They delighted in the remembrance of his presence of mind and cheerful good nature. Luther often spoke of this prince to his friends, and one day recounted the following characteristic story of the departed monarch.

A beggar having followed his steps and beseeched the gift of alms from the prince by calling him his *brother*—"for," said the mendicant, "we are both descended from the same father, Adam. I am poor," continued he, "but you are rich, you ought, therefore, to help me." The emperor, turning round at these words, said in reply—"Stop, here are two halfpennies ; go now to the rest of your brethren, and if each one of them shall give you as much, you shall be richer than I am."

But it was not a good-natured Maximilian who must now be called upon to wear the imperial crown. The times were ripe for vexatious changes ; and men of lofty ambition were prepared to dispute the possession of the throne occupied by the emperor of the west. A steady hand must seize upon the reins of the empire ; for long and bloody wars were fated to succeed to the continuance of profound peace.

Three kings presented themselves to the assembly at Frankfort as aspirants to the crown of the Cesars. A young prince, the grandson of the late emperor, born at the beginning of the century, and consequently nineteen years of age, stood at the head of the list. His name was Charles, and he had been born at Ghent. His grandmother by his father's side, Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, had bequeathed to him the possessions of Flanders and the rich states of Burgundy. His mother, Jane, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and of Isabella of Castile, and wife of Philip, the son of the emperor Maximilian, had transmitted to him the united crowns of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, to which Christopher Columbus had added a new world. The death of his grandfather had, at the time we speak of, ensured to him the ownership of the hereditary states of Austria. This young prince, endowed with a good understanding, and amiable when it suited his purpose, joined to the taste of military exercise—in which the famous dukes of Burgundy, with all the penetration and cunning of the Italians, had long been distinguished, as well as to a respect for existing institutions, which still characterised the house of Austria, and which promised to Popery a firm support—a vast knowledge in public affairs, acquired under the direction of Chievres, for from the time he had reached the age of fifteen years, he had assisted at all the deliberations of his councils. These diversified qualifications were, however, covered, as it were, with a dark veil on account of the meditative and taciturn cast of mind belonging to the Spaniard, whilst an air of sadness was visible in the expression of his elongated features. "He is pious and tranquil," said Luther. "I will be warrant

that he does not speak so much in one year as I do in a day." If Charles had been nursed under a free and Christian treatment, he might, perhaps, have proved one of the princes the most deserving of admiration whose names are written in the pages of history; but politics absorbed the care of his life and withered the beauty of his happier dispositions.

Not contented with all the sceptres which had become his own, the youthful Charles still envied the enjoyment of the imperial dignity. "It is a sunbeam which casts a bright shade upon the house it overshadows," said many, "but stretch forth your hand to catch it, you shall then discover it is nothing." Charles, however, on the contrary, beheld in this ray of light the substance of all terrestrial grandeur, and the means whereby he might obtain a magical influence over the minds of the people.

Francis I., King of France, was the second on the list of competitors. The young knights at the court of this champion king were constant in their representations that he ought, like Charlemagne, to become emperor of all the west, and, bringing into life again the exploits of ancient heroes, to attack the crescent, which threatened the empire, to destroy the infidels, and to recover the holy sepulchre.

"We must prove to the dukes of Austria that the crown of the empire is not hereditary," said the ambassadors of Francis to the assembly of electors. "Germany, besides, has need, under existing circumstances, not of a young man only nineteen years of age, but of a prince who to a tried judgment joins talents already acknowledged. Francis will unite the arms of France and Lombardy to those of Germany, in order to wage war against the Mussulmans. As sovereign of the duchy of Milan, he is, moreover, even now a member of the empire." The French ambassadors supported these reasons with four hundred thousand crowns, which they distributed in the purchase of suffrages, and with the giving of entertainments, which pleased the appetites of their invited guests.

And, lastly, Henry VIII., King of England, jealous of the influence which the choice of the electors must bestow upon Francis or Charles, was found in the number of applicants; but he very soon left his two powerful rivals to dispute the possession of the crown themselves.

The electors were, however, little disposed in favour of either of these disputants. Their people, thought they, beheld in the King of France a foreign master, and that master might also soon rob these electors of the same independence of which the nobles of his states had so lately seen themselves deprived. With regard to Charles, an ancient principle of the electors forbade the choice of a prince who already acted an important part in the affairs of the empire. The pope partook of the fears we have mentioned. He neither wished to favour the King of Naples, his neighbour, nor the King of France, of whose enterprising spirit he stood in awe. "Choose one from among yourselves," was the advice given by the pope to the electors. The elector of Triers proposed Frederick of Saxony to the vacant throne. The imperial crown was thus placed at the feet of Luther's intimate friend.

The choice now spoken of would have received the approbation of all Germany. The wisdom of Frederick, and his love of the people, were well known. When at the revolt of Erfurt he had been recommended

to take that city by assault, he refused, because of the unnecessary shedding of blood. "But," it was urged, "such an attack would not cost fifty lives." "One single life would be too many," replied the feeling prince. It appeared that the election of this protector of the Reformation was about to ensure the triumph of that work. Shall not Frederick be constrained to see in the desire of the electors a positive call from God? Who could be better fitted to preside over the destinies of the empire than a prince thus maturely wise? Who better qualified than an emperor full of faith to offer effectual resistance against the Turks? Perhaps the refusal of the elector of Saxony, so eloquently praised by historians, was a fault committed by this prince. Perhaps there ought to be, in part, attributed to him the struggles which afterwards laid Germany desolate. But it is difficult to determine whether Frederick deserved to be blamed for his failure in faith or to be honoured on account of his marked humility. He believed that the very salvation of the empire required of him the refusal of this crown. "There is need," said this modest and disinterested prince, "of an emperor more powerful than me to secure the safety of Germany. The Turks are at our gates. The King of Spain, whose hereditary possessions of Austria bound the threatened frontiers, is the natural defender of the empire."

The legate of Rome, perceiving that Charles was about to be chosen, declared that the pope withdrew his objections; and, on the 28th of June, the grandson of Maximilian was elected emperor. "God," said Frederick, at an after period, "has given us him in his favour and in his anger." The Spanish envoy presented thirty thousand florins of gold to the elector of Saxony as a testimony of his master's gratitude; but that prince refused to accept the money, and at same time forbade his ministers to receive any similar gift. Frederick, however, secured the enjoyment of the German liberties, by a capitulation, which the envoys of Charles swore in his name to observe. The circumstances in which Charles had succeeded to place on his brow the imperial crown, appeared, or rather were calculated, to ensure, even more than these oaths, the German liberties and the work of the Reformation. This young prince felt eclipsed by the laurels which his rival, Francis I., had won at Marignan. The struggle must, therefore, no doubt, be continued in Italy, and, during its continuance, the Reformation would find time to establish its influences. Charles quitted Spain in May 1520, and was crowned, on the 22d of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER II.

Luther Writes to the Emperor—Dangers of Luther—Instructions of Frederick for the Court of Rome—Sentiments of Luther—Fears of Melancthon—The German Nobles for the Reform—Shaumburg—Seckingen—Ulric of Hutten—Confidence of Luther—Luther becomes more Free—Faith the Source of Works—What gives Faith—Luther Judging his Writings.

Luther had readily foreseen that the cause of the Reformation would very soon be brought under the notice of the new emperor. He therefore, wrote to this prince, when his return to Madrid was ascertained. "If the cause which I defend," said the reformer to the prince, "is worthy of being presented before the throne of celestial majesty, it cannot be unworthy of the regard of a prince of this world. O Charles! prince of the kings of the earth! I throw myself in the

attitude of supplication at the feet of your most serene majesty, and I implore you to be pleased to receive under the shadow of your wings, not myself, but the very cause of that eternal truth, for the defence of which God has intrusted you with the sword of majesty." The young King of Spain threw aside this singular letter from a German monk, and made no answer to it whatever.

While Luther in vain looked for encouragement from Madrid, the storm appeared to darken around his native home. A spirit of fanaticism had been kindled in Germany. Hochstraten, indefatigable in his efforts of persecution, had composed, by extracts from the writings of Luther, a certain number of theses. In conformity with his commands, the universities of Cologne and Louvain had condemned these works, and the college at Erfurt, still smarting under those feelings of offence it continued to testify on account of the preference Luther had shewn to Wittemberg, hastened to follow the example of its compeers. But such a report having reached the ears of the doctor, he wrote a letter to Lange, in a strain so energetic as to arouse the fears of the theologians at Erfurt, and to secure their silence. Still the condemnation pronounced at Cologne and Louvain was found sufficient to inflame the minds of the people. But the evil did not stop here. The priests of Misnia, who had espoused the quarrel of Emser, openly declared, as it is reported by Melancthon, that whoever should put Luther to death would be free from sin. "Now has arrived the time," said Luther, "when men believe they do Jesus Christ a service by putting us to death." Such murderous words could not fail to excite to corresponding actions.

"One day," says a certain biographer, "when Luther was standing in front of the convent of the Augustine's, a stranger, who had a pistol hid in his sleeve, approached the doctor and said to him—'Wherefore do you thus go about quite alone?' 'I am in the hands of God,' replied Luther; 'he is my strength and my buckler. What can mortal man do to me?' Thereupon this unknown person turned pale," adds the historian, "and with trembling limbs withdrew from the spot." Serra-Longa, the orator at the conference in Augsburg, wrote to the elector, about the time we speak of—"Do not let Luther find any shelter within the territories of your Highness, so that, driven out from every defence, he may be stoned to death in the face of Heaven. Such an event would be more agreeable to me than if I were to receive from you the sum of ten thousand crowns."

But it was more particularly in the direction of Rome the storm gathered strength. A nobleman from Thuringia, Valentine Teutleben, vicar to the archbishop of Mentz, and a zealous partisan of Popery, represented the elector of Saxony at the court of Rome. Teutleben, ashamed of the protection his master granted to the heretical monk, beheld with impatience his mission paralyzed on account of this imprudent conduct. He imagined thus to himself, that if he roused the fears of the elector, he would be induced to abandon the cause of the rebellious theologian. "No attention is paid to what I say," writes the envoy to his master, "in consequence of the protection you are known to extend to Luther." But the Romans were deceived if they thought to frighten the prudent Frederick. This prince was persuaded that the will of God, and the commotions of the people, were more irresistible than the decrees of the papal chancellor. He commanded

his envoy to insinuate to the pope that, far from defending Luther, he had always left the monk to defend himself; that, moreover, he had already ordered the same to leave Saxony and the university; that the doctor had declared himself ready to obey these commands; and that he would not have remained within the electoral states had not the pope's legate himself, Charles de Miltitz, implored the prince to retain the monk close to his person, in the fear that, if he went to reside in any other country, Luther would carry on his reforms with greater liberty than he was permitted to do in Saxony. Frederick proceeded farther; for he wished to open the eyes of Rome. "Germany," continued he in his letter, "possesses, at this moment, a great number of learned men, instructed in every description of sciences and language: nay, the laity begin to seek for knowledge, and like to study the Holy Scriptures. If, then, the equitable conditions proposed by Doctor Luther are refused, it is much to be feared that peace shall never be again firmly established. The doctrine of Luther has taken deep root in a multitude of hearts. If, therefore, instead of refuting this doctrine by sure testimony from the Bible, endeavours are made to annihilate it by the thunders of ecclesiastical dominion, great scandal will be caused, and terrible and pernicious revolts will be brought into active operation."

The elector, strong in the confidence he reposed in Luther, had the letter from Teutleben forwarded to the residence of the monk, along with another letter which the prince had received from the cardinal St George. The reformer was painfully agitated while perusing these documents. He immediately perceived the accumulation of danger that surrounded his path, and his soul was for an instant overwhelmed with sorrow. But it was in moments like the present the full force of his faith shone forth with excessive lustre. Often weak, and at times ready to fall into dejection, it was seen to gather strength and to display unusual courage in the very whirlwind of the tempest. He would willingly have been released from such mighty trials; but he knew at what cost he must secure repose, . . . and he rejected such offers with indignation. "Keep myself silent!" said he, "I am well inclined to do so if it be permitted me, that is to say, if others also are content to remain silent. If any one envies my duties, let him undertake their performance. If any one wishes to destroy my writings let him burn them. I am prepared to continue at rest, provided no exertions are made to put to rest evangelical truths. I do not look for the hat of a cardinal, nor do I ask for either silver or gold, or any other thing held in such estimation at Rome. There is nothing in the world I am not ready to relinquish provided that the way of salvation be not closed to the admission of Christians. All their threats do not alarm me, nor can all their promises seduce me from my labours."

Animated with these sentiments Luther quickly recovered his warlike dispositions, and preferred to the calm of solitude the turmoils of Christian combat. A single night sufficed to fix his desire to overthrow the powers of Rome. "My part is taken," he wrote the next day, "I equally despise the fury and the favour of Rome. I look for no more reconciliation or communication with her for ever! Let her condemn and burn my writings! In my turn I will publicly condemn and burn the pontifical law, that nest of all heresies. The modera-

arm ourselves, in order to destroy the fury of the devil." Luther on receiving this letter exclaimed—"I do not wish that recourse should be had, in defending the gospel, to deadly weapons and carnage. It is by the word that the world has been conquered; it is by the word that the church has been saved; and it is also by the word she shall again be re-established. I do not despise his kind offers," said he again, with reference to the letter from Schaumburg we have mentioned above, "but nevertheless I do not wish to place my trust in any other save in Christ." This was not the manner in which the pontiffs of Rome delivered their sentiments when they marched in the blood of the Vaudois and Albigenses. Hutten discovered the difference that there was between his own cause and that of Luther, and thus nobly expressed his convictions. "For me, I am occupied with the affairs of man; but as for you, elevating your thoughts much higher, you are wholly conversant with the things of God." And then he departed to gain over, if possible, to the cause of the truth, Ferdinand and Charles V.

Thus at times the enemies of Luther were ready to crush him to the earth, and at times his friends rose up to defend him from their vengeance. "My bark," said he, "floats here and there at the pleasure of the winds. . . . Hope and fear here reign by turns; but it does not signify." Still the demonstrations of sympathy exhibited for his cause were not devoid of influence over his spirits. "The Lord reigns," said he, "he is there, we could indeed touch him." Luther now saw that he was not left alone, his words had borne fruit, and such a thought filled his mind with fresh courage. The fear of compromising the elector no longer constrained his views, now that he was sure of other protectors who were disposed to brave the hurricane rage of Rome. He thus felt himself more at liberty to act, and became, if possible, more decisive in his resolutions. At present was an important moment in the development of Luther's character. "Rome must be made to understand," he now writes to the chaplain of the elector, "that should she succeed in driving me by her threats away from Wittenberg, she shall only have made her own cause so much the worse. For it is not in Bohemia, but in the bosom of Germany, that are to be found those who are prepared to defend me against the thunders of Popery. If I have not assailed my enemies with all the forces I could have brought against them, it is neither to my modesty nor to their own tyranny they must attribute this leniency on my part, but to the name of elector and the prosperity of Wittenberg which I had feared to compromise. But now that I have no such fears to restrain me, I shall be seen to throw myself with renewed energy upon the abuses of Rome and her courtiers."

And still it was not in the great Luther reposed his hopes. He had been often solicited to dedicate a book to Duke John, the brother of the elector, but he had not yet yielded to these solicitations. "I fear," he had said, "that this suggestion may not have come from himself. The Holy Scriptures must not be made subservient but to the glory of the single name of God." Luther recovered from these doubts, and dedicated to Duke John his discourses upon good works. This is one of the writings in which the reformer explains, with the most urgent ability, the doctrine of justification by faith—that all-

powerful truth, whose strength he rates at much higher value than the sword of Hutten, the army of Seckingen, or the safe protection of many dukes and electors.

"The first, the most noble, the most sublime of all works," said he, "is faith in Jesus Christ. It is from this work that all other works must proceed. They are all the vassals of faith, and receive from her alone their efficacy.

"If a man feels in his heart the assurance that what he does is agreeable to God, the work is good, did it only consist in lifting a piece of straw from the ground; but if there is not in him this assurance, his work is not good, although by it he were to raise the dead to life. A Pagan, a Jew, a Turk, or any hardened sinner, can accomplish all these other works; but to confide firmly in God, and to have the assurance that that which is done is agreeable to him, this is the duty which the Christian confirmed in grace can alone perform.

"A Christian possessed of faith in God does all things with freedom and joy; whilst the man who is without God, is full of care and caution in his servitude. He asks of himself with agony how many works he is obliged to complete, he runs about here and there, putting questions to this one and to that one; he nowhere meets with peace, but does all things under the feelings of displeasure and fear.

"Consequently, I have always exalted faith. But it is otherwise in the world. There the essential thing is to abound in works, great, extensive, and of all dimensions, without any solicitude whether or not these works are animated by faith. In this manner, peace is sought to be built up, not in the good pleasure of God, but upon individual merits, that is to say, upon the sand. . . . (Matthew vii. 27.)

"To preach faith is, it is said, to hinder good works; but although a man should have in himself the whole strength of all men, or even of all creatures, this single obligation to live in the faith would be a task too great for him ever to accomplish. If I were to say to a sick person, have health and you shall have the use of your limbs, shall any one say that I forbid this man the use of these limbs? Must not health precede the active labour? It is the same thing, therefore, when we preach faith: she must precede the works, in order that the works themselves may be brought into existence.

"Where then is it possible to find this faith, shall you say, and how is it to be received? This is, indeed, what it is most important to know. Faith comes alone from Jesus Christ, gratuitously promised and bestowed. . . .

"O man, figure to yourself Jesus Christ, and contemplate how in him God has shewn you mercy, without being restrained by any more on your part. Then see in this image of his grace the faith and the assurance that all your sins are pardoned. Works could never accomplish such a conviction. It is from the blood, the afflictions, and the death of Christ that this persuasion flows, that it is forced to penetrate the heart. Christ is the rock whence milk and honey are poured forth in streams." (Deut. xxxii.)

Being unable to bring the whole works of Luther under the notice of our readers, we have quoted some short fragments of this discourse upon good works, on account of the opinion expressed of it by the reformer himself. "It is in my judgment," said he, "the best of all

the writings I have published." And he likewise adds this profound remark—"But I know that when I please myself in what I write, the infection of that evil heaven prevents the same production from pleasing others." Melancthon, in sending this discourse to a friend, accompanied it with these words—"There is not one among all the Latin or Greek writers who has approached nearer than Luther to the spirit of St Paul.

CHAPTER III.

Popery Attacked—Call to the Nobility—The Three Walls—All Christians are Ready—The Magistrates ought to Correct the Clergy—Abuse of Rome—Ruin of Italy—Dangers of Germany—The Pope—The Legates—The Monks—Marriage of Priests—Celibacy—The Feasts—The Bohemians—Charity—The Universities—The Empire—The Emperor ought to Retake Rome—Book not Published—Modesty of Luther—Success of the Address.

But there had been established in the church another evil besides the substitution of a system of meritorious works in place of the idea of grace and amnesty. A superb power had raised itself from the middle of the humble pastors of the flocks of Jesus Christ. Luther was destined to attack this usurped authority. Already vague and distant reports announced the intrigues and success obtained by Doctor Eck in the city of Rome. These rumours awakened the war-like propensities of the reformer, who, in the tumult of all his agitations, had studied, in his retreat, the birth, the progress, and the usurpations of Popery. And the discoveries he had made filled him with surprise. He no longer hesitated about making these secrets known, and of striking the blow which, like the stroke given of old by the rod of Moses, must rouse from their slumbers a whole nation lost in sleep by means of a long captivity. Thus even before Rome had found time to issue her formidable bull, Luther was first to promulgate his declaration of war. "The time to hold one's peace has passed," exclaimed he, "and the time to speak out has arrived." In short, it is now necessary to uncover the mysteries of Antichrist. On the 23d of June 1502 he published his famous *Call to His Imperial Majesty and to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, upon the Reformation of Christianity*. This proclamation formed the signal of attack which must decide alike the rupture and the victory.

"It is not through temerity," said he, at the commencement of this production, "that I undertake, myself a man of the people, to speak to your Lordships. The misery and oppression which at this hour overwhelm all the states of christendom, and more especially Germany, have extorted from me the present cry of distress. I am compelled to call for succour; it is incumbent upon me to discover whether or not God will bestow his spirit upon some man of our country, and extend his arm over our unhappy nation. God has given us as a chief, a young and generous prince, (the emperor Charles V.,) and he has thus filled our hearts with excellent hopes. But it is needful that we on our parts should do all we can.

"Now, the first necessary step is not to confide in our own great strength, or in our own superior wisdom. If a man begins a good work by placing confidence in himself, God will cast down and destroy that work. Frederick I., as well as Frederick II., and many other emperors besides, before whom the world trembled, have been trodden down under foot by the popes, because they were found

to confide in their own strength rather than in God. They must, therefore, of necessity have fallen. It is, moreover, against the powers of hell we are summoned to combat in this war. To expect nothing from the force of arms, but to trust humbly in the Lord, to regard the distresses of christendom more than the crimes of the wicked, this is the manner in which the conflict must be waged. Otherwise the work may very probably commence with favourable appearances; but on a sudden, in the middle of the struggle, confusion shall arise, the evil spirits shall cause an immense disaster, and the whole world shall be seen deluged with blood. . . . The more man is possessed of power, the more he exposes himself to destruction, if he is not found walking in the fear of the Lord."

After this exordium, Luther continues thus:—

"The Romans have surrounded themselves with three walls, so as to form a protection against all kinds of reformation. Should temporal power assail their rights, they have said, it has no control over them, and that spiritual power is thereto superior. If a wish has been shewn to engage with them by means of the Holy Scriptures, they have replied that no one is able to interpret their meaning unless it be the pope. Have the threats of a council been held up before them, no person, they say, has power to convoke the meeting of a council unless it be the sovereign pontiff.

"They have, in this manner, carried away the three rods whose use was to correct their errors, and have abandoned themselves to all sorts of malice. But now may God assist us, and give unto us one of those trumpets which were mighty in overthrowing the walls of Jericho! Let us cast down with our breath the walls of paper and straw which the Romans have raised around themselves, and let us bring back the rods which are for the punishing of the wicked, by exposing before the full light of day the artifices of the devil."

Luther after this commences the attack. He shakes, to its very foundation, that papal monarchy which for centuries had succeeded in uniting into one nation the whole people of the west, under the sway of the sceptre held in the hands of the Roman bishop. There is no priestly rank in Christianity: this was the truth stolen from the church since the days of its first ages, which he, in the first place, discloses with excellent force.

"It has been said," thus speaks Luther, "that the pope, the bishops, the priests, with all those who inhabit the convents, form the spiritual or ecclesiastical state; and that princes, nobles, citizens, and peasantry, compose the secular or lay community. This is a very fine history. Nevertheless, let no one be frightened by its report. All Christians belong to the spiritual state, and there is no other difference between them than that of the functions they severally perform. We have all one baptism and one faith, and therein consists the constitution of a spiritual man. The unction, the tonsure, the ordination, or the consecration which are bestowed by the bishops or the pope, may suffice to make a hypocrite, but they can never complete a spiritual man. We are all together consecrated priests by baptism, as it is said by St Peter, *You are priests and kings*, although it does not appertain to all to exercise the duties of such a trust; for no one can assume to himself that which is common to all without the will of the community. But if this consecration from God was not upon us, the

unction of the pope could never be able to make a priest. If ten brethren, sons of the king, having equal rights to the inheritance, should choose one from among them, in order to administer the inheritance for them, they would be all kings, and yet only one of them would be the administrator of their common power. The same thing happens in the church. If some pious laymen were found banished in the desert, and that, not having with them a priest consecrated by a bishop, they came to an agreement to elect one among themselves, married or not married, that man would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops in the world had consecrated him to the office. In this very manner were chosen Augustine, Ambrose, and Cyprian.

It follows from this statement that the laity and the priests, the princes and the bishops, or, as it is said, the ecclesiastics and the laity, have nothing to distinguish them but their various functions. They all form together the same state, although they have not all the same duties to perform.

"If this be the true state of the matter, wherefore do not the magistrates correct the clergy? The secular power has been established by God for the punishment of the wicked and the protection of those who do well. This power must be allowed to act throughout all christendom, whoever may fall under its rule, whether it may be pope, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or any one else. St Paul says to all Christians, *Let every one* (and, consequently, the pope also) *be subject to superior powers, for they do not bear the sword in vain.*"

Luther, after having in the same manner cast down the two "other walls," takes a view of all the abuses of Rome. He exposes with an all-prevailing eloquence, the evils recognised for many a century. Never was a more noble opposition undertaken. The assembly, in presence of whom Luther speaks, that is, the church; the power whose abuses he assails, that is, popery, which had for so many centuries oppressed the people; and the reform, for which he calls with a loud voice, must exercise a powerful influence over the whole of christendom, and in all the world, while human life is left to exist.

He begins with the pope. "It is a horrible thing," says he, "to see the man who calls himself the vicar of Jesus Christ displaying a magnificence which is unequalled by any emperor on earth. Is this the fashion in which to exhibit a resemblance to the poor Jesus, or even the humble St Peter? He is, say they, the Lord of the world; but Christ, of whom they boast he is the vicar, has said, *My kingdom is not of this world.* Shall then the reign of a vicar be found to excel that of his Lord?"

Luther next proceeds to describe the effects of papal domination. "Do you know of what use the cardinals are? I am anxious to tell you this. Italy and Germany have a great many convents, foundations, and richly endowed curacies. How can all this riches be transported to Rome? Cardinals have been created; these abbeys and episcopacies have been given to them; and what is the consequence at this hour? Italy is almost deserted, the convents are destroyed, the bishopricks consumed, the cities decayed, the inhabitants corrupted, worship is expiring, and preaching is abolished! And wherefore? Because it is necessary that all

the riches of the church should be carried to Rome. Never did the Turks so completely waste the territories of Italy."

Luther again returns to his own country.

"And now that they have thus drawn all the blood from the veins of their own nation, they have made a descent upon Germany; they commence calmly: but be watchful over their proceedings; for Germany shall very soon be made to resemble Italy. We have already among us a few cardinals. Before the stupid Germans shall be able to discern our purposes, they think, these same Germans shall no longer be possessed of either bishoprick, or convent, or curacy, of even a halfpenny or a farthing. Antichrist must lay hold on all the treasures of the earth. Thirty or forty cardinals shall be created in one day. The one shall receive Bamberg, another the bishoprick of Wurtzburg, and rich curacies shall be given to them, until our churches and cities shall become desolate. And then the pope shall declare, I am vicar of Christ and the pastor of his flocks. Let the Germans be resigned."

The indignation of Luther is kindled.

"How then shall we Germans suffer, on the part of the pope, such robbery and depredation? If the kingdom of France has been wise enough to defend herself, why should we allow ourselves to be thus treated and ridiculed. And, ah! if they were but content to carry away our goods; but they propose to ravage the churches and to strip the sheep of Christ; they mean to abolish worship and to annihilate the word of God."

Luther, in continuance, exposes the "practices of Rome" in order to secure the money and the revenues of Germany. The annats, palls, benefices, administrations, expected gifts, incorporations, reservations, &c., he takes into account successively, and then he says, "Let us endeavour to put a stop to such desolation and misery. If we wish to march against the Turks, let us begin by advancing upon those Turks who are the worst of all. If we hang the cheat and behead the robber, let us not leave the avaricious Roman to escape, who is the greatest cheat and robber, and who plunders in the name of St Peter and of Jesus Christ! Who can endure such atrocity! Who can be silent in such a cause? Is not all that the pope has the gains of robbery? for he has neither bought nor inherited his possessions from St Peter, nor yet won them by the sweat of his brow. Whence has arisen all this evil?"

Luther again proposes remedies for all these abuses. He encourages, in an energetic strain, the German nobility, to put a stop to these Roman depredations. Then he refers to the Reformation of the pope himself. "Is it not laughable," he says, "to hear the pope claim the legitimate inheritance of the empire? Who has left him this heritage? Is it Jesus Christ, when he says, *The kings of the nations domineer over them; but it shall not be thus with you?* (Luke, xxii. 25, 26.) How is it possible to govern an empire and at the same to preach, to pray, to study, and to take care of the poor? Jesus Christ has forbidden his ministers to take along with them either gold or clothing; because it is impossible to perform the duties of the ministry unless one be free from every other care; and yet the pope would still desire to govern the empire, and at the same time continue to be the pope."

Luther continued to pluck off worldly honours from the sovereign pontiff. "Let the pope renounce every kind of title over the kingdoms of Naples or Sicily. He has no more right thereto than I have. It is unjustly and against all the commandments that he holds in possession Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, La Romagna, La March de Ancona, &c. '*No one*,' says St Paul, '*who goes to war encumbers himself with the affairs of this life*,' (2d Tim. ii. 2;) and yet the pope, who pretends to be the chief in the war of the gospel, embarrasses himself more with the affairs of this world than any other emperor or king whatever. Let the emperor put into the hands of the pope the Bible and a prayer book, so that the pope may leave kings to direct governments, and that he himself may turn his attention to the duties of preaching and praying."

Nor did Luther desire to witness more of the ecclesiastical power of the pope in Germany than of his temporal power in Italy. "Above all it is necessary," said he, "to drive out of every country in Germany the legates of the pope, with all the pretended benefits they confer on us at the cost of much gold, and which are in themselves sheer mockery. They take money from us, and for what reason, but in order to legitimize their ill-acquired wealth, to loosen the obligations of an oath, to teach us how we may fail in fidelity and to commit sin, and to lead us straight to hell? . . . Hear this, O pope! not very holy, but deeply-sinning pope! . . . May God, from the height of heaven, very speedily precipitate thy throne down to the depths of the infernal abyss."

The Christian tribune pursues his course. After having cited the pope to the bar of his judgment, he next summons there all the abuses which constitute the retinue of Popery, and strives to sweep from the floor of the church those nuisances which defile its purity. He begins with the monks:—

"And now I come to speak of that burthensome band, who promise much but perform little. Do not become angry, my dear sirs, for my intention is good: and the truth which I shall declare is at once mild and bitter, namely, that it is not necessary to build cloisters for the use of mendicant monks. Great God! we have too many of these establishments, and may it please God that they should be cast to the ground. . . . To wander as vagabonds through the country has never been productive of good, and never can be so."

The marriage of the clergy next, in its turn, attracts the notice of the reformer. It is the first time Luther has spoken on this subject.

Into what a condition have the clergy fallen, and how many priests do we not find encumbered with a woman, with children, and with remorse, without any sympathy or assistance being afforded them. The pope and the bishops may let matters go on as they do, and leave those to perish who may—be it so; but, for me, I desire to clear my conscience and freely to open my mouth, whether or not the pope or bishops, or whoever chooses, may be pleased to bear the scandal. . . . I say, therefore, that, in accordance with the institutions of Jesus Christ and his apostles, each city ought to have a pastor or bishop, and that this pastor is at liberty to have a wife, as St Paul has written to Timothy, *Let a bishop be the husband of one wife*, (Tim. iii. 2,) and in conformity with the practice now followed

in the Greek church. But the devil has persuaded the pope, as St Paul has averred to Timothy, (1 Tim. iv. 1-3,) to forbid marriage among the clergy. And from this single error such a load of misery has been imposed on thousands that it is impossible to reckon up its hideous amount. What ought, therefore, to be done? how is it possible to save such a number of pastors, with whom no fault can be found, unless it be by allowing them to live with one wife, to whom they would with all their hearts desire to be legitimately united? Ah! Let them but save their own consciences, and let them acknowledge these women as their legitimate wives, and let them live honestly together, without caring whether or not such conduct should prove displeasing to the pope. The salvation of their souls is of much more importance than obedience to tyrannical and arbitrary laws, which do not proceed from the commandments of the Lord."

In this way the Reformation eagerly sought to re-establish in the church holiness of manners. The reformer goes on to say—"Let feasts be abolished, and let Sunday be kept with due reverence, or, if there is a strong desire to retain the remembrance of the great Christian feasts, let the celebration thereof be confined to the morning, and let the rest of the day be appropriated to the purposes of common working days; because, as during the greater number of hours, nothing is done but the giving oneself over to excessive eating or drinking, or playing of games, or the committing of many other kinds of sin, or in remaining in total idleness, more offence has been offered to God on these days of feasts than on the ordinary days of lawful employment."

He proceeds to assail next the dedications, which he denominates real taverns, and the fastings and religious associations. And not only is he anxious to destroy abuses, he is equally desirous of putting an end to every kind of schism. "It is time," he says, "that we should consider seriously the case of the Bohemians, that we bring to an end all envy and hatred, and that we join again with them in bonds of peace and Christian fellowship." He proposes at same time an excellent method for securing reconciliation, and adds—"It is in this manner we must convince the heretic by means of the Scriptures, as was done in the instances of the ancient fathers, and not to conquer them by a cruel recourse to fire and torture. In a contrary system the public executioner shall become the wisest teacher in the universe. Oh, may it rather please God that we may be found on both sides to extend the hand of brotherly recognition, and not to harden our hearts in the pride of our individual strength or our individual rights. Charity is more needed than the Popery of Rome. Now I have done all that lay in my power to accomplish. If the pope or his followers set themselves in opposition to these proposals, they must one day thereof render an account. The pope should ever be ready to yield over the interests of Popery, to renounce all his possessions and all his honours, if by so doing he were assured he could save a single soul alive. But he would, it seems, prefer to look upon the destruction of the whole universe rather than cede one hair's weight of that excessive power he has so unsparingly usurped. . . . I wash my hands clean of these things."

Luther now approaches the condition of the universities and schools.

"I much fear," said he, "that the universities shall be converted into large gates leading inward to hell, if great care be not given therein to explain with anxious solicitude the books of the Holy Scriptures, and to engrave their contents upon the hearts of the young students. I would not advise any person to send his child to an institution where the Holy Scriptures did not reign. Every establishment in which the word of God is not made a constant and eager study must become corrupted." These are prudent words, which governments, learned men, and fathers, would do well to ponder upon with sincere attention.

Towards the end of his discourse, he reverts to the state of the empire and the emperors.

"The pope," says he, "not being able to dispose at his pleasure of the ancient masters of the Roman empire, has imagined the idea of stripping them of their title and empire, and for us to give them to us Germans. This notion has indeed been accomplished, and we have become the servants of the pope. For the pope has taken possession of Rome, and has obliged the emperor to swear that he shall never make his abode within the precincts of that ancient city; so that, in fact, the emperor is emperor of Rome without the ownership of Rome. We have the empty name, while the pope holds the property in the country and towns. We have the title and the arms of the empire, the pope has in keeping the treasury, the power, the privileges, and the liberty. The pope eats the fruit, and we amuse ourselves with the rind. It is in this manner the pride and tyranny of the Romans have always abused the meekness of our simplicity.

"But now, God who has given us such an empire will vouchsafe his aid. Let us comport ourselves in conformity with our name, our title, and our arms; let us protect our liberty! and let the Romans know that God has snatched us out of their hands. They make a boast of having given us an empire. So be it! Let us then take what belongs to us. Let the pope yield Rome into our hands and all that he holds of this empire. Let him put an end to his taxes and his extortions; and let him give us back our liberty, our power, our means, our honour, our souls, and our bodies! Let, in short, the empire be transformed into a condition conformable with the pretensions of an empire, and let not the sword of princes be longer constrained to point to the ground before the hypocritical presumption of a clerical pope."

There is in these words not merely the charms of persuasion, but also the force of convincing reason. Never had any orator dared to speak thus of the whole body of nobility in the empire, and even of the emperor himself. Far from being surprised that too many Germanic states should be detached from Rome, it was rather a matter of astonishment that the whole of Germany should not have been ready to resume, upon the very borders of the Tiber, that imperial power of which the popes had imprudently placed the attributes on the head of its chief.

Luther terminates this bold harangue in these words:—

"I thoroughly believe that I have spoken too freely, and have proposed many things which must appear impossible, as well as attacked with a too determined purpose a great number of errors. But what would I do in such a case? It is better to let the world be angry with

me rather than God! . . . Nothing more than my life can ever be taken from me; and I have often made offers of peace to my enemies. But God has forced me, even by means of themselves, always again to speak in contradiction of their assertions. I have still a word in reserve for Rome, and if their ears are itching to hear it, I will give utterance thereto with loud acclaim. . . . Understand well, O Rome, what I would wish to say!" . . .

Luther, most probably, here refers to a work upon Popery which he had proposed to make public, but which has never been published. The rector, Burkhard, wrote at this time to Spengler:—"There is still a little book of *Execranda Venere Romanorum*, but it is held back in reserve. The title bespoke the discovery of much scandal, and we ought to rejoice that Luther possessed the moderation which hindered the publication of this work.

"If my cause be just," continued he, "it must of necessity be condemned upon earth, and justified alone by Christ in the heavens. Let them advance, then, pope, bishops, priests, monks, and teachers! Let them exhibit all their zeal! Let them give full vent to their fury! They are, in reality, the very people who are destined to persecute the truth, as in all ages they have unhappily proved."

Where could this monk have procured so distinct an understanding of public affairs, which the ministers of state belonging to the empire have themselves found it so difficult a matter often to comprehend? Where could this German have obtained that courage which, from the heart of his nation, during so many centuries in a state of subjection, enabled him to stand so boldly forth, and to aim such effectual blows against the powers of Popery. What can have been that mysterious strength with which he was invested? Must we not believe that he had again listened to these words spoken by God to a man of ancient days—*Behold, I have strengthened your face against their faces; I have made your brow like unto a diamond and stronger than flint: be not therefore afraid on account of them.*

This noble exhortation was addressed to the nobles of Germany, and very soon reached the hands of those for whom it was intended. It was spread throughout every province with inconceivable celerity. The friends of Luther were made to tremble, and Staupitz, and those who were eager to walk in the paths of reconciliation, regarded the blow as too severe. "In our day," replied Luther, "everything that is tranquilly pursued falls into oblivion, and no notice is given to its entreaties, however urgent." At the same time, he displayed an astonishing degree of simplicity and humility. He did not even know himself. "I do not know what to say of myself," he writes. "Perhaps I am the forerunner to Philip, (Melancthon,) I prepare for him, in imitation of Elias, the way in spirit and in strength. And it is he who shall one day cause trouble to Israel and the house of Ahab."

But there was no need to look for any other beside him who had already appeared. The house of Ahab was indeed now shaken at its foundation. *The Address to the Germanic Nobility* had been published on the 26th of June 1520, and in a short time 4,000 copies were sold—a number of books, never before known to be disposed of in the times we speak of, as connected with one subject. The wonder created was universal; for this work produced in the minds of the people an irresistible commotion. The force, the life, the clearness,

and the generous hardihood which were so conspicuous in every page rendered this production truly popular. The people felt convinced that he who spoke in such strains was their devoted friend. The confused views entertained by many discreet men were resolved into method and right reason, whilst the usurpations of Rome were made patent to the comprehensions of every intelligent being. In Wittemberg no one now expressed a doubt upon the fact that the pope must be regarded as Antichrist. The court of the elector itself, so circum-spect and so timid, did not offer any disapproval of the reformer's words; they were willing to wait. But the nobility and the people had no such uncertain views. The nation had become enlivened. The voice of Luther had roused its spirit, and it was gained over to the cause whose standard he had so firmly placed in its very centre. Nothing could have proved more advantageous to the work of the reformer than the publication we have referred to. In the palaces, in the castles, in the dwelling-houses of the citizen, and even in the cottages, all are prepared now, and, as it were, clad in armour against the sentence of condemnation which was about to be passed upon this prophet of the people. All Germany is at last on fire. Let the bull arrive, it could have no power in extinguishing the temper of these ardent flames.

CHAPTER IV.

Preparations are made at Rome—Motives of Resistance of Popery—Eck at Rome—Eck obtains—The Pope is the World—God causes the Separation—A Swiss Priest Pleads in Behalf of Luther—The Roman Presbytery—Exordium of the Bull—Condemnation of Luther. 1—

Everything was now prepared in Rome for the condemnation of the defender of the church's liberty. Life had for many years been passed in this capital in the midst of a haughty security. For long the monks of Rome had accused Leo X. of an exclusive regard to the enjoyments of luxury and pleasure, and of a desire to occupy himself alone in the business of the chase, of the theatre, and of music, while the affairs of the church were crumbling into ruins. At last, instigated by the cries of Dr Eck, who had come from Leipsic to invoke the powerful assistance of the vatican, the pope, cardinals, monks, and all the authorities of Rome were aroused from their lethargy and encouraged to cast a thought towards the safety of popedom.

Rome, in fact, was called upon to exercise the most severe measures. The glove had been thrown down at her feet, and the combat must be for life or death. Luther had not merely attacked the abuses of the Roman pontificate, but even Papacy itself. At his summons, the pope was ordained to descend in humble manner from his throne, and to become again the simple pastor or bishop stationed on the borders of the Tiber. All the dignitaries of the Roman hierarchy were doomed to renounce their worldly riches and glory, and to take upon themselves the offices of elders and deacons of the churches in Italy. All that distinguished rank and power, which for centuries had dazzled the hemisphere of the west, was challenged to begin anew the humble simplicity of the worship rendered by the followers of primitive Christianity. God was able to accomplish such mighty doings, and one day he will assuredly bring them to pass; but it was impossible to look for their attainment from the exertions of men. And although an individual pope could have been

found sufficiently disinterested and hardy to have thought of overturning the ancient and sumptuous edifice of the Roman church, many thousand priests and bishops would have stretched out their hands to prevent the meditated destruction. The pope had only received his powers under the express condition of a determination to uphold the authority with which he had been invested. Rome had believed herself created by God for the government of the church. It cannot, therefore, be wondered at that she should prepare herself to inflict the most astounding punishment. And yet she hesitated at first to strike the blow. Several cardinals, and the pope himself, were averse to the adoption of severe measures. The intelligent Leo clearly foresaw that a judgment whose accomplishment depended upon the very doubtful pleasure of the civil powers was calculated seriously to compromise the authority of the church. He saw, moreover, that the violent means which had already been resorted to, had only tended to increase the evil. Is it impossible to wheedle back this Saxon monk, said some of the politic individuals of Rome? Must all the strength and all the cunning of Italy be frustrated in such a work? Negotiations must still be prosecuted.

Eck in this manner met with cumbersome obstacles, but he used his utmost efforts to prevent the occurrence of impious concessions. He traversed Rome in his endeavours to excite this spirit of vengeance, which he powerfully manifested in his own wild demeanour, and thus encouraged the fanatical party of the monks to join with readiness in his exasperated labours. Strong in the faithfulness of this alliance, he assailed, with fresh courage, both the pope and his cardinals. In the opinion of Eck, all attempts at reconciliation were useless. It was to place confidence in the visions of vain dreams with which people deceive themselves at a distance : and he knew the real dangers of the case ; for he had wrestled with the audacious monk complained of. He knew that haste must be made to lop off this mortified member, for fear of infection being communicated to the whole body. The fierce combatant of Leipsic resolved objection after objection, and with much difficulty persuaded the pope. He was resolved to save Rome in spite of Rome herself. He set every machine in operation, and passed whole hours in deliberation within the closet of the pontiff. He moved the court, the convents, the people, and the church, in furtherance of his object. "Eck calls from the depth unto the depth against me," said Luther ; "he has set fire to the forest of Libanus." At last he succeeds, and the politicians of the court of Rome are vanquished by fanatics in the councils of Popery. Leo yields the point, and the condemnation of Luther is resolved upon. Eck once more breathes with freedom. His self pride is flattered with the thought of his having accomplished the ruin of his heretical rival, and of thus having saved the church. "It is well that I came to Rome in time," said he ; "for the errors of Luther were very little understood in the capital. One day all that I have done in this cause shall be recognised."

No one so ably seconded the views of Doctor Eck as the master of the sacred palace, Silvester Mazzoline de Prierio. This person had just published a work in which he contended that, not only did it belong to the pope to pass an infallible decision upon all disputed points, but likewise that the papal domination formed the fifth

monarchy of Daniel, and the only true one : that the pope was the prince of all ecclesiastical princes, the father of all secular princes, the head of the world, and even, in essence, the whole world itself. In another book the same author had affirmed that the pope was as much above the emperor as gold exceeds lead in specific value : that the pope had power to elect or depose emperors and electors ; to establish or annul positive laws ; and that the emperor, with all the laws, and every people in christendom, were unable to decide the least question without the concordance of the pope. Such were the opinions promulgated by the indwellers of the sovereign pontiff's palace ; such were the gigantic fictions which, in unison with scholastic dogmas, presumed to stifle all animation in the awakening truth. "Had not this fable been exposed as it has been, even by judicious men attached to the Catholic church, there had not been left to us the vestige of either history or religion in their native truth. Popery is not only a lie when compared with the Bible, but is so also when brought into competition with the annals of nations. In this manner the Reformation, by dissolving, its charm, has set at liberty not merely the church, but equally the kings and people of the earth. It has been asserted that the Reformation was a political enterprise ; in the sense now alluded to, it certainly was so ; but it is still only in a secondary sense that the great work can be thus regarded.

Thus God had rendered vain the thoughts of the teachers of Rome. It was now requisite to complete the separation between the substances of truth and error, and it was error that was destined to promote this end. Had any accommodation been entered into, it could only have been at the expense of the truth ; and to deprive her of her smallest attribute, could only ensure her utter annihilation. She resembles in this that insect of whom it is said the death is produced by the taking away of a single horn. Truth longed to have the use of all her members, in order to display to effect that constant energy which was able to secure for her mighty and salutary victories, and to propagate her principles far down into the ages of futurity. To throw a little error into the well of truth, is to cast a grain of poison into an abundant supply of food ; this grain is sufficient to change the whole nature of the diet, and death shall be the consequence, it may be by slow, but yet by certain degrees. Those who guard the doctrines of Christ against the contaminations of their adversaries, watch with jealous care their most advanced positions, even as if they were the main citadel itself ; for from the moment that the enemy gets possession of one of these outward defences, he is not far from the attainment of conquest. The Roman pontiff had decided, at the period we treat of, to cause disruption in the church, and the fragment designed to remain under his own grasp, however magnificent in its appearance, still concealed under pompous ornaments the deleterious principle with which it was infected. In the place where the word of God is found, there only is life preserved. Luther, however courageous in his spirit, would have probably remained silent, had Rome set him the example of peace, and might have concluded with some apparent concessions. But God had not abandoned the cause of the Reformation to the guidance of man's weak heart. Luther was in the hands of one who saw more clearly than he did. Divine providence had made use of the pope in order to dissolve all connexion

between the past and the future, and to throw the reformer into a new course, unknown and uncertain in his view, and of which it was impossible for him alone to discover the difficult approaches. The pontifical bull was the letter of divorce which Rome sent to the pure church of Jesus Christ, in the person of him who was then its humble but faithful representative; and the church accepted this message with the purpose of acknowledging, from that hour, no other head than he who was seated in the heavens:

Meanwhile that in Rome the condemnation of Luther was pursued with so much violence, a humble priest, dwelling in one of the frugal cities of Helvetia, and who had never enjoyed any intercourse with the reformer, had been deeply affected at the thoughts of the blow which was about to fall upon his head; and at the time that the intimate friends of the doctor of Wittenberg were trembling and silent, this son of the Swiss mountains came to the resolution of employing all attainable means to stop the issue of this formidable bull. The name of this good man was Ulric Zwingli. William of the Taucons, secretary to the pope's legate in Switzerland, who, in absence of the legate, was intrusted with the discharge of the affairs appertaining to Rome, owned himself the friend of Zwingli. "As long as I live," a few days before this *interim* nuncio had said, "you can reckon on me for all that can be done by a true friend." Confiding in these words, the Helvetian priest had waited upon the Roman official, (at least so it may be inferred from one of his own letters.) He felt no fears on his own account in consequence of his adherence to the faith of the gospel; for he knew that a real disciple of Jesus Christ must always be ready to sacrifice even his life. "All that I ask of Christ on my own behalf," said he to a friend to whom he then expressed his solicitude in the cause of Luther, "is that I may be enabled to support with a manly heart the evils that await me. I am as a vessel of clay in his hands; let him break or preserve me as it seemeth good in his sight." But this Swiss evangelist had fears for the Christian church, if such a fearful blow were permitted to crush the reformer. He, therefore, strove to persuade the representative of Rome to forward useful information to the pope, and to employ every means at his command to avert the sentence of excommunication from being passed upon Luther. "The dignity of the holy see itself is interested in this affair," said he; "because, if matters arrive at such a height, the country of Germany, filled with enthusiasm for the gospel, and in favour of the doctor who announces its truths, will despise the pope and all his anathemas." These remonstrances were, however, unavailing, and it would even appear that the dreaded blow had already been struck. Here we behold the first instance wherein the paths of the Saxon doctor and those of the Swiss priest were seen to be in the same direction. We shall again meet with Zwingli in the course of this history, and we shall contemplate him in the development of his character, and in his gradual growth to a high stature as a member in the church of the Lord.

The condemnation of Luther having been resolved upon, some new difficulties were intruded within the heart of the Roman presbytery. The theologians were urgent that immediate recourse should be had to the sentence of fulmination, whilst the pontifical lawyers advised, on the contrary, the introductory form of a regular citation. "Was

not Adam first cited?" said the latter to their theological colleagues. "*Adam, where art thou?*" said the Lord. And it also so happened in the case of Cain—"Where is thy brother Abel?" demanded the Eternal. To these singular arguments, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, the canonists joined other motives supported by the law of nature. "The evidence of a crime," said they, "cannot be allowed to take away from any criminal the right of defence." It is pleasing to recognise these principles of justice upheld in a Roman assembly; but such scruples arrested not the theologians of the meeting, who, led on by passion, only thought of bringing the matter to a speedy conclusion. At last an immediate condemnation of the doctrine of Luther was agreed upon, and, with reference equally to himself and his adherents, a term of sixty days was granted, after which, if they did not retract their opinions, they would be all, *ipso facto*, sentenced to excommunication. De Vio, who had returned from Germany in a bad state of health, had requested to be carried into the middle of the meeting. He could not deny himself the pleasure of this little triumph, which somewhat soothed his wounded pride. Conquered at Augsburg, he at least assisted to condemn in Rome that formidable monk before whom he had beheld all his wisdom, cunning, and authority, to crumble into dust. Luther was no longer present to give an answer, and De Vio experienced the consciousness of his present strength. A concluding conference, at which Eck gave his assistance, took place in the presence of the pope, in the city of Malliano. It was on the 15th of June the sacred college confirmed the condemnation, and approved of the famous bull.

"Arise, O Lord," said the Roman pontiff, speaking at this solemn moment as vicar of God and head of the church—"Arise thou, and be judge of thine own cause, in remembrance of the opprobrium with which the insane are every day insulting thy name. Arise, Peter! and take care of the holy Roman church, the mother of all churches, and mistress of the faith. Arise, O Paul! for now we behold another Porphyry, who attacks thy doctrines and the holy popes, our predecessors. Arise, lastly, the assembly of all the saints, and the holy church of God, and make intercessions at the right hand of the Almighty God."

The pope then quoted, as pernicious, scandalous, and hurtful, forty-one propositions composed by Luther, in which the doctor explained the holy doctrine of the gospel. The following propositions were found in the number referred to above:—

"To deny that sin dwells in the child after baptism, is to despise at once St Paul and our Lord Jesus Christ.

"A new life constitutes the best and most sublime repentance.

"To burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit," &c.

"From the very hour in which this bull shall be published," continued the pope, "the bishops shall be called upon to examine with care the writings of Martin Luther which contain these errors, and to burn them solemnly and publicly in the presence of the clergy and of the laity. With regard to Martin himself, good God, what have we not done? Imitating the goodness of the all-powerful God, we are still ready to receive him again within the bosom of the church, and we now grant him sixty days to enable him to forward to us his recantation in a sealed writing, by means of two prelates, or rather,

which would be more agreeable for us, that he may come in person to Rome, so that no one can have occasion to doubt his perfect obedience. Meanwhile, and from this very instant, he must renounce the practice of preaching, or teaching, or writing, and must commit his works to the flames. And if he does not retract within the space of sixty days, we condemn him by these presents, he and all his adherents, as public and obstinate heretics." The pope, in continuance, pronounced a great number of excommunications, maledictions, and interdicts against Luther and against all his associates, with orders to seize upon their persons, and send them to Rome. It might readily be guessed what fate was destined to await these generous confessors of the gospel in the dungeons of Popery.

Thus the thunder-cloud was formed over the head of Luther. It might have been imagined, after the affair with Reuchlin, that the court of Rome would have been cautious in constructing again a common cause with the Dominicans and inquisitors. Now these latter authorities had, however, gained the advantage, and the ancient alliance was solemnly renewed. The bull was published, and during the course of many centuries, the mouth of Rome had never been known to pronounce sentence of condemnation when her arm was not prepared to kill. This murderous message was about to leave the seven hills, and to warn in his cloister the Saxon monk. The moment for executing such an order was well chosen; for it may easily be supposed that the new emperor, who had so many reasons for conciliating the good will of the pope, would be eager to merit this friendship by the sacrifice of an obscure monk. Already Leo X. with his cardinals, and the whole population of Rome, were exulting in their triumph, and beheld their enemy prostrate at their feet.

CHAPTER V.

Wittemberg—Melancthon—His Marriage—Catherine—Domestic Life—Beneficence—Gentleness—Christ and Antiquity—Labour—Love of Letters—His Mother—Revolt of the Students.

At the moment when the inhabitants of the eternal city were conducting themselves in the manner we have described, more tranquil scenes were passing before the world in the town of Wittemberg. Melancthon there was the means of spreading abroad a mild but brilliant light. From 1500 to 2000 pupils, attracted from the countries in Germany, in England, in the Netherlands, in France, in Italy, in Hungary, and in Greece, were daily waiting on the delivery of his lectures. He was, at this date, twenty-four years of age, and did not belong to any ecclesiastical body. Every person in Wittemberg was happy to receive within their dwellings this young professor, whose character was so amiable and whose learning was so profound. Many foreign universities, and that of Ingolstadt in particular, were anxious to draw him into their own establishments. And his friends in Wittemberg wished, by encouraging him to marry, to secure his residence among themselves. While eagerly desiring to see his dear Philip united to a female companion, Luther loudly declared his unwillingness to give an advice on this subject. But others made the object in view their earnest study. The young teacher especially visited the house of the burgomaster Krapp, who was allied to an ancient family. Krapp had a daughter

named Catherine, whose character was mild and of great sensibility. Melancthon was recommended to ask this young lady in marriage; but the persevering student was buried in his books, and did not seem willing to devote his attention to any other care. His Greek authors and his Testament were his delight. To the persuasions of his friends he offered serious arguments: but at last his consent was procured. All necessary arrangements were completed for him, and Catherine became the wife of Melancthon. He received her to his arms with a cold demeanour, and said, in heaving a sigh—"God has then wished it to be so! It is necessary that I should renounce my studies and my pleasures, in order to obey the wishes of my friends." He perceived, however, the good qualities of Catherine. "The young girl," said he, "is possessed of a character and education such as I might have asked from God. May God by his right hand conduct the affair to a happy issue; for certainly she was worthy of a better husband." It was in the month of August the marriage was decided upon; on the 25th of September the usual betrothment took place; and at the end of November the matrimonial alliance was completed. On this occasion old John Luther and his wife, in company with their daughters, paid a visit to Wittenberg. A number of learned men and distinguished personages attended at the nuptial feast.

The young wife evinced as much warmth of affection as the youthful professor had exhibited indifference. At all times eager in her solicitude for the happiness of her husband, Catherine became alarmed from the moment she discovered the least appearance of danger in the situation of this beloved being. When Melancthon proposed to take any step which seemed to compromise his safety, she overwhelmed him with prayers to desist from his intentions. "I must," ~~she~~ ^{she} said to Melancthon, on some such occasion, "yield to this weakness; for this is my fate." How many instances of infidelity in the church have arisen from a like origin. Perhaps it may have been to the influences of Catherine, that ought to have been attributed the timidity and fears with which her husband has often been reproached. Catherine was equally tender as a mother and a wife, and she was liberal in her gifts to the poor. "O God! do not forsake me in my old age, when my hairs shall have become gray." Such were the common exclamations of this pious and fearful soul. Melancthon was very soon subdued by the affectionate care of his wife: and when ~~he had~~ ^{he} ~~tasted the sweets of domestic life, he acknowledged their~~ ^{he} ~~charms; for he was made to relish such endearing scenes.~~ ^{he} Nowhere was he more happy than in the society of his Catherine and her children. A French traveller having one day found the "master of Germany" rocking with one hand his child asleep, while he held a book in the other, drew back with surprise. But Melancthon, without shifting his position, described to the stranger in such glowing terms the value of a child in the sight of God, that he left the spot a much wiser man than when he entered this house.

The marriage of Melancthon conferred on the Reformation a domestic home. There was from that time, in the city of Wittenberg, a family whose house was open to all those who experienced the influences of the new life. The concourse of strangers was in this manner immense within the dwelling of the professor. A thousand different affairs brought visitors to the closet of Melancthon; and the estab-

lished order forbade that anything should be refused to any individual whatever. The young doctor was exceedingly disposed to forget himself when he was engaged in acts of kindness. If he were in want of money, he secretly conveyed away his domestic property to some merchant, having little heed of depriving himself provided that he could obtain the means of assuaging the sufferings of others. "In this manner it would have been impossible for him to have provided for the wants of himself and family," said his friend Camerarius, "had not a Divine and a hidden benediction furnished him, from time to time, with fresh means of personal supply." His gentleness was extreme. He had a collection in his possession of some antique gold and silver medals, remarkable for their shape and inscriptions. He was shewing these curiosities one day to a stranger in his house, and said to him, Take whatever of these you please along with you. I would like to have them all, replied the stranger. I confess, said Philip, that this indiscreet demand at first offended me; nevertheless I let him have the medals.

There was in the writings of Melancthon an odour of antiquity, which, however, did not prevent the good savour of Christ from being distinguished in every page, and which conferred upon these writings an inexpressible charm. There is not one of his letters to his friends, wherein one is not compelled to trace their thoughts back, in the most natural order, to the wisdom of Homer, Plato, Cicero, or Pliny, whilst Christ is recognised to continue throughout every idea his Master and his God. Spalatin had requested him to give an explanation of these words used by Jesus Christ—"*Without me ye can do nothing.*" (John, xv. 5.) Melancthon referred his friend to Luther—"For, wherefore should I declaim in the presence of Roscius?" said he, in the words of Cicero. Then he continues—"This passage means that we should become absorbed in Christ, so that we no more act of ourselves, but that Christ should live in us. As the divine nature has been incorporated with man in Christ, so it is necessary that man should be incorporated into Jesus Christ by faith."

The illustrious scholar usually went to bed soon after supper; and at two or three o'clock in the morning he was again at his studies. It was during these morning hours of labour that his best works were composed. His manuscripts were habitually left upon his table, exposed to the view of every one who entered the room, in so much that several of his writings were actually stolen. When he invited a few friends to his house, he always requested some one of the party to read before their repast any little composition in prose or verse, and when he went on a journey, he constantly carried along with him a select number of young people, with whom he conversed in a manner at once instructive and amusing. But if the conversation became languid, each one in company was obliged to repeat, in their turn, certain sentences extracted from the writings of the ancient poets. He often spoke in a strain of irony, modifying, however, at all times, its asperity with much sweetness of temper. "He pricks and he cuts," said he of himself, "but still without doing any mischief."

The acquirement of knowledge was his ruling passion. The end of his life was to spread abroad the use of letters and enlightened information. Let us not forget, too, that learning in his sight was especially directed to the contents of the Holy Scriptures, and after-

wards only to the science of Pagans. "I apply myself," said he, "but to one thing—the defence of letters. We must, by our example, kindle in the bosoms of the young an ardent admiration of learning, and cause them to love its acquirement for its own sake, and not on account of the profits they may derive therefrom. The destruction of letters comprises the loss of all that is good—of religion and manners, the affairs of God and the affairs of men. . . . The more estimable a man becomes, the more eager he feels to assist in the preservation of letters, because he knows that of all pests ignorance is the most pernicious plague."

Some time after his marriage, Melancthon made an excursion into the Palatinate, as far as Bretten, with the view of visiting his affectionate mother, in the company of Camerarius and other friends. When he once more beheld his native city he dismounted, and, throwing himself upon his knees, returned thanks to Almighty God for having permitted him to look again upon the scenes of his youth. Marguerite, when clasping her son to her bosom, nearly fainted from the pressure of excessive joy. She was urgent that he should remain in Bretten, and beseeched him with impatience to continue in the faith of his fathers. Melancthon warded off the attempts of these insinuations, but with courtesy, lest he should wound the conscientious convictions of his mother. He had great difficulty in accomplishing his separation from his fond parent; and whenever any traveller brought him news from his native town, he experienced a sensation of joy, he said, that seemed to invest him with the gay pleasures of his youth. Such was the natural character of one of the most powerful instruments connected with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

A commotion, however, occurred, which sufficed to trouble the domestic course and studious activity followed, as we have been relating, in Wittenberg. The students of the university came to a misunderstanding with the citizens of the place. The rector evinced a great want of requisite decision; and it may easily be conceived how sad were the feelings of Melancthon when he saw his pupils in learning engaged in such acts of riot. Luther was greatly moved; he was far from wishing to work upon men's minds by any shew of a false condescendence, but the opprobrium which these disorders cast upon the character of the university pierced his soul. He ascended the pulpit and preached with earnestness against these seditious deeds, recommending to both parties a willing submission to the authority of the magistrates. This discourse excited in many strong feelings of irritation. "Satan," said he, "not having been able to attack us from without, desires to injure us from within. I do not fear his malice; but I fear that the anger of God may be made to fall upon us, because we have not in sufficiently good part received his word."

In the course of these three last years I have thrice been exposed to imminent danger: in 1518 at Augsburg, in 1519 at Leipsic, and now, in 1520, at Wittenberg. It is neither by wisdom nor by arms that the work of renovating the church shall be accomplished, but by humble prayers and a courageous faith, which will ensure the assistance of Jesus Christ. O my friends! join your prayers to mine, for fear that the evil spirit may make use of this small spark to kindle among us an immense fire,

CHAPTER VI.

The Gospel in Italy—Discourses upon the Mass—The Babylonian Captivity of the Church—Baptism—Abolition of other Vows—Progress of the Reform

But combats more terrible in their nature were awaiting Luther ; for Rome was brandishing unsheathed the sword with which she was about to strike the gospel. The report of the condemnation which was about to be served upon him, instead of subduing the spirit of the reformer, produced in him an increase of courage. He shewed little anxiety to parry the blows of that superb power. It was by inflicting, on his part, more terrible blows, that he shall succeed in rendering inoffensive the attacks of his adversaries. Thus, whilst the transalpine congregations were fulminating their anathemas against him, he carried the sword of the word into the bosom of the Italian people. Many letters from Venice spoke of the favour with which the sentiments of Luther were received in that city, and he burned with a desire to send the gospel across the high passages of the Alps. Evangelists themselves must be the bearers of the gospel. "I would wish," said he, "that we could become living books, that is to say, preachers, and that we could multiply and protect such works in every quarter, so that they might transmit to the people a knowledge of holy things. The prince could not occupy himself in a deed more worthy of his renown ; for if the people of Italy were to receive the truth, then our cause shall become impregnable." It does not appear as if this project of Luther was carried into successful effect. It is true, no doubt, that at an after period some evangelical individuals, among them Calvin, made a stay in Italy ; but, for the moment, the design of Luther was followed by no results. He had addressed himself to one of the mighty ones of the world. Had he sent his appeal to humbler men, but men full of zeal for the kingdom of God, the issue would have been very different. At the time we speak of, the idea was entertained that all things should be done by means of governments, and the associations of simple persons—that power which now operates with such certainty in the affairs of christendom—were then almost unknown.

¶ If Luther failed in his endeavours to spread abroad at a distance a knowledge of the truth, he became more zealous in his personal application to this great work. It was at this time he delivered at Wittenberg his discourse upon the holy mass. In this sermon he attacks a vast variety of sects in the Roman church, and reproaches them, with good reason, for their want of unity. "The multiplicity of spiritual laws," says he, "has filled the world with countless sects and divisions. Priests, monks, and the laity have thereby been driven to hate each other more desperately than Christians are enraged against the Turks. What have I said? Nay, the priests among themselves, and the monks among themselves, have separated into feuds of deadly animosity. Each one is attached to his sect and despises all the rest. Such is the use made of the unity and charity of Jesus Christ." He then reprobates the idea that the mass should be regarded as a sacrifice, and be supposed to have any sacred influence in itself. "The best property in every sacrament," says he, "and, consequently, in the Lord's Supper, consists in the word and the promises of God. Without faith in this word and

these promises, the sacrament is death; it is a body without a soul, a cup without wine, a purse without money, an image without performance, a letter without spirit, a box without a diamond, a scabbard without a sword."

Still the voice of Luther was not shut up exclusively within the confines of Wittenberg, and if he had failed in procuring missionaries to carry his instructions to a distance, God had provided for him a new description of missionary. The printing press was now destined to occupy the labours of evangelists. This press was appointed to make terrible breaches in the Roman fortresses. Luther had himself laid one mine whose explosion had sufficed to shake the edifice of Rome to its very foundation. This mine was composed by the publication of his famous book upon the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, which appeared on the 6th of October 1520. Never had any man, placed in circumstances so peculiarly critical, displayed such tokens of native courage.

He, in the first place, describes, in this work, with sublime irony, all the advantages for which he was indebted to his enemies.

"Whether I am willing or not," says he, "I become from day to day a more learned man, pushed on as I am by so many celebrated masters. Two years ago I made an attack upon indulgences, but with so much indecision and fear, that now I am ashamed of my work. There is no need, however, to be astonished at this, for I was then alone in my attempts to move that rock." He returns his thanks to Prierio, to Eck, to Emser, and the rest of his opponents. "I denied," continues he, "that Popery proceeded from God, but I granted that it was founded in human right. Now, after having read all the subtilities upon which these fops have established their idol, I know that Popery is but another name for the kingdom of Babylon, and the violence of the great hunter Nimrod. I pray, therefore, all my friends and all booksellers to burn the works which I have written upon the subject, and to substitute in their place this simple proposition — *Popery is a general chase, commanded by the Roman bishop, to catch and to destroy souls.*

Luther next refers to the prevailing errors upon sacraments and monastic vows, &c. &c. He reduces to three, namely, baptism, repentance, and the Lord's supper, the seven sacraments recognised by the church. He explains the real nature of the Lord's supper. Then he proceeds to speak upon baptism, and it is on this point he more especially settles the excellence of faith, and defies the authority of Rome with force. "God," says he, "has preserved for us this simple sacrament clean from the traditions of men. God has said—*He who shall have believed and shall have been baptized shall be saved.* This promise made by God must be preferred before all the splendour of works or vows, or all the satisfaction, and all the indulgences, and everything else which has been invented by man. Now, upon this promise, if we receive it in faith, depends all our salvation. If we believe, our heart is strengthened by the Divine promise, and when all shall have abandoned the faithful believer, the promise which he believes shall never forsake him. With it he will resist the adversary who founds his attacks upon his soul, and he will reply with it to the threats of merciless death, and even at the judgment seat of God. His consolation in all his trials will be to say, God is true in

all his promises ; I have of this received the sure testimony in baptism, and if God is for me, who can be against me ? Oh ! how rich is the Christian and he that is baptized ! Nothing can destroy them, unless they should refuse to believe.

"Perhaps, in contradiction to what I have said, the baptism of little children may be quoted. But as the word of God is powerful even to the changing of the heart of an impious person, who is, however, neither less deaf nor less incapable than a little child, in the same manner the prayers of the church, to which all things are possible, change the little child, by the faith which it pleases God to shed upon his soul, and thus to cleanse and renew it."

After having explained the doctrine of baptism, Luther employs it as a weapon against the errors of Popery. In fact, if the Christian finds all his salvation in the renewal of his baptism through faith, what need has he to follow the prescriptions of Rome ?

"It is for this reason," says Luther, "I declare that neither the pope, nor bishop, nor any other man whatever, has the power of imposing the smallest burthen upon any Christian, at least unless it be with his own consent. All that is done otherwise is done tyrannically. We are free in every respect. The vow which we have made in baptism is wholly sufficient in itself, and is more than all we could ever accomplished. All other vows, therefore, may well be abolished. Whoever takes upon himself the priestly office, or enters into fellowship with any religious order, sufficiently understands that the works of a devotee, or of a priest, however difficult they may be, differ in no respects in the sight of God from the duties of a peasant who labours in the field, or of a woman who is occupied in the cares of her household. God estimates all things by the standard of faith. And it often happens that the simple toil of a servant man or servant maid is more agreeable to God than the fasts and the works of a monk, because faith has been found wanting in the labours of the latter. . . . Christian people are the true people of God, transported in captivity to Babylon, where they have been forcibly deprived of the benefits baptism had conferred upon them."

Such were the weapons which accomplished the religious revolution whose history we are anxious to trace. In the first place, the necessity of faith was re-established ; and afterwards the reformers made use of this fact as of a hammer to beat into dust the whole mass of Roman superstitions. It was with this power of God, which can remove mountains, they attacked the immense horde of error. These words delivered by Luther, and many others of a similar import, spread abroad throughout the cities, convents, and countries, formed the leaven which was found to leaven the whole lump.

Luther concluded his famous production upon the captivity of Babylon in the following words :—

"I have been told that certain new papal excommunications are destined to be fabricated against me. If this be true, the present book may be regarded as a component part of my future recantation. The remainder shall speedily be produced in order to give full proof of my obedience, and the whole shall be found to form, with the assistance of Christ, such an amount total as Rome has never yet seen, or ever expected to see equalled."

CHAPTER VII.

New Negotiations—The Augustines at Eisleben and Miltitz—Deputation to Luther—Miltitz and the Elector—Conference at Lichtemberg—Letter from Luther to the Pope—Book given to the Pope—Union of Christ and of the Faithful—Liberty and Servitude.

After the appearance of a work like the one we have just considered, all hopes of a reconciliation between the pope and Luther might well have vanished. The incompatibility of the faith of the reformer with the doctrines of the church, must have become evident to the most careless observer. But precisely at the time we allude to fresh negotiations were about to commence. Five weeks before the publication of the *Captivity of Babylon*, and about the end of August 1520, the general chapter of the Augustines had assembled in the city of Eisleben. At this convocation the venerable Staupitz resigned the office of vicar-general of the order, and Wincelas Link, who had accompanied Luther to Augsburg, was chosen as his successor. The indefatigable Miltitz arrived suddenly during the sitting of this chapter. He was enflamed with a desire to reconcile the pope and Luther. His self-esteem, his avarice, and especially his jealousy and his hatred, were alike interested in this ardent wish. Eck and his impatient boastings had given him pain; he knew that the doctor of Ingolstadt had so far maligned his character in Rome, and he was willing to sacrifice much in order, by a peace promptly concluded, to overthrow the designs of his importunate rival. The welfare of religion had no part in his schemes. One day, as it is told, he was feasting at the table of the bishop of Leissen, and the company had already indulged to some excess, when a new work composed by Luther was introduced to their notice. This book was immediately opened and read; the bishop got into a passion and the officials swore; while Miltitz began to laugh with all his heart. Miltitz indeed treated the Reformation like a man of the world, Eck regarded it with the eyes of a theologian.

Roused by the arrival of Doctor Eck, Miltitz addressed to the chapter of the Augustines a speech delivered in an accent of voice peculiarly Italian, believing in this manner to ingratiate himself with his worthy compatriots. "The whole order of the Augustines," said he, "is compromised in this affair. Point out to me some method of repressing Luther." "We have nothing to do with the doctor," replied the fathers of the order, "and we know not what advice to give you." These venerable men, no doubt, grounded their remarks upon the liberation Staupitz had given Luther at Augsburg, from his obligations to the laws of this order. Miltitz urged farther—"Let a deputation," said he, "from this venerable chapter be sent to converse with Luther, and to entreat him to write to the pope, giving assurance that he (Luther) had never contrived any plot against the person of the pope. Such an acknowledgment would suffice to terminate the whole affair." The chapter finally yielded to the request of the nuncio, and intrusted, undoubtedly at his recommendation, the former vicar-general and his successor, Staupitz and Link, with the fulfilment of their communication to Luther. This deputation set out forthwith for Wittemberg, and was the bearer of a letter from Miltitz to Luther, profuse in his expressions of disinterested

regard. "There was no time to lose," thus ran the epistle; "for the thunder-clouds full charged were ready to burst upon the head of the reformer, and then all shall have come to a conclusion."

Neither Luther nor the deputies who participated in his sentiments entertained any good hope from the letter to be addressed to the pope. But this very want of expectation formed a strong reason for not refusing the advice to write. Such a letter could only prove a simple matter of form, which must still more distinctly exhibit the rights of Luther. "This Italian from Saxony," (Miltitz,) thought Luther, "has, without doubt, in this demand his own particular interest in view. But let it be so. I will write, in conformity with the truth, that I have never harboured any wish against the person of the pope. I must, indeed, be very careful not to attack the see of Rome itself. Nevertheless I will sprinkle it with salt."

But very soon afterwards the doctor was informed of the arrival of the bull in Germany, and on the 3d of October he declared to Spalatin that he would not write to the pope, while, on the 6th of the same month, he published his work upon the *Captivity of Babylon*. Miltitz did not even yet allow himself to despair. The wish to humble Eck encouraged him to believe in impossibilities. On the 2d of October he had written in terms of profound respect to the elector—"All shall yet be well; but, for the love of God, do not delay longer the payment of the pension you and your brother have granted me these some years back. I have need of money to engage on my behalf new friends at Rome. Do you write to the pope, and pay your respects to the young cardinals, the relations of his Holiness, with pieces of silver and gold belonging to the coin of your electoral Highness, and add some of these gifts in my name; for I have been robbed of those you formerly sent me."

Even after Luther had received notice of the bull, the intriguing Miltitz was not wholly discouraged. He requested to be favoured with a conference at Lichtemberg along with Luther. The elector gave his orders to the doctor to attend this meeting; but his friends, and above all the affectionate Melancthon, were opposed to his departure on this errand. "How would it do," thought they, "at the very moment when the bull had appeared which commanded all to seize upon Luther in order to conduct him to Rome, to accept, in a distant quarter, the invitation to a conference with the pope's nuncio. Was it not evident that Doctor Eck, unable to come close to the home of the reformer, on account of having too openly displayed his feelings of hatred, the wily chamberlain had determined to catch Luther by stratagem?"

These fears had no influence over the actions of the doctor of Wittenberg. The prince had issued orders, and he was resolved to obey. "I leave this for Lichtemberg," he wrote to the chaplain on the 11th of October; "do you pray for me." But his friends were unwilling to forsake him. And on the same day, towards the evening, Luther entered Lichtemberg on horseback, surrounded by thirty mounted companions, among whom was seen the amiable Melancthon. The nuncio of the pope arrived at the place of rendezvous much about the same time, followed by a retinue of four persons. Must not this modest equipment have formed an artifice to beguile the confidence of Luther and his friends?

Miltitz urged Luther with the most pressing solicitations, assuring him that the blame would be thrown upon Eck and upon his foolish vapourings, and that all should be terminated to the satisfaction of both parties. "Very well," replied Luther, "I offer for the future to keep silence, provided that my adversaries are willing to do the same. I wish to do for the sake of peace all that it is possible for me to do."

Miltitz was overcome with joy. He convoyed Luther back to Wittemberg. And the reformer and the papal nuncio entered side by side into this city, towards which Doctor Eck was seen then approaching in possession of the formidable bull destined to overthrow the work of the Reformation. "We shall bring the affair to a happy conclusion," Miltitz likewise wrote to the elector; "be sure to return thanks to the pope for his roses, and send at same time forty or fifty florins to the cardinal, *Quatuor Sanctorum*."

Luther was bound to fulfil his promise and to write to the pope. Before bidding an eternal adieu to Rome, he felt anxious to pour into her ear, yet once more, a declaration of important and salutary truths. His letter may perhaps only be viewed in the light of a caustic production, or a bitter and insulting satyr; but this judgment betokens ignorance of the sentiments which animated the mind of Luther. He solemnly attributed to Rome all the evils with which christendom was afflicted; and, consequently, the whole of his words are not so many insults, but the substance of solemn warnings. The more he admired either Leo or the church, the more was he anxious to expose the virulence of their plague. The energy of his expressions is just the measure whereby to test the warmth of his affections. The moment has arrived when heavy blows must be struck. It would appear as if a prophet were making for the last time the circuit of the city, reproaching it with all its abominations, revealing to it the judgments of the Eternal, and crying in its ear, "Still a few days longer!" . . . The said letter was in substance as follows:—

"To the very holy father in God, Leo X., the pope of Rome, be all salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

"In the midst of this violent war which for three years I have waged against disorderly men, I have not been able to prevent myself at times from casting a glance towards you, O Leo, very holy father in God! And although the folly of your impious flatterers has constrained me to make an appeal from your judgment to that of a future council, my heart has not been turned away from your Holiness, and I have never ceased to ask of God, by constant prayers and deep sighs, the prosperity of your Holiness and of your pontificate.

"I have, it is true, made an attack upon certain antichristian doctrines, and I have made a deep wound on the character of my adversaries, on account of their impiety. And I do not repent of this; for therein I follow the example of Christ. For what use is the salt if it does not bite? Or what the edge of the sword if it does not cut? Cursed be the man who negligently does the work of the Lord! O very excellent Leo, far from having ever conceived an evil thought in respect of you, I wish for you throughout eternity the most precious blessings. I have done but one thing; I have maintained the word of truth. I am ready to yield to all, and in all; but as for this

truth, I wish not to, and I cannot, abandon it. Whoever thinks differently from me in this thinks wrong.

"It is true that I have attacked the court of Rome; but neither you yourself, nor yet any other man upon earth, can deny that the corruptions thereof have become greater than those of Sodom and Gomorrah, or that the impiety which reigns in that court is beyond all hope of cure. Yes, I have been filled with horror when I saw that under the cloak of your name the poor people of Christ have been deceived. I am opposed thereto, and I will continue thus opposed, not because I imagine myself to have power, in spite of the opposition of flatterers, to accomplish any reformation in this Babylon which has become the essence of confusion, but I owe these exertions to my brethren, so that some of them may have an opportunity to escape, if possible, out of these terrible flames.

"You are well aware that Rome, for these many years, has deluged the world with everything calculated to secure the loss of both body and soul. The church of Rome, formerly the first in holiness, has become a den of thieves, a theatre of prostitution, and a kingdom of death and hell, inasmuch that if Antichrist were himself to appear on earth, he could not succeed in augmenting the malice of Rome. All this is more evident than even the light of the sun.

"And, nevertheless, you, O Leo, are like a lamb in the midst of wolves, or like Daniel in the den of lions! Alone, what can you oppose to the rapacity of these monsters? It may be that there are three or four cardinals who join to knowledge virtue; but what are they against so vast a number! You shall perish by poison even before you could make the attempt to find a remedy. It is all over with the court of Rome, for the anger of God awaits it, and this anger shall consume it. Rome despises advice; she fears reform; she does not wish to moderate the fury of her impiety, and thus, is it fair that these words should be repeated to her, as they were spoken to her mother—*We have administered unto Babylon, and she is not cured; let us abandon her.* It belongs to you and your cardinals to prescribe the remedy; but the malady only mocks at medicine, and the horse will not obey the reins.

"Full of affection for you, very excellent Leo, I have always regretted that, formed for a better age, you should have been raised to the pontificate in times like the present. Rome is not worthy of you, or of those who resemble you in character, she only deserves to have satan for her head. Indeed it is true that he, rather than you, reigns in the heart of this Babylon. May it please God that, casting down this glory which your enemies so highly exalt, you may be exalted to exchange your lofty condition for a modest parsonage, or to live upon your paternal inheritance; for it is only fit that Iscariots should enjoy a glory like the present glory of Rome. . . . O my dear Leo, of what use are you, then, in the court of Rome, if it be not to offer an opportunity for the most execrable of men to ruin, under the cloak of your name and power, the fortunes, and to lose the souls of Christians, as well as to multiply the number of crimes, to oppress the faith, to crush the truth, and to destroy the whole church of the living God? O Leo, Leo, you are the most wretched among men, and you now sit upon the most dangerous throne upon earth! I tell you the truth, because I wish to do you good.

"Is it not true that, under the vast canopy of heaven, there is nothing more corrupted or more hateful than the court of Rome? She far outstrips the Turks in vice and in corruption. At one time the gate of heaven, she has now been turned into the mouth of hell—a large mouth which is held open by the anger of God, in so much that, beholding so many unhappy beings rushing within its jaws, I am constrained to cry aloud like the blasts of the tempest, in order, if possible, to save at least a few from the horrors of that awful abyss.

"Behold, O Leo, my father, wherefore I have, as it were, let myself loose against this see which causes death. Far from harbouring an intention to rise in anger against your person, I have considered myself labouring to procure your salvation, while I valiantly attacked this prison, or rather hell, wherein you are now shut up. To do all the ill you can to the court of Rome is to perform your duty. To cover her with shame is to render honour to Christ. In a word, to be a Christian, it is needful not to be a Roman.

"Nevertheless, seeing that I cannot gain the deliverance of the see of Rome, while I equally lose my own trouble and pains, I have sent her a letter of divorce. I have bid farewell to Rome by saying, *Let him that is unjust be unjust still; let him that is filthy be filthy still, yet more and more*, and I have given myself over to the peaceful and solitary study of the Holy Scriptures. But, then, satan has opened the eyes, and awakened his servant John Eck, a great enemy to Christ, in order that I should be compelled again to enter the lists of disputation. He wished to establish, not the pre-eminence of Peter, but his own, and for such a purpose to lead conquered Luther away in triumph. It is to him must be attributed all the opprobrium with which the see of Rome has been covered."

Luther relates his adventures with De Vio, Miltitz, and Eck, and then continues thus—

"Now then, I come to you, O very holy father, and, prostrate at your feet, I pray you to put a bridle, if that be possible, on the tongues of the enemies of the peace. But I cannot retract my doctrine. I cannot allow that many rules of interpretation should be imposed upon the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. The word of God must be left free, which is, in fact, the very source out of which all true liberty flows."

"O Leo, my father, do not listen to these siren flatterers who try to convince you that you are not a mere man, and that you can ordain whatever is pleasing in your sight. You are the servant of servants, and the place you occupy is the most dangerous and most miserable of all situations. Believe not those who exalt you, but those who teach you to be humble. I am perhaps too bold in thus giving instructions to a majesty so lofty, whose duty it is to afford intelligence to every man. But I perceive the perils that encompass you in Rome, and I have beheld you tossed here and there, as if riding upon the raging billows of an angry sea. Charity impells me, and I must utter this cry of warning and of salvation.

"Not to appear before your Holiness with an empty hand, I pray you to accept of a little book which has appeared under the protection of your name, and which will suffice to inform you upon what subjects I am willing to devote my attention, if your flatterers will grant me leave. It is of little value if looked upon outside, but it is

worth much gold when examined by its contents ; because the summary of the Christian life is therein anxiously described. I am poor, and have nothing else to offer for your acceptance ; besides, have you need of any other thing than the gift of spiritual life ? I recommend myself to your Holiness, whom may the Lord Jesus eternally keep. Amen."

The small book of which Luther made a present to the pope was his sermon upon *The Liberty of the Christian*. The reformer therein demonstrates, without having recourse to polemics, in what manner, irrespective of the liberty which faith has bestowed, the Christian can submit himself to all outward ordinances, in a spirit of liberty and charity. Two truths serve as the foundation of all the others. "The Christian is free and master of all things ; and the Christian is servant and submissive in all and to all. He is free and a master through faith ; he is submissive and a servant through charity."

He, in the first place, explains the power of faith in rendering the Christian free. "Faith unites the soul with Christ, as a husband with his spouse," said Luther to the pope. "All that Christ possesses becomes the property of the faithful soul, and all that the soul has becomes the property of Christ. Christ is in possession of all true wealth and of eternal salvation, these are, therefore, henceforth the property of the soul. The soul is possessed of every vice and every sin, and these have become henceforth the property of Christ. It is in this manner a very happy exchange has begun. Christ, who is God and man ; Christ, who has never sinned, and whose holiness is invincible ; Christ, the All-powerful and Eternal, has appropriated to himself, in virtue of his marriage ring, that is to say, faith, all the sins of the faithful soul ; these sins are swallowed up and abolished in him ; because no sin can subsist in the presence of his infinite justice. Thus, by means of faith, the soul is delivered of every sin and invested with the eternal justice of her husband, Jesus Christ. O happy union ! the rich, the noble, the holy husband, Jesus Christ, has taken in marriage this poor, culpable, and despised spouse, has delivered her from all evil, and clothed her with goods of the most exquisite beauty. . . . Christ, king and priest, shares this honour and this glory with every Christian. The Christian is a king, and, consequently, he possesses all things ; he is a priest, and, consequently, he possesses God. And it is faith and not works which ensure him such high honours. The Christian is free from all things, and above all things, faith giving him all things richly to enjoy."

In the second part of his discourse, Luther presents the other side of the truth. "Although the Christian has become thus free, he voluntarily becomes a servant, so that he may act towards his brethren as God has acted towards him in Jesus Christ. I wish, says he, to serve freely, joyfully, and gratuitously, a Father who has thus bestowed on me all the abundance of his wealth. I wish to become all things for my neighbour, as Christ has become all things for me." "From faith," continues Luther, "flows the love of God ; and from love flows a life full of liberty, of charity, and of joy. Oh ! how noble and exalted is the life of a Christian ! But, alas ! no person experiences its joys, and no person preaches its acceptance. By faith, the Christian elevates his nature towards God ; by love he descends towards man, and still he dwells constantly in God. Behold the

essence of true liberty, a liberty which surpasses all other liberty, as far as the heavens are raised above the earth."

It was a writing of this description Luther despatched along with his letter to Leo X.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Bull in Germany—How Eck is Received—The Bull at Wittemberg—Intervention of Zwingle.

In the meantime, while Luther was, for the last time, addressing himself in the manner we have related to the Roman pontiff, the bull which was formed to anathematize the reformer had already reached the hands of the leaders in the Germanic church, and was even close to the gates of Wittemberg. It would appear that no doubts were entertained in Rome respecting the success of that measure which had just been adopted to repress the Reformation. The pope had commanded two distinguished functionaries of his court, Carracioli and Alexander, to convey this document to the archbishop of Mentz, with instructions for him to superintend its execution. But Eck himself appeared in Saxony as the herald and executioner of this grand pontifical work. The doctor of Ingolstadt was more thoroughly acquainted than any other with the force of the blows Luther had inflicted; he had witnessed the danger, and had stretched out his hand to protect the tottering authority of Rome. He was, as he believed, the Atlas destined to carry on his broad shoulders the ancient Roman world now ready to fall from its centre. Proud of the success which had attended his journey to Rome; proud of the charge he had received from the sovereign pontiff; proud of appearing in Germany invested with the new title of pontifical protonotary and nuncio; proud of that bull which he brought with him; and in which was fixed the condemnation of his invincible rival, his present mission was for Eck a more magnificent triumph than all the victories he had gained in Hungary, Bavaria, Lombardy, or Saxony, and from which he had formerly enjoyed so large a share of glory. But this pride was doomed to meet with a speedy fall. The pope, by confiding to Eck the publication of this bull, had committed an error which was calculated to destroy the proper effect. A distinction so illustrious, conferred upon a person who did not occupy any elevated rank in the church, created jealousy in the minds of many susceptible individuals. The bishops, accustomed to receive these bulls directly from the pope, were offended by seeing this one published in their dioceses under the authority of this temporary nuncio. The nation, which had hissed at the pretended conqueror of Leipsic, at the time when he had fled into Italy, saw him, with astonishment and anger, return from the farther side of the Alps provided with the ensigns of a pontifical nuncio, and with powers to crush to the earth her own chosen men. Luther regarded this judgment brought by the hands of his implacable adversary as an act of personal revenge. This condemnation was for him, says Pallavicini, like the perfidious dagger of a mortal foe, and not like the lawful axe of a Roman licitor. This strange document was, in fact, no longer considered as a bull issued by the sovereign pontiff, but merely as the bull of Doctor Eck. In this manner the blow was weakened and blunted beforehand by the very person who had provoked its infliction. The chancellor of Ingolstadt had made great

haste to reach the provinces of Saxony. It was there he had engaged in the combat, and it was there he desired to enjoy the splendours of his victory. He succeeded in publicly posting the bull in Meissen, Merseburg, and Brandenburg, about the end of September; but in the former of these cities it was placarded in a place where no one was able to read it, whilst the bishops of these three sees were in no hurry to complete its official publication. Eck's grand protector, even, the Duke George, forbade the council of Leipsic to make this bull public before they had received regular notice from the bishop of Merseburg; and this necessary order did not arrive until the following year. "These difficulties are only made for form's sake," thought Eck at first, for everything else had seemed to smile upon him. Duke George had sent him a golden cup and some ducats. Miltitz himself ran to Leipsic when he received information of the arrival of his rival, and invited him to dinner. The two legates were thus placed in friendship at table, and Miltitz believed that he could not have a better opportunity of sounding the temper of Eck than when he had the glass in his hand. "When he had drank a sufficient quantity, he began," said the chamberlain of the pope, "to boast in excellent style; he made a grand display of his bull, and described how he designed to bring to reason this facetious Martin." But very soon the doctor of Ingolstadt perceived that the wind was likely to change. A great reversion of opinion had taken place in Leipsic during the course of a year. On the day of St Michael a number of students posted in ten different places placards in which the new nuncio was bravely attacked. Frightened at the appearance of these assaults, Eck took refuge in the convent of St Paul, where Tezel had formerly sought and received similar shelter, and where he refused to see all visitors, and obtained at same time from the rector a promise to curb the proceedings of these young adversaries. Still the poor Eck gained but little by this cautious conduct. The students composed a song of which he was the hero, and sang it through the streets so openly, that it reached the ears of Eck while confined in his voluntary prison. Now the courage of the doctor wholly deserted him, and the formidable champion trembled from head to foot. Every day he received letters containing various kinds of threats. One hundred and fifty students arrived from Wittemberg, who spoke in bold language concerning the condition of the papal envoy. Now the poor apostolic nuncio could no longer remain at rest. "I do not wish that they should kill him," said Luther; "but I desire that his designs may fail." Eck quitted his retreat during the night, and, clandestinely leaving Leipsic, he hid himself in the city of Coburg. Miltitz, who tells this story, triumphed more in its occurrence than the reformer. This triumph, however, was not of long duration; for all the projects of conciliation cherished by the chamberlain equally vanished, and he mournfully finished his life. Miltitz, in fact, fell, while in a state of intoxication, into the Rhine, at Mentz, and was drowned.

By degrees Eck recovered his former courage. He then paid a visit to Erfurt, at which place the theologians of the town had evinced more than once their dislike to the opinions of the doctor of Wittemberg. He pleaded that his bull should be forthwith published in that city; but the students seized the copies produced for this purpose, tore them to pieces, and threw them into the river, saying, "Since it

is a bull, let him swim." "Now," said Luther, upon learning this event, "the paper of the pope is a true bull."

Eck did not dare to enter the city of Wittenberg. He sent the bull to the rector, threatening that if it was not lawfully respected there the university should be destroyed. He wrote, at same time, a letter to Duke John, the brother and co-regent of Frederick. "Do not take in bad part what is done," said he; "for it is through faith I act, and that costs me much care, much labour, and much money."

The bishop of Brandenburg could not, although he had had the intention, act in Wittenberg in his quality of ordinary, for the university was protected by its own privileges. It was proposed that Luther and Carlstadt, condemned by the provisions of the bull, should take part in the sittings called to deliberate upon its contents. The rector declared that, not having received a letter from the pope along with the bull, he would refuse to publish it. This university already enjoyed in these countries a higher authority than the sovereign pontiff himself. The declaration here referred to thus served as a model to the government of the elector. In this manner the spirit which was in Luther triumphed over the bull of Rome.

Whilst this affair was occasioning so much commotion in the public mind in Germany, a solemn voice was heard revibrating through the provinces of another country in Europe. A certain person, foreseeing the desperate renderings which the bull of the pope was likely to work in the church, came forward to announce a serious warning and to defend the reformer. This was the same Swiss priest of whom we have already spoken, Ulric Zwingli, who, without any friendly connexion with Luther, published a work full of wisdom and dignity, the first of his numerous writings. A fraternal affection seemed to draw him into union with the doctor of Wittenberg. "The piety of the pontiff," said he, "requires that he should sacrifice with joy whatever he counts most dear to the glory of Christ, his king, and to the public peace of the church. Nothing more hurts his dignity than a determination to support it alone by means of salaries or fears. The writings of Luther have not yet been read, nevertheless he has been stigmatized in the face of the people as a heretic, a schismatic, and even as Antichrist. No one pays attention to him, no one refutes what he says, and when he asks for a discussion, the answer is given by condemning him. The bull which has been issued against him displeases even those who honour the grandeur of the pope; for in this document is everywhere recognised the marks of the powerless hatred of some monks, and none of the signs of the mildness of a pontiff, who ought to be the vicar of a Saviour full of charity. Every one acknowledges that the true doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ has greatly degenerated, and that there is need for a clear and public restoration of laws and manners. Examine all the men of knowledge and virtue, and you shall find that the more sincere they are, the more they are attached to evangelical truth, and the less scandalized by the books written by Luther. There is not a person but allows that the books have made them better, even although they have found no traces therein they do not altogether approve. Let men of pure doctrine be chosen, and of acknowledged probity; or let three princes above all suspicion—the Emperor Charles, the King of England, and the King of Hungary, agree to become arbitrators. Let these men

read the writings of Luther, and let them listen to himself, and let whatever they decide upon be properly ratified. Let the teaching and the truth of Christ obtain the victory."

This proposition, which proceeded from the country of Switzerland, was not carried into effect. The great divorce was destined to be completed. Christianity was doomed to be rent in pieces, and it was even from her very wounds she was appointed to receive the means of her recovery.

CHAPTER IX.

Luther Meditates before God—What Luther thinks of the Bull—A Neutral Family—Luther upsets the Bull—Against the Bull of Antichrist—The Pope Forbids to Believe—Effects of the Bull—The Funeral Rite of Louvain.

In truth, what signified all these resistances of students, of rectors, and of priests. If the powerful arm of Charles V. is united to the strong hand of the pope, shall they not be sufficient to crush under foot these scholars and learned men? Shall any one dare to oppose the forces of the pontiff of christendom and the emperor of the west? Then the blow is struck; Luther is cut off; and the cause of the gospel seems lost. The reformer did not conceal from himself, at this solemn moment, the dangers to which he was exposed. He directed his thoughts towards heaven, and prepared himself to receive, as from the very hand of the Lord, the stroke which seemed destined to annihilate all his hopes. His soul poured out its meditations at the foot of God's throne. "What is now to happen," said he, "I cannot tell, and I do not disquiet myself to know, assured that he who sits in the heavens has foreseen from all eternity the beginning, the continuation, and the end of this affair. Wherever the blow may fall, I am without fear. The leaf of a tree does not fall without the will of our Father; how much less ourselves? . . . It is a small thing to die for the Word, since that Word which had become flesh for us has before died in itself. We shall rise again with it, if we also die with it; and passing through where it has gone before, we shall arrive at the place where it has stopped, and shall dwell in its presence throughout the endless ages of eternity." At times, however, Luther could not restrain his expressions of contempt for the manœuvres of his enemies; and thus we recognise anew in him that mixture of the sublime and ironical which constantly characterised the strain of his thoughts. "I know no more about Eck," said he, "than that he has arrived with a long beard, a long bull, and a long purse, . . . but I care little for his bull."

On the 3d of October he received information touching the papal letter. "Behold this Roman bull has at last arrived," said he; "I despise its authority, and regard it as impious and false, and in every respect worthy of Eck. It is Christ himself who is condemned by its provisions. No reasons are given in its contents, and I am thereby cited, not to be heard, but in order that I should simply recant. I will treat it as a lying document, although I believe it authentic. Oh, if Charles V. were a man! and if for the love of Christ he would attack the demons. I rejoice in being called upon to suffer some trouble for the best of all causes. I already feel more freedom in my heart, for I know at last that the pope is Antichrist, and that his seat is that of satan himself."

But it was not in Saxony alone the thunders of Rome excited lively sensations of alarm. The members of a peaceful family in Swabia, a family of neutral interests, saw their tranquillity disturbed in the most sudden manner. Bilibald Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, one of the most distinguished men of his age, had early been bereaved of his much beloved wife, Crescentia, and had continued in bonds of the closest affection with his two younger sisters, Charitas the abbess of St Clair, and Clara, a nun belonging to the same convent. These two pious young women served God in solitude, and divided their time in study, the care of the poor, and thoughts of eternity. Bilibald, an active legislator, recompensed the fatigues of his public duties by the correspondence he maintained with his amiable sisters. These ladies were very learned, and, reading Latin with ease, they prosecuted the study of the fathers; but no study afforded them so much pleasure as the study of the Holy Scriptures. They had never been taught by any other master save their brother; and the letters of Charitas are redolent with traits of delicacy and amiability. Filled with tender affection for Bilibald, she dreaded the slightest symptoms of danger which appeared to approach his person. Pirkheimer, in order to strengthen this fearful soul, composed a dialogue between Charitas and Veritas, (charity and truth,) wherein Veritas endeavours to encourage Charitas. Nothing could be more proper than this method of consoling a tender and distressed heart.

What then must have been the terrors of Charitas, when the reports reached her ears that the name of Bilibald was affixed, under the bull of the pope, to the doors of the cathedral, beside the name of Luther. Eck, in reality, driven on by blind fury, had associated with Luther six of the most distinguished individuals in Germany, namely, Carlstadt, Feldkirchen, Egranus, who had very little interest in the cause, Adelman, Pirkheimer, and his friend Spengler, who, on account of the public functions with which he was invested, was made particularly sensible of this injury. The agitation manifested in the convent of St Clair was very affecting; for how could the shame of Bilibald be supported? Nothing can be more painful to the feelings of relations than trials like the present; and, in fact the danger was imminent. In vain the city of Nuremberg, the bishop of Bamberg, and even the dukes of Bavaria, made intercessions in favour of Spengler and Pirkheimer; these generous men must humble themselves before Doctor Eck, who made them perceive the importance of a Roman protonotary, and obliged them to write a letter to the pope, in which they declared that they did not adhere to the doctrines of Luther save in as far as they were conformable to the Christian faith. At the sametime Adelman, by whom Eck had been once defeated, when rising from table, at the conclusion of a discussion upon the great question which occupied the public mind, was summoned to appear before the bishop of Augsburg, and to cleanse himself by an oath from all participation in the Lutheran heresy. Nevertheless, vengeance and anger have proved for Eck evil counsellors. The names of Bilibald and his friends did injury to the bull; for the character of these eminent men and their numerous relations rendered the general irritation much more formidable. Luther, at first, pretended to doubt the authenticity of the bull. "I understand," said he, in the first writing which he published, "that

Eck has brought from Rome a new bull, which so strongly resembles himself, that it may properly be called *Doctor Eck*, so completely is it filled with falsehoods and error. He makes it be believed that this is the work of the pope, whilst it is no more than a production of lies." After having explained the grounds of his doubts, Luther finishes by saying—"I would wish to see, with my own eyes, the lead, the seal, the strings, the conditions, and the signature of the bull, all, in one word, or not to estimate by one hair's weight all these scoldings."

But no one entertained a doubt, not even Luther, that the bull proceeded from the pope. And Germany remained in eager expectation as to the determinations of the reformer. Shall he remain firm? was the constant question; while the attention of every one was turned towards Wittenberg. Luther did not keep his contemporaries a long time in suspense. He replied with a terrible discharge, by publishing, on the 4th of November 1520, his work "*Against the Bull of Antichrist*."

"How many errors, how many frauds," said he, "have been slid in among the people under the mantle of the church and the pretended infallibility of the pope! How many souls have thus been lost, how much blood shed, how many murders committed, and how many kingdoms ruined? . . .

"I can easily distinguish," said he, further on, in irony, "between art and malice, and I have very little consideration for malice that exhibits no art. To burn some books is a matter of such easy accomplishment, that children themselves can perform this deed: with how much stronger reason the holy father and his doctors? It would become them, however, to shew more talent than is requisite to put so many books on the fire. . . . Besides, let them destroy my works, I desire nothing better; for I have only wished to conduct eager souls to the Bible, and afterwards that they should leave my writings alone. Great God! if we possess a knowledge of the Scriptures, what need is there of my writings? . . . I am at liberty through the grace of God, and bulls neither afford me consolation nor cause me alarm. My strength and my consolation are placed where neither men nor devils know how to approach them."

The tenth proposition composed by Luther, and condemned by the pope, was conceived in the following terms:—"The sins are not pardoned to any man, at least if he does not believe that they are pardoned, when the priest absolves him." The pope, in condemning this proposition, denies that faith is necessary in the sacrament. "They pretend," cried Luther, "that we need not believe that our sins are forgiven us when we are absolved by the priest. And what, then, ought we to do? . . . Hear now, O Christians! the news sent from Rome. Condemnation is pronounced against that article of faith which we profess by saying, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Christian church, and the remission of sins.' If I knew that the pope had really given at Rome this bull, (and it is not doubted,) and that it had not been invented by Eck, the arch-liar, I would declare to all Christians that they should regard the pope as the real Antichrist spoken of in the Scriptures; and if he does not desire to cease from publicly proscribing the faith of the church, then . . . let the temporal sword resist him rather than the Turk! . . . Because the Turk allows you to believe, but the pope forbids you."

At the moment when Luther was speaking with so much energy the dangers of his situation increased. The design of his enemies was to drive him away from Wittemberg. If Luther and Wittemberg were separated, Luther and Wittemberg were sure to be lost. One single blow would thus rid Rome alike of the heretical doctor and of the heretical university. The Duke George, the bishop of Mersburg, and the theologians of Leipsic, secretly endeavoured to accomplish this wily scheme. Luther said, on hearing of their plans, "I leave this matter in the hands of God." Their intrigues, however, were not without effect; for Adrien, the professor of Hebrew at Wittemberg, turned suddenly against the views of the doctor. There was a strong necessity for being firm in the faith in order to sustain the blow inflicted by the bull of Rome. There are characters to be found who proceed along with the truth until they reach a certain point, and of this description was Adrien. Alarmed at the sentence of condemnation, he quitted Wittemberg for the purpose of hastening to Leipsic, there to secure the friendship of Doctor Eck.

The bull, however, began to be productive of consequences. The word of the pontiff of christendom was not sent forth in vain. For a long time fire and sword had been made instrumental in commanding obedience thereto. The funeral piles had been raised at the calling of this voice. Everything prognosticated that a terrible catastrophe was about to put an end to the audacious revolt commenced by the Augustine monk. In October 1520, the books of Luther were carried off at Ingolstadt, from all the booksellers shops, and put under the keeping of a public seal. The archbishop-elect of Mentz, with all his moderation, felt constrained to banish from his court Ulric of Hutten, and to cast his printer into prison. The nuncios of the pope had beset the young emperor. And Charles declared that he would protect the cause of the ancient religion, whilst in several of his hereditary possessions were seen to appear divers scaffoldings whereon the writings of heretics were destined to be burned to ashes. Many princes of the church, and some counselors, lent their assistance to these instances of auto-da-fè. Aleander was wholly overcome with such tokens of success. "The pope," said he, as well as Prierio, "has the power to dethrone kings. He may, if he pleases, say to the emperor, you are no more than a tanner. And he shall very easily bring to reason one or two miserable scholars, while we shall act without ceremony even with this Duke Frederick himself." To listen to the proud nuncio, one might have said that the pile which consumed at Mentz the books of Luther was "the commencement of the end." These flames, it was asserted at Rome, would everywhere create alarm. It was, no doubt, so in the case of many superstitious and timid spirits; but even in the hereditary states belonging to Charles, the only states in which it was dared to execute the provisions of the bull, the people, and sometimes the great, often saluted these pontifical demonstrations with shouts of laughter or bursts of indignation. "Luther," said the doctors of Louvain, in waiting upon Marguerite, the governess of the Netherlands, "Luther has overturned the Christian faith." "Who is he, this Luther?" asked the princess. "An ignorant monk." "Ah, very well," replied she, "you who are learned, and so strong in numbers, must write against him. The world will much rather believe the testimony of learned men than that of a single man devoid of know-

ledge." The doctors of Louvain preferred an easier method of resistance. They caused a vast funeral pile to be raised at their expense. A great crowd was gathered round the place of execution, among whom were discovered a number of students and citizens, pushing forward in haste with a load of large volumes under their arms, which they quickly threw into the flames. Their zeal was gratifying to the monks and the doctors; but the trick was at an after date found out. These large books consisted of the *Sermones Discipuli, Tartaret*, and other scholastic and Papist works, which had been thrown into the fire as representatives of the books of Luther.

The Count of Nassau, the viceroy of Holland, said to the Dominicans who solicited permission to burn the works of the doctor—"Go and preach the gospel in as pure a manner as Luther, and you shall have no complaints to make of any one." When mention was made of the reformer at a feast whereat were present the principal princes of the empire, the Lord of Ravenstein said aloud—"In the space of four centuries, a single Christian man has dared to lift up his head, and the Pope wishes to put him to death."

Luther, enjoying the conviction of the power of his cause, remained tranquil in the midst of the tumults raised on account of this Roman bull. "Had you not pressed me so keenly," said he to Spalatin, "I would have remained silent, well knowing that it is by the counsel and the power of God this work must be accomplished." It is the timid who is anxious to speak, while the bold man preferred to remain in silence. It is only Luther who discerned a power which escaped the notice of his friend. "Be of good hope," continued the reformer. "It is Christ who has begun these things, and it is he who shall accomplish their purpose, whether it may be that I am either put to flight or put to death. Jesus Christ is here present, and he that is in us is more powerful than he that is in the world."

CHAPTER X.

Decisive Step of the Reformer—Appeal of Luther to a Universal Council—Struggle hand to hand—The Bull Burned by Luther—Signification of this bold Act—Luther in the Academy—Luther against the Pope—New Work of Melancthon—How Luther Encourages his Friend—Progress of the Struggle—Opinion of Melancthon upon the Timid—Writing of Luther upon the Bible—Doctrine of Grace—Retraction of Luther.

But duty compelled the reformer to speak, in order that the truth might be made manifest to the world. Rome had struck the blow, and he must let it be known how he bears the infliction of that blow. The pope had outlawed him in the sight of the church, and he will outlaw him himself in the sight of christendom. The word of the pontiff had until this hour remained all-powerful; he will place word to word in competition, and the world shall be left to judge which word contains the greater power. "I wish," said he, "to put my conscience at rest, by disclosing to men the dangers to which they are exposed;" and, at the same time, he made preparations for renewing his appeal to a universal council. An appeal from the pope to a council was a crime. It was, therefore, by the commission of a new crime against the pontifical power Luther sought to justify those he had before perpetrated.

On the 17th of November, a notary, in company with five witnesses, among whom was Cruciger, met together at ten o'clock in the morning, within one of the halls belonging to the convent of the

Augustines, where the doctor continued his abode. At this place, the public officer, Sarcitor of Eisleben, placing himself in readiness to prepare the minute of his protestation, the reformer said, in presence of these witnesses, and in a solemn tone—

“ Seeing that a general council of the Christian church is above the pope, especially in what regards the faith ;

“ Seeing that the power of the pope is not above but beneath the Scriptures, and that he has not the right to swallow up the sheep of Christ, or to throw them into the jaws of the wolf ; I myself, Martin Luther, an Augustine, and doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittenberg, make hereby an appeal, by this writing, for myself, and for all those who are or who shall be of my opinion, from the very holy pope Leo to a future universal and Christian council.

“ I hereby appeal from the said pope Leo, firstly, as from a judge iniquitous, rash, and tyrannical, who condemns me without a hearing, and without explaining the motives ; secondly, as from an heretic and wandering apostate, hardened and condemned by the Holy Scriptures, who ordains that I must deny that Christian faith is necessary in the use of the sacraments ; thirdly, as from an enemy, from an antichrist, from an adversary, and from a tyrant against the Holy Scriptures, who dares to oppose his own words in opposition to all the words of God ; fourthly, as from a contemner, a calumniator, and a blasphemer of the holy Christian church, and of a free council, who pretends that a council is nothing in itself.

“ It is for these reasons I very humbly supplicate the most serene, very illustrious, excellent, generous, noble, strong, wise, and prudent lords, Charles, Roman emperor, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, counsellors, cities and communities throughout the whole nation of Germany, to adhere to my protestation, and to resist with me the antichristian conduct of the pope, and for the maintenance of the free councils of christendom ; and Christ our Lord will richly recompense them through his eternal grace. But should there be any who despise my prayer, and who continue obedient to the pope, to that impious man, rather than to God, I repel by this present the responsibility, having faithfully warned their consciences, and I abandon them to the supreme judgment of God, as well as the pope and all his adherents.”

Such was the act of divorce executed by Luther : it was in this manner he replied to the bull of the pontiff. There is a grand earnestness in this declaration. The accusations which he brings against the pope are of mighty gravity, and it is not in a light mood they are preferred. This protestation was spread abroad throughout all Germany, and sent to the greater number of the courts in christendom.

Luther had nevertheless a more hardy act still in reserve, although the one now reported appeared the highest pitch to which audacity could reach. He did not wish to remain at all in arrears to Rome. The monk of Wittenberg is resolved to do whatever the sovereign pontiff dares to exhibit in example. He pronounces saying against saying, and he erects funeral pile in opposition to funeral pile. The son of the Medicis and the son of the miner of Mansfeld have entered into the lists ; and, in this encounter hand to hand, which terrifies the world, the one does not inflict a blow which the other is not

ready to return. On the 10th of December, there was seen a placard affixed to the walls of the university at Wittemberg. It called upon the professors and the students to meet together at nine o'clock in the morning at the eastern gate, close to the holy cross. A vast number of teachers and pupils were thus collected, and Luther, marching at their head, conducted the assembly to the appointed spot. How many funeral piles had Rome lighted up in the course of many centuries. Luther wished to improve upon this grand Roman principle. It is only some old papers he is anxious to get rid of; and fire, thought he, is well adapted for this purpose. A scaffold was prepared, and one of the oldest masters of arts kindled the burning. At the moment when the flames were seen to burst forth, the formidable Augustine, clothed in his monk's habit, appeared on his approach towards the blazing pile, carrying in his arms the canon law, the decretal, the Clementines, the Extravagances of the popes, some writings composed by Eck and Emser, and the bull of the pope. The decretals having been first consumed, Luther held aloft the bull, and said, "Since thou hast vexed the saints of the Lord, may the eternal fire vex and consume thee," and he threw the document into the fire. Never was war before declared with greater energy and resolution. Afterwards Luther returned with solemn step into the streets of the city, and the crowd of doctors, professors, and students, cheering aloud their approval of this deed, followed their leader in his entrance into Wittemberg. "The decretals," said Luther, "resemble a body whose head is sweet like a maiden's, whose limbs are full of violence like a lion, and whose tail is full of cunning like a serpent. In all the laws of the popes, there is not one word which teaches us who Jesus Christ is." "My enemies," said he again, "have tried, in burning my books, to destroy the truth in the minds of the common people, to the loss of souls, and it is for this reason I have consumed their books in my turn. A serious struggle is about to be opened. Until now I have only played with the pope. I have commenced this work in the name of God, and it shall be finished without me, and by means of his power. If they dare to burn my books, wherein there is found more of the gospel, to speak without boasting, than in all the books of the pope, I am justified from stronger reasons to burn their works, wherein there is nothing good to be found."

If Luther had in this manner commenced the Reformation, such a hardy step might, without doubt, have been followed by mournful consequences. Fanaticism might have been urged to throw the church into a state of disorder and violence. But it was by explaining with gravity the lessons of the Scriptures that the reformer composed the prelude to his work. The foundations were thus laid with wisdom; and now, a heavy blow, like the one we have just been considering, could be inflicted not only without inconvenience, but even with the likelihood of accelerating the moment when Christianity was ordained to behold her chains fall in pieces to the ground.

Luther had now declared most solemnly that he had separated himself from the pope and from his church. After the despatch of his letter to Leo X., this step may have appeared necessary in his sight. He accepted the excommunication which Rome had pronounced. And he had announced to the Christian world that henceforth war

unto death was waged between himself and the pope. He had burned his ships on the banks of the river, and it was incumbent upon him now to march boldly forward to the combat.

Luther was once more within the walls of Wittenberg; and on the following day the academic hall was more numerous than usual. The minds of the people had been excited, so that there was in this assembly an appearance of great solemnity, enhanced by an expectation that the doctor would be prepared to enter into some details of his future views. He was then engaged in expounding the Psalms—a task which he had entered upon in the month of March of the preceding year. Then, having finished his explanation, he made a pause for a few moments, and said at last, with graphic emphasis, “Keep yourselves on your guard against the laws and statutes of the pope. I have burned the decretals, but that is only the game of a child. The time is come, and more than come, when the pope should be burned; that is to say,” he immediately explained, “the bench of Rome, with all its doctrines and abominations.” Then, in a graver accent, he added, “If you do not fight with all your heart against the impious government of the pope,” said he, “you cannot be saved. Whoever remains satisfied in the religion and worship of Popery, shall be eternally lost in the life that is to come.”

“If we determine to reject that worship,” added he, “we must lay our account to run every kind of danger, and even to lose our lives. But it is much better to expose ourselves to such perils in this world than to be silent. As long as I live I will denounce to my brethren the plague and the pest of Babylon, for fear that many, who are of our way of thinking, may be left to fall, with others, into the depths of hell.”

The effect which was produced by this discourse, can scarcely be imagined, but its energy is well calculated to astonish us. “Not one of us,” says the candid student who has preserved for us an account of the circumstance, “at least unless it were some stupid fellow without understanding, (as all the Papists are, says he in a parenthesis,) not one of us doubted but that the pure truth was expressed in these words. It is evident to all the faithful that Doctor Luther is an angel of the living God, called to feed by the word of God the sheep of Christ, so long left to wander astray.”

This speech, and the very act which crowned it, formed an important epoch in the history of the Reformation. The dispute at Leipzig had been the means of inwardly separating Luther from the pope. But the moment when he burned the bull was that wherein he declared, in the most express manner, his entire separation from the bishop of Rome and from his church, and his attachment to the universal church, such as had been founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ. He lighted at the side of the oriental gate a flame which has lasted for three hundred years.

“The pope,” says he, “has three crowns; behold the reason of this—the first is against God, for he condemns religion—the second is against the emperor, for he condemns the secular power—and the third is against society, for he condemns marriage.” When he was reproached with exhibiting too much violence in his opposition to Popery, “Ah!” replied he, “I wish I were able to utter against her

nothing but peals of thunder, and that every one of my words were in reality thunder-bolts."

This firmness communicated its spirit to the friends and compatriots of Luther. A whole nation was found to rally around his cause. The university of Wittemberg more especially attached herself in stronger bonds of friendship with this hero to whom she owed her own importance and glory. Carlstadt now raised his voice against the "furious lion of Florence," who had torn in pieces all laws, alike human and Divine, and had trodden under foot every principle of eternal truth. Melancthon likewise addressed, about this time, to the states of the empire, a work in which are displayed the elegance and wisdom always recognised in the writings of that amiable man. He replied to a book attributed to the pen of Emser, but which was published under the name of a Roman theologian, called Rhadinus. Luther himself was never known to speak with more energy: and still there is a grace in the words of Melancthon which causes them to penetrate within the cores of the heart.

After having shewn, by passages from the Scriptures, that the pope is not superior to the other bishops—"What is there to prevent the states of the empire," says he, "from taking away from the pope the rights which we have bestowed on him? It is of little consequence to Luther that our riches, that is to say, the treasures of Europe, should be sent to Rome. But the thing which causes his grief, and ours too, is that the laws of the pontiff and the reign of the pope, not only put in danger the souls of men, but ensure their total destruction. Every one can judge for himself whether or not it is convenient for him to give away his money in order to support the expenses of Roman luxury; but to judge correctly concerning the things of religion, is not within the powers of the vulgar. It is, therefore, in this respect Luther implores the assistance of your faith, and that all pious men implore it along with him, some with ardent voices, and others with the solicitude of their sighs and their groans. Remember that you are Christians, the princes of Christian people, and snatch the sad fragments of Christianity away from the tyrannic rule of Antichrist. They deceive you who declare that you have no authority against the priests. That same spirit which animated Jehu against the priests of Baal urges you, by this ancient example, to abolish the Roman superstition, much more horrible than the idolatry of Baal." In this manner the mild Melancthon found himself compelled to speak to the princes of Germany.

What exclamations of alarm were heard, however, to proceed from the mouths of some of the friends of the Reformation. Many timid minds, inclined towards an extremely punctilious conduct, and Staupitz in particular, gave vent to their feelings in agonizing strains. "All this business has, up to the present hour, only been a game," said Luther to his friend; "you have yourself acknowledged that, if God did not accomplish these things, it was impossible they ever could be fully executed. The tumult becomes more and more tumultuous, and I do not think it can be appeased, if it is not by the coming of the last day." Such was the manner Luther took to encourage his friends and the minds of the fearful. In the course of three centuries this tumult has not been appeased.

"Popery," continued he, "is no longer now what it was yesterday,

and in the time before yesterday. Let it excommunicate and burn my works! . . . Let it kill me! . . . It shall not be able to stop the course of coming events. What a prodigious matter is at the gate. I have burned the bull, while at the moment I trembled at the thoughts of the deed, but now I experience in the recollection of it more joy than I have ever felt in the completion of any other act of my life."

An involuntary pause was, as it were, come to, and a delight was felt in reading within the great soul of Luther the events of future discovery. "O my father!" said he to Staupitz, in conclusion, "pray for success to the word of God and for me. I am carried away by these billows, and, as it were, whirled about by their commotions."

So it was the combat was declared on every side. The combatants had thrown away the scabbard of their swords. The word of God had resumed its rights, and deposed him who had assumed the place of God himself. The whole constitution of society was shaken. In every age there have not been wanting selfish men who would willingly allow human society to sleep on in error and corruption; but wise men, even when timid, are of a different opinion. "We are well aware," said the mild and moderate Melancthon, "that men of rank and legislators have a horror for all attempts at innovation; and it must be confessed that, in this sad confusion, which is called human life, the opposite views, and even those which proceed from the most just causes, are always tinged with some evil. Nevertheless it is necessary that the word and the commandment of God should be preferred in the church before everything that is merely human. God threatens with eternal vengeance those who strive to annihilate the truth. This is the reason why it was a duty for Luther, a Christian duty, and from which he could not escape, especially since he was a doctor in the church of God, to reprimand the pernicious error which disorderly men had spread abroad with inconceivable effrontery. If discord creates many evils, as, to my great grief, I see it does," continues the prudent Philip, "this must be attributed to those persons who at the commencement have distributed error, and to those who, full of a diabolical hatred, seek at present to maintain falsehoods."

But all people did not think in this manner. Luther was, in fact, overwhelmed with reproaches; the storm gathered thick around him from every quarter. He is quite alone in his opinions, said some; he teaches new doctrines, said others.

"Who knows," replied Luther, in the spirit of the vocation which had been addressed to him from on high, "who knows that it was not God who has chosen and called me, and whether they ought not to fear, in despising me, that they may be despising God? . . . Moses was alone at the departure out of Egypt; Elias was alone in the times of King Ahab; Isaiah was alone at Jerusalem; Ezekiel was alone at Babylon.

"God has never chosen for a prophet either the sovereign sacrificator, or any other great personage; but usually he has chosen low and despised persons, and one time a shepherd, Amos. In all ages the saints have been obliged to reprove the great, and kings, princes, priests, and scholars, at the risk of their lives. . . . Moreover, under the New Testament dispensation, has not the same thing occurred? Ambrose was alone in his time; after him Jerome

was alone ; and, at a later period still, Augustine was alone. . . . I do not pretend that I am a prophet ; but I say that they ought to fear, precisely because that I am alone, and that they are many. This I am sure of—the word of God is on my side, and it is not on theirs.

“It is also said,” continues Luther, “that I intrude upon the view with new doctrines, and that it is impossible to believe all the other teachers have been so long lost in error.

“No, I do not preach many new things. But I say that all the Christian doctrines have disappeared in the houses of those very men, whose duty it was to have preserved them, namely, the learned men and bishops. I do not doubt, however, that the truth has meanwhile dwelt in certain hearts, were it only to be found in the bosom of infants still nursed in a cradle. Some poor peasants and mere children are, at this moment, more conversant with the truth as it is in Jesus Christ than the pope, bishops, and doctors. . . .

“I am accused of rejecting the holy teachers of the church. I do not reject them ; but, seeing that all these teachers endeavour to prove their writings by the Holy Scriptures, it is needful for them to be more positive and distinct than they really are. Who would think of proving an obscure discourse by reference to a discourse yet more obscure than itself? In this manner necessity compels us to recur to the Bible, as all those teachers affirm they do, and to seek there for the truth of their writings ; for the Bible alone is lord and master.

“But, it is said, many powerful men pursue this master. And is it not clear, according to the words of the Scriptures, that the persecutors are generally in the wrong and the persecuted in the right, that the larger number has always been found on the side of lies, and the smaller on the side of the truth? The truth in all ages has occasioned troubles.”

Luther next takes a view of the propositions condemned in the bull as heretical, and demonstrates the truth of their assertions, by many proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures. With how much force does he, in particular, describe the doctrine of grace.

“What,” said he, “shall nature be able, before and without grace, to hate sin, to avoid it and to be sorry for it, whilst that, even when grace has entered the heart, the same nature still loves sin, seeks after it, desires it, and never ceases to fight against and to be indignant with grace? It is for this that all saints groan continually. . . . It is as if one should say that a large tree which I was unable to bend with all my force applied to it, would bend of itself the moment I left it alone, or that a torrent which the dykes and walls were unable to resist, would at once stop in its course, when left without impediment. . . . No, it is not by considering sin and its consequences we can arrive at a state of repentance, but by contemplating Jesus Christ, with all his sufferings and immense charity. It is necessary that a knowledge of sin should accrue from repentance, and not repentance from a knowledge of sin. This knowledge is the fruit ; repentance is the tree. In our view, the fruits grow upon the tree ; but it appears that in the states of St Peter the trees grow upon the fruits.”

The brave doctor, although he protests, nevertheless retracts some

particular ones of his propositions. But astonishment will cease when the manner is known in which he made this retraction. After having quoted the four propositions upon indulgences condemned by the bull, he simply adds—

“To the honour of the holy and wise bull, I retract all that I have ever taught respecting indulgences. If it is justly that they have burned my books, this has certainly happened because I have granted certain things to the pope in the doctrine of indulgences; it is for this reason I condemn them myself to the fire.”

He retracts also with regard to John Huss:—“I declare now, not that *some*, but that *all*, the articles supported by John Huss are completely Christian. The pope, in condemning Huss, has condemned the gospel. I have done five times more than him, and yet I strongly fear that I have not done enough. Huss merely said that a wicked pope was not a member of christendom; but, for me, if even at this day St Peter sat on the bench at Rome, I would deny that he was pope by the institution of God.”

CHAPTER XI.

Coronation of Charles V.—The Nuncio Aleander—Are the Books of Luther Burned?—Aleander and the Emperor—The Nuncios and the Elector—The Son of Duke John speaks for Luther—Calm of Luther—The Elector Protects Luther—Reply of the Nuncios—Erasmus at Cologne—Erasmus in the House of the Elector—Declaration of Erasmus—Counsels of Erasmus—System of Charles V

The powerful words of the reformer penetrated into the minds of most men, and served to hasten their emancipation. The spark which was struck from each of these words succeeded in communicating fire to the main body of the nation. But a great question had still to be solved. Shall the prince in the state in which Luther resided favour the execution of the bull, or shall he oppose its enactment? The answer appeared doubtful. The elector was at this moment, along with all the other princes of the empire, on a visit to Aix-la-Chapelle. It was in this place the crown of Charlemagne was put upon the head of the youngest but the most powerful monarch in christendom. In the accomplishment of this ceremony an unheard-of pomp and magnificence were displayed; and, immediately after its conclusion, Charles V., Frederick, the princes, ministers, and ambassadors, proceeded to the city of Cologne. Aix-la-Chapelle, where the plague was prevalent, seemed to have poured the whole of its inhabitants into the ancient town we have named on the banks of the Rhine.

Among the crowd of strangers who thronged Cologne, were found the two nuncios of the pope, Carracioli and Jerome Aleander. Carracioli, who had before filled a similar office in the reign of Maximilian, was intrusted with the duty of wishing the new emperor joy, and at same time with the negotiation of certain political affairs. But Rome had become convinced that, in order to complete the extinction of the reform, it would be necessary to send into Germany a nuncio specially intrusted with the management of that concern, and of a character, an address, and an activity, fitted to execute her designs. Aleander was made choice of for the purpose in view. This distinguished person, who was afterwards decorated with the purple of the cardinals, was, as it would appear, the issue of a family which could boast of an origin sufficiently ancient, and not the son of Jewish parents, as has

been recorded by some. The guilty Borgia had called him to Rome to act as secretary to his son—to that Cæsar before whose murderous sword the whole of Rome was made to tremble.

“Like master, like man,” said an historian, who in these words compared Aleander to Alexander VI. But this judgment appears to us unjustly severe. After the death of Borgia, Aleander applied himself with fresh ardour to the business of study. His knowledge in Greek, in Hebrew, in Chaldee, and in Arabian, had gained for him the reputation of being the most learned man of his age. He undertook with all his soul whatever employment he assumed, and the zeal with which he studied these different languages was in no manner slackened when afterwards engaged in the active persecution of the Reformation. Leo X. attached him to his service, and Protestant historians speak of his Epicurean manner, while Roman writers laud the honesty of his life. It would appear that he delighted in luxury, in theatres, and amusements. “Aleander lived at Venice in a style of low Epicurean and of high dignity,” said his ancient friend Erasmus. It is granted by all that he was vehement in his temper, prompt in his actions, full of ardour, indefatigable, imperious, and devoted to the person of the pope. Eck may be considered the fierce and intrepid champion of the schools; Aleander the superb ambassador of the proud court of the pontiffs. He appeared formed for the duties of a nuncio.

Rome had taken every measure to secure the destruction of the monk of Wittemberg. The duty of assisting at the coronation of the emperor, as representative of the pope, composed only, in the case of Aleander, a secondary mission, calculated to facilitate the execution of his more immediate task by the consideration thus procured for his person. But he was most particularly charged with the case of persuading Charles to crush the budding Reformation. “The pope,” said the nuncio to the emperor, in transmitting a copy of the bull, “the pope, who has succeeded in his attempts with so many and such great princes, shall be thoroughly able to bring under submission three grammarians.” He meant to refer to Luther, Melancthon, and Erasmus. Erasmus was present at this audience.

As soon as they had arrived at Cologne, Aleander exerted all his zeal, in company with Carracioli, to instigate the burning in every part of the empire, but, more especially, under the view of the German princes then assembled in Cologne, of Luther’s heretical writings. Charles V. had already consented to these proposals, as regarded the provinces of his own hereditary states. The agitation of the public mind was, however, exceedingly great. It was said to the ministers of Charles and to the nuncios, “that these measures, far from curing the plague, would only tend to its increase. Do you believe that the doctrines of Luther are simply contained in the books you propose to throw into the fire? They are written where it is impossible for you to reach them, in the heart of the nation. . . . If you are willing to employ force, it must be that of innumerable swords, drawn to cut the throats of an immense multitude of people. Some pieces of wood, gathered together to consume a quantity of written paper, shall accomplish no end, and such description of weapons is neither in unison with the dignity of the emperor nor of the pope.” The nuncios supported the use of funeral piles. “These flames,” said he, “compose a sen-

tence of condemnation, written in gigantic characters, and which are understood equally by those who are near and at a distance, by the learned as well as by the ignorant, and even by those who are unable to read."

But, in reality, it was not merely papers and books which were sufficient to satisfy the rapacity of the nuncio, his prize was contained in the body of Luther himself. "These flames," he adroitly added, "shall not suffice to purify the infected air of Germany. "If they serve to frighten the simple, they do not correct the wicked. We must have an edict from the emperor touching the head of Luther."

Aleander, however, did not find the emperor so complacent when he tried to treat with him concerning the person of Luther, as when the question merely regarded the existence of some books.

"Scarcely seated on my throne," said the emperor to Aleander, "I cannot, without the advice of my counsellors and the consent of the princes, inflict such a blow upon an immense faction, surrounded by many powerful defenders. Let us first know the opinion upon this affair of our father the elector of Saxony; we shall after that see what reply we must give to the pope." It was, therefore, with reference to the elector the nuncios were destined to try the effects of the cunning and power of their eloquence.

On the first Sunday of November, Frederick, having gone to attend mass in the convent of the Franciscans, Carracioli and Aleander requested the favour of an audience. The prince received the nuncios in the presence of the bishop of Trent and a number of his counsellors. Carracioli, in the first place, presented the elector with a copy of the brief issued by the pope. More mild than Aleander, this nuncio thought it his duty to strive to gain the prince by a flattering address, and began to heap praises alike upon himself and his ancestors. "It is in you," said he, "that hopes are placed for the salvation of the Roman church and empire."

But the headstrong Aleander, wishing to come at once to the real matter of business, came briskly forward and interrupted his colleague, who modestly left off speaking. "It is to myself," said Aleander, "and to Eck, that the affair of Martin Luther has been intrusted. Do you not see the imminent danger into which that man has plunged the Christian republic. If haste be not made to ensure a remedy, the empire shall be undone. Wherefore have the Greeks been undone but by their abandonment of the pope? It is impossible to continue in opinion with Luther without separating yourself from Jesus Christ. I have to request two things in the name of his Holiness: the first is, that you cause the writings of Luther to be burned; and the second, that you condemn him to the punishment he has deserved, or at the very least, that you order him to be delivered over a prisoner to the pope. The emperor and all the princes of the empire have declared themselves willing to accede to our demands; you alone have still delayed your assent."

Frederick replied, by proxy of the bishop of Trent—"This affair is too serious to be decided at this very moment. We will hereafter advise you of our resolution on the subject."

The position in which Frederick found himself placed was indeed a delicate one. Which party shall he join with? On one side are ranged the emperor, the princes of the empire, and the great pontiff

of christendom, from whose authority the elector had not yet thought of withdrawing himself; and on the other side is seen a monk, a weak monk; for it was simply his person alone that had been demanded. The reign of Charles had just been commenced. Shall it be this Frederick, the eldest and the wisest of all the princes in Germany, who shall first create disunion in the affairs of the empire? Besides, shall he be able to renounce that long cherished piety which had led him even to seek for the sepulchre of Christ? . . .

Other voices were at this time listened to. A young prince, who at an after period wore the electoral crown, John Frederick, the son of Duke John, nephew to the elector, the pupil of Spalatin, now seventeen years old, and whose reign was signalized by much misfortune, had imbibed within his heart a great love of the truth, and had become ardently attached to the person of Luther. And when he saw the reformer smote with the anathemas of Rome, he embraced his cause with all the warmth of a young Christian and a young prince. He wrote letters to the doctor and to his uncle, entreating the latter in noble sentiments to protect Luther against the assaults of his enemies. Moreover Spalatin, often, it is true, much cast down, with Pontanus, and the other counsellors who were attending the elector at Cologne, represented to this prince the impropriety of his abandoning the reformer.

In the midst of all this turmoil only one man displayed unshaken composure, and that man was Luther. Whilst exertions were made to save him through the influences of the great, the monk in the cloister at Wittemberg imagined that it rather belonged to him to secure the safety of these great ones of the earth. "If the gospel were," he wrote to Spalatin, "of a nature to be propagated or maintained by the powers of this world, God would not have confided it to sinners. It is not to the princes and the pontiffs of this age to whom it is given to defend the word of God. They have enough to do to secure themselves from the judgments of the Lord and his Anointed. If I speak I do so in order that they may obtain a knowledge of the Divine word and that they may thereby be saved."

The expectation of Luther was not destined to be deceived. That faith, which a convent in Wittemberg concealed, exercised its power also in the palaces of Cologne. The heart of Frederick, shaken it may be for an instant, received more and more a renewed vigour. He felt indignant that the pope, in spite of his earnest entreaties to have the affair investigated in Germany, had passed judgment thereon in Rome, at the request of one of the reformer's personal enemies, at the same time that this adversary had dared, in his absence, to publish, within the territories of Saxony, a bull which threatened the existence of the university and the peace of his people. Besides, the elector was convinced that wrong was done to Luther. He, therefore, shuddered at the thought of delivering up an innocent man into the merciless hands of his enemies. Justice before the pleasure of the pope; such was the rule he determined to follow. And in this spirit he came to the resolution not to yield to the solicitation of Rome. On the 4th of November, his counsellors informed, in his name, the Roman nuncios, then in waiting within the house of the elector, and in presence of the bishop of Trent, that he had witnessed with great anxiety the fact of Doctor Eck having taken advantage of

his absence, to include in the sentence of his condemnation divers personages of whom no mention was made in the bull. That it may have happened that since his departure from Saxony an immense number of learned men, of ignorant people, as well as ecclesiastics and laymen, had become united, and had adhered to the cause and to the appeal of Luther. That, besides, neither his imperial majesty nor any other person whatever, had shewn to him that the writings of Luther had been refuted, and that nothing else remained to be done but to cast them into the fire, and that he demanded that Doctor Luther, provided with a safe-conduct, should be allowed the privilege of appearing before learned judges, who were also known to be pious and impartial.

After listening to this declaration, Aleander, Carracioli, and the members of their suite, retired to deliberate upon what should next be done. This was the first instance in which the elector had made publicly known his intentions with regard to the reformer. The nuncios had calculated upon a very different reception. Now, they had thought to themselves, the elector, in persisting in his views of impartiality, shall be sure to draw down upon his head dangers of which it will be difficult for him to foresee the extent, and he will, therefore, not hesitate to sacrifice the monk. Such was the reasoning used by Rome. But these machinations were doomed to come in contact with a force against which no measures had been deemed necessary, namely, the love of justice and of truth.

Admitted once more into the presence of the counsellors of the elector, "I should very much like to know," said the imperious Aleander, "what the elector would think if one of his subjects should choose as his judge the king of France or any other foreign prince." And seeing at last that no bantering could shake the minds of the Saxon counsellors, "We will execute the bulls," said he, "and we will pursue and burn the writings of Luther. As to his person," added he, affecting a disdainful indifference, "the pope is no way anxious to imbrue his hands in the blood of that miserable creature."

The news of the reply given by the elector to the nuncios of the pope having reached Wittenberg, the hearts of Luther's friends were filled with joy. Melancthon and Amsdorff were more particularly excited by the flattering hopes they now entertained. "The German nobility," said Melancthon, "shall be found to follow the example of this noble prince, whom they shall observe in all things like their Nestor. If Homer called his hero *the wall of the Greeks*, wherefore shall we not call Frederick *the wall of the Germans*."

The oracle of courts, the torch of schools, and the light of the world, Erasmus, was also at this moment a visitor in the city of Cologne. Several princes had taken the opportunity of consulting with the admired sage. Erasmus was, in fact, at the period of the reform, the head of the just mediocrity, at least he supposed himself to be so, although falsely; for when truth and error form the question, justice cannot recognise mediocrity. He was the representative of human wisdom; but such wisdom was found too weak to subvert the proud ideas of Popery. The wisdom of God was required to do this work—that wisdom which men often call by the name of folly, but at whose voice the mountains are removed. Erasmus was unwilling either to throw himself into the arms of Luther or to cast himself

down at the feet of the pope. He hesitated, and frequently fluctuated, between these two points of attraction, drawn at times towards the preponderance of Luther, and then driven back suddenly in the direction of the pope. He had said of himself, in the name of Luther, in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Mentz, "the last spark of Christian piety appears about to expire, and it is in this prospect the heart of Luther has been moved; he gives himself no trouble about either money or honours." But this letter, which the imprudent Ulric of Hutten had published, imposed so much sorrow upon Erasmus that he promised to act with more prudence for the future. Besides, he was accused of being an accomplice with Luther, while the doctor wounded his feelings with the utterance of imprudent speeches. "Almost all the people of property are on the side of Luther," said he, "but I perceive that we are approaching to a revolution. . . . I would not wish that my name should ever be joined with his." "So be it," replied Luther, "since that notion gives you pain, I promise you I will never again make mention either of you or of any of your friends." Such was the character of the man to whom both the friends and enemies of Luther applied for advice.

The elector, conceiving that the opinion of a man so much respected as Erasmus would have great weight, invited the illustrious Dutchman to spend an hour in his house. Erasmus obeyed this command, on the 5th of December; but the friends of Luther did not witness this occurrence without a sense of secret apprehension. The elector was seated before the fire, having Spalatin at his side, when Erasmus was introduced. "What do you think of Luther?" was the first question put by Prince Frederick. The prudent Erasmus, surprised by a question so direct, strove at first to avoid the utterance of a reply. He twisted his mouth, and bit his lips, but spoke not a word. Then the elector, opening wide his eyes, as he was accustomed to do when he addressed a person from whom he expected to receive a decisive answer, said Spalatin, fixed his piercing looks upon Erasmus. This latter person, at a loss how to escape from his embarrassment, said at last in a tone half jocular, "Luther has committed two great sins, for he has attacked the crown of the pope and the belly of the monks." The elector smiled, but gave his dialogist to understand that he spoke in earnest; at which remark Erasmus recovered from his reserve, and said, "The source of all this dispute is to be found in the hatred of the monks for learning, and the fear they entertain lest they should see an end of their tyranny. What have they set at work in opposition to Luther? Clamour, intrigue, hatred, and libel. The more a man is virtuous and attached to the doctrine of the gospel, the less also is he opposed to Luther. The severity of the bull has excited the indignation of all the people of property, and no one is able to recognise in it the mildness becoming a vicar of Jesus Christ. Out of a great number of universities two only have been found to condemn Luther, and still these have only condemned but not convinced him. Let no one deceive himself; the danger is greater than some are willing to believe. Many difficult and arduous things are close at hand. . . . To begin the reign of Charles by an act so odious as the imprisonment of Luther would form a sad augury. The world thirsts after evangelical truth: let us be on our guard not to oppose it with a culpable resistance. Let the affair be examined into by men

of serious disposition and sound judgment; such a measure is, in fact, more consistent than any other with the essential dignity of the pope."

This was the strain in which Erasmus addressed himself to the elector. Such frankness may appear astonishing; but Erasmus was aware of the character of the man to whom he spoke. Spalatin was overjoyed at the result of this conversation. He left the house with Erasmus, and accompanied him as far as the mansion of the Count Nuenar, the provost of Cologne, with whom the illustrious scholar dwelt. This sage person, in a fit of liberality, entered his abode, and taking up his pen, he committed to paper the substance of the conversation he had held with the elector and transmitted this account to his friend Spalatin. But very soon, a fear for Aleander seized upon the mind of the timid Erasmus, and the courage imparted by the countenance of the elector and his chaplain quickly vanished, in so much that the philosopher beseeched Spalatin to return his too bold production, for fear it might fall into the hands of the terrible nuncio. The time for granting this request was, however, gone by.

The elector, feeling himself strengthened by the opinion of Erasmus, spoke in a more determined tone to the emperor. Erasmus himself had endeavoured, in the conferences which took place during the night, in imitation of the practice of Nicodemus on former occasions, to persuade the counsellors of Charles of the necessity there was to submit the whole affair to the decision of impartial judges. Perhaps he entertained the hope of being named arbitrator in this cause which threatened to divide the Christian world. His vanity would have been much flattered by such an appointment. But at same time, in order not to lose the favour of Rome, Erasmus wrote letters in the most submissive language to Leo X., who replied to these communications with benevolent wishes—a circumstance that put poor Aleander to the torture. He had freely, for the love of the pope, smartly reprov'd the pope; for Erasmus made a shew of these letters from the pontiff, whereby his credit was much enhanced. The nuncio had also forwarded his complaints to Rome. "Exhibit an appearance," he was answered, "of not paying any heed to the wickedness of that man. Prudence dictates this advice; for a door must always be left open for repentance."

Charles V., on his part, embraced a system of see-saw, which consisted in administering flattery alike to the pope and the elector, and in making a show of inclining by turns towards the cause of the one or of the other, as the wants of the moment suggested. One of his ministers who had been sent to Rome, on account of certain Spanish affairs, had just reached that capital at the moment when Eck was pursuing with great eagerness, in the same city, the completion of the condemnation against Luther. The cunning ambassador quickly perceived the advantages to be gained by his master in seeming to favour the cause of the Saxon monk. "Your Majesty," he wrote, on the 12th May 1520, to the emperor, who was then in Spain, "ought soon to proceed into Germany, and there display marks of favour for the cause of a certain Martin Luther, who is now present at the court of Saxony, and who, by the manner of his preaching, causes much anxiety to the court of Rome." We here behold what were, from the

commencement, the notions adopted by the emperor Charles. It was not a matter of question with him on which side truth or error was to be found, or to inquire what the great interests of the German nation demanded. What does policy suggest, and what must be done to insure for the emperor the support of the pope? This was the object to be obtained, and a knowledge of the fact was patent at Rome. The ministers of Charles insinuated to Aleander the plan their master proposed to follow. "The emperor," said they, "will conduct himself towards the pope according to the manner in which the pope conducts himself towards the emperor; for he has no desire to augment the power of his rivals, and in particular of the king of France." On hearing these words, the imperious nuncio burst forth in violent indignation. "Eh, how!" replied he, "although the pope should abandon the emperor, must he (the emperor) abandon religion? If Charles has a mind to revenge himself in this fashion . . . let him tremble! Such cowardice shall be turned against himself." But the threats of the nuncio did not alter the imperial diplomacy.

CHAPTER XII.

Luther upon Confession—True Absolution—Antichrist—People Rally round Luther—Satires—Ulric of Hutten—Lucas Cranach—The Carnival at Wittenberg—Staupitz Intimidated—Labours of Luther—Humility of Luther—Progress of the Reform.

If the legates of Rome were frustrated in their designs in communication with the powerful of the earth, the inferior agents of Popery were also brought into trouble in their interchange with the common orders of men. The militia of Rome had listened to the commands of their head. And many fanatic priests made use of the bull in order to alarm the consciences of the multitude, while some honest ecclesiastics, but little enlightened, regarded as a sacred duty their compliance with the instructions of the pope. It was in the confessional that Luther had commenced his struggle with Rome; and it was equally in the confessional that Rome encouraged the combat against the adherents of the reformer. Laughed at openly in the face of the nation, the bull had become a powerful instrument in these solitary tribunals. Have you read the writings of Luther? demanded the confessors. Are they in your possession? and, Do you regard them as true or as heretic? And should the penitent hesitate to pronounce the anathema, the priest refused to give him absolution. The consciences of many were thus afflicted; and a lively agitation was excited among the people. This clever manœuvre began to bring back, under the yoke of the pope, several populations already engaged in favour of the gospel. Rome felt rejoiced at the thought of having, in the thirteenth century, raised this tribunal destined to enslave to the will of the priest the free consciences of Christian people. So long as this court was preserved entire the Roman reign must continue in power.

Luther was made acquainted with these circumstances. Alone to baffle this manœuvre, what shall he do? The word, a word loudly and courageously uttered, such was the weapon he chose. The word shall go to search out these alarmed consciences, and these frightened souls, and shall strengthen them. There was need for the application of a powerful impulsion. The voice of Luther made great exertions to be heard. He addressed himself to the penitents with a proud,

daring, and a noble disdain for all secondary considerations. "When you are asked whether or not you approve of my books," says he to them, "reply to the priest, You are a confessor and not an inquisitor or a gaoler. My duty is to confess whatever my conscience dictates to me; and yours is not to sound or to discover the secrets of my heart. Give me absolution, and dispute afterwards with Luther, with the pope, and with whomsoever you may please, but do not make of the sacrament of penance a quarrel and a contest. And if the confessor does not wish to yield, then," continues Luther, "I would rather go without his absolution. Be you perfectly at your ease; if man does not choose to absolve you, God will absolve you. Do you rejoice in that you are absolved by God himself, and present yourself without fear at the sacrament of the altar. The priest shall have to give an account at the day of judgment for the absolution he may have refused you. They can, indeed, refuse us the sacrament, but they cannot deprive us of the strength and grace which God has attached thereto. It is neither in their will nor in their power, but in our faith God has placed salvation. Let alone, therefore, the sacrament, altar, priest and church; the word of God condemned in the bull is more than all these things. The soul can go without the sacrament, but it cannot live without the word. Christ, the true bishop, will take care to provide you with spiritual nourishment."

In this manner the voice of Luther penetrated within the bosom of families and their alarmed consciences, in order to communicate to them courage and faith. But it was not enough for him to defend himself; he felt himself constrained to offer an attack, and to inflict one blow after another. A Roman theologian, Ambrose Catherin, had written in opposition to the views of the reformer. "I will stir up the bile of that foolish Italian," said Luther, and he kept his word. In his reply, he proved, from the Revelations of Daniel and St John, as well as from the epistles of St Paul, of St Peter, and St Jude, that the reign of Antichrist predicted and described in the Bible was Popery. "I know for certain," said he, in conclusion, "that our Lord Jesus Christ lives and reigns. Strong in this assurance, I would not fear the power of many thousand popes. May God visit you at last according to his infinite power, and cause to shine the light of the glorious coming of his Son, in the which he will destroy the wicked. And let all the people say, Amen."

And all the people did say, Amen. An awful dread seized upon many souls. It was the Antichrist which was seen seated on the pontifical throne of Rome. This new idea, which borrowed a great strength from the descriptions of the prophets, and now sent forth by Luther into the heart of his times, inflicted on Rome the most terrific blow. Faith in the Divine word replaced that faith which, until then, had been centred in the church; whilst the power of the pope, so long the object of adoration in the minds of the people, had now become the object of their hatred and their dread.

Germany replied to the bull of the pope by surrounding Luther with the demonstrations of her applause. The pest raged at this time in Wittenberg, and yet every day new students were seen to enter her dwellings, in so much that from four to six hundred pupils were regularly assembled in these academic halls, to listen at the feet of Luther and Melancthon. The churches of the convent and the city

were found too small to accommodate the crowds who longed to hearken to the words of the reformer. The prior of the Augustines trembled lest these two temples should be borne to the ground by the weight of their swarming audiences. But this lively commotion was not confined within the walls of Wittenberg; it manifested its spirit in every district of Germany, and a number of princes, of lords, and of learned men, wrote from every quarter letters to Luther full of consolation and faith. The doctor shewed more than thirty of these letters to the chaplain.

The margrave of Brandenburg arrived one day at Wittenberg in company with several other princes, on a visit to Luther. They were anxious to see the man," said the reformer. In fact every person desired to see the man whose word was sufficient to arouse the attention of nations, and to make the pontiff of the west tremble on his throne.

The enthusiasm of Luther's friends was seen to increase from day to day. "O the unheard-of folly of Emser!" exclaimed Melancthon, "which has dared to measure its strength with our Hercules, forgetting the finger of God in the actions of Luther, as the king of the Egyptians forgot it in the deeds of Moses." The composed Melancthon found powerful words to excite the attention of those who seemed in his eyes to make either retrograde movements or to remain stationary. "Luther has risen to defend the truth," he wrote to John Hess, "and yet you are content to remain silent. . . . He still breathes and prospers, although Leo has become indignant and chafes in his temper. Remember you that it is impossible for Roman impiety to grant its approbation to the truths of the gospel. How can this unhappy age be wanting in Judases, Caiaphases, in Pilates, and in Herods? Arm yourself, therefore, with the power of the word of God against such adversaries."

All the writings of Luther, his Lord's Prayer, and particularly his new edition of German Theology, were pondered over with avidity. Reading societies were formed for the propagation of these works among their members. Many of their admirers had them reprinted and sent abroad by means of tract distributors. They were also recommended from the pulpits. A German church was now the object of attainment; and it was asked that no person should for the future be invested with any kind of dignity unless he were able to preach to the people in German, while the German bishops were requested to oppose in every quarter the dominion of papal authority.

Besides all this, many cutting satires, directed against the ultramontane chiefs, were freely circulated in the provinces of the empire. The opposition concentrated all its forces around this new doctrine, which gave to it precisely what it wanted, by justifying it in the sight of religion. The greater number of lawyers, tired with the encroachments of the ecclesiastical tribunals, attached themselves to the cause of reform; but scholars especially embraced with earnestness the views of the party referred to. Ulric of Hutten was indefatigable in his exertions. He wrote to Luther, to the legates, and to the men of highest consideration in Germany. "I have told you, and I tell it you again, O Marinus," said he to the legate Carracioli, in one of his publications, "the darkness with which you may have blinded our eyes is dissipated, the gospel is preached, the truth is proclaimed;

whilst the fooleries of Rome are covered with contempt, your ordinances languish and die, and liberty begins to appear."

Not content with attacks in prose, Hutten had also recourse to the composition of verses. He published his *Cries upon the Conflagration of Luther*. In making an appeal to Jesus Christ, he conjures him to consume with the fire of his books those who dare to forget his power. He begins especially to write his works in German. "Up to the present time," said he, "I have written in Latin, a language which all cannot comprehend; but now it is to my countrymen I address myself. His German *rhymes* exhibited to the eyes of the people the shameful and voluminous register of the sins of the court of Rome."

But Hutten was not willing to restrict himself to the use of simple words, he felt eager to brandish his sword in the combat he had joined; and he thought that it must be by means of warlike weapons, in the hands of the many brave warriors in whom Germany placed her pride, that the vengeance of God should be accomplished. Luther opposed these mad projects. "I do not wish," said he, "that war should be made for the gospel by violence and carnage and I have so expressed myself in writing to Hutten."

The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, published, under the title of *Passion of Christ and of the Antichrist*, some engravings which represented, on one side, the glory and magnificence of the pope, and on the other the humiliation and sufferings of the Redeemer. Luther composed the inscriptions for these pictures, which were executed with great talent, and produced a most extraordinary effect. The people hastened to detach themselves from a church which appeared so opposed to the spirit of its Founder. "This work," said Luther, "is excellent for the laity."

Many were found to employ against Popery arms little in accordance with the holiness of a Christian life. Emser had replied to the work of Luther, entitled, *To the Ram of Leipsic*, by a writing which bore the inscription, *To the Bull of Wittemberg*, nor was the name in bad keeping. But at Magdebourg the book composed by Emser was hung up upon the gallows, with the following notice affixed to it—"This book is worthy of such a place," and a rod was placed beside the book, to indicate the punishment justly due to its author. At Dœblin there was written underneath the bull of the pope, with the view of bringing it into contempt, "The nest is here, but the birds have flown."

At Wittemberg, taking advantage of the days of the carnival, the students clothed one of their number in a costume resembling the attire of the pope, and paraded this figure through the streets of the city with great affectation of pomp, but in a manner somewhat too frolicsome, said Luther. Arrived at the great square, the procession approached towards the banks of the river, while some of the students, feigning a sudden attack, appeared to have the intention of throwing the pope into the water. But the pontiff, little desirous of the bath contemplated for him, took to flight, and was followed in the race by his cardinals, bishops, and other attendants, who dispersed themselves into every quarter of the town, while the students kept up an active chase on their part, in so much that there was not a corner in the city of Wittemberg wherein some dignitary of the church was not seen thus closely pursued to the great amusement of

the inhabitants. "The enemy of Christ," said Luther, "who makes a play both of kings and of Christ himself, well deserves such games to be played in his derision." This sentiment was wrong in our opinion; the truth is too lovely to be cast into the dirt. She ought to maintain her rights without the auxiliaries of songs, caricatures, or the scenes of a carnival. Perhaps, in the absence of such popular demonstrations, her successes might have been less apparent; but they would have been more certain, and, consequently, more durable. Be this as it may, the imprudent and impassioned conduct of the court of Rome had excited universal antipathy; and that bull, through means of which Popery had calculated upon smothering all opposition, became precisely the very instrument which seemed to kindle everywhere the flames of revolt.

Nevertheless the whole scene was not covered with intoxication and triumph on the side of the reformer. Behind this car, whereon his excited people dragged him along in their transports of admiration, there was not wanting a company of slaves charged to remind him of his miseries. Some of his friends appeared disposed to retrace their steps. Staupitz, whom he denominated his father, appeared to hesitate and tremble. The pope had accused him of a want of fidelity, and Staupitz had declared himself ready to submit to the judgment of his Holiness. "I fear," said Luther to his friend, "that in accepting of the pope as your judge, it will appear that you have rejected me and the doctrines which I maintain. If Christ loves you, he will constrain you to retract your letter. Christ is condemned, robbed, and blasphemed: it is not the time to fear, but to raise our voices loud. This is the reason wherefore, at the time you now exhort me to practise humility, I exhort you to encourage pride; because you have too much humility, as I may be said to have too much pride. I shall, no doubt, be called proud, avaricious, adulterous, a homicide, antipope, and a man guilty of every imaginable crime. . . . I care not, provided that it is impossible for any one to reproach me with having kept an impious silence at the moment when the Lord said in sorrow, *I look to my right hand, and there is no person who regards me.* (Psalm 142.) The word of Jesus Christ is a word not of peace, but of the sword. If you are not willing to follow Jesus Christ, I will march by myself alone. I will advance alone, I will carry the place by assault."

In this manner Luther, as the general of an army, undertook all the duties of the field of battle; and while his voice encouraged new soldiers to join in the fray, his eye discovered those of his followers who seemed doubtful, and who were instantly called back to a sense of their duty. Everywhere his exhortations were manfully delivered. His letters succeeded each other in rapid succession. Three presses were employed in multiplying his writings. His words were thus carried into the dwellings of the people, where they strengthened the consciences before dismayed at the recollection of the confessional, and in the convents cheered the drooping souls that were ready to faint, whilst they maintained the rights of the truth in the palaces of many princes.

"In the midst of the tempests which encompass me," writes the reformer to the elector, "I had always hoped to have found peace at last. But I now see that such a thought was but the thought of man. Every day the waves increase in size, and I am already completely

surrounded by the ocean. The tempest is let loose with a most fearful noise ; and I, as it were, seize with one hand the sword of battle, while with the other I build up the walls of Sion." His ancient bonds are broken asunder ; the hand that directed against him the thunders of excommunication, had served to complete this disruption. "Excommunicated by the bull," said he, "I am relieved from the authority of the pope and monastic laws. I embrace with joy this deliverance. But I will neither put off the habit nor quit the cells of the convents." And still, in the heat of all this agitation, he never lost sight of the dangers to which his soul was exposed in the events of this hardy struggle. He felt the necessity of being watchful over himself. "You do well to pray for me," he wrote to Pellican, who then resided in Basil, "I cannot sufficiently devote my time to the performance of holy exercises ; life is to me a real cross. You do also well to exhort me to be modest : I feel the need of this virtue ; but I am not master of myself ; and know not by what spirit I am led. I do not wish evil to a single person ; but my enemies press upon me with so much fury, that I do not take sufficient care against the seductions of satan. Pray, therefore, for me."

Such was the manner in which the reformer and the Reformation approached the end to which God had destined them. The perturbation became infectious. Men whose duty should have apparently constrained them to be most faithful to the hierarchy began to hesitate. "Those very persons," said Eck, with sufficient ingenuity, "who hold from the pope the best living and the richest prebends, remain as silent as fishes. Many of them even exalt Luther as a man filled with the Spirit of God, and denominate the defenders of the pope sophists and flatterers." The church, in outward appearance full of strength, supported by the treasures, the powers, and the armies of the world, but in reality fallen away and weakened, without the love of God, without the virtues of the Christian life, and without enthusiasm for the truth, was now opposed to simple and courageous men, but who, knowing that God is with those who fight for his word, harboured no doubt of their ultimate victory. Every age has borne witness to the powers inherent in an idea to penetrate within the minds of the multitude, to stir up the spirit of nations, and to drag, were it necessary, many thousands of men on to the battlefield and into the jaws of death. But if a human idea be possessed of such influences, what power must not be enjoyed by an idea descended from heaven, when God opens in its favour the gates of the heart ? The world has not often seen in operation the influences of such a power ; she has, however, witnessed them during the first ages of Christianity and in the early days of the Reformation, and she shall, in the time that is come, again behold these wonderful works. Men who disdained the riches and grandeur of the world, who were contented with a life of trouble and poverty, began to be affected towards the attainment of that which is most holy upon earth—the doctrine of faith and of grace. Every religious element was seen in a state of fermentation within the bowels of a disquieted society ; whilst the fire of enthusiasm directed the souls of many to engage with courage in the warfare of this new life, during that epoch of revival which had just commenced with so much grandeur, and into which Providence had precipitated the people.

BOOK VII.

THE DIET OF WORMS.—1521 (JANUARY—MAY.)

CHAPTER I.

Victories of the Word of God—The Diet of Worms—Difficulties—Charles Demands Luther—The Elector to Charles the Fifth—State of Public Mind—Terror of Alexander—The Elector Departs without Luther—Alexander Rouses Rome—Excommunication of the Pope and Communion with Christ—Fulmination of the Bull—The Motives of Luther in the Reform.

THE Reformation, commenced by the struggles of an humble soul confined in a cell within the convent of Erfurt, had never ceased to increase in vigour. An obscure individual, carrying in his hand the word of life, had taken his stand in opposition to all the grandeur of this world, and that grandeur had been found to quail in his presence. He had first exhibited this word in the face of Tezel and his numerous adherents; and these greedy venders of indulgences, after a few moment's contest, had fled in dismay. Then the word was displayed before the pope's legate in Augsburg, and that legate, disconcerted, had allowed his prize to escape out of his hands. At a later period the champions of science were met in the halls of Leipsic, and these astonished theologians had beheld the weapons of syllogism to break in their grasp: in short, the pope was encountered at the moment when he, troubled in his sleep, had ascended his throne to issue forth the thunders that were to crush to the earth the importunate monk. This word had, in fact, paralyzed the whole power of the head of christendom, but there still remained for it a last struggle to maintain. She must also triumph over the emperor of the west, as well as over many kings and princes of the earth; and then, victorious over all the grandeur of the world, take her high position within the church, and reign there exclusively as the very word of God.

The entire nation was in a state of agitation. Princes and nobles, knights and citizens, ecclesiastics and laymen, the towns and the country districts, all were involved in the struggle. A mighty religious revolution, of which God even was the first mover, but which had also deep root in the life of the people, threatened to overthrow the so-long venerated head of the Roman hierarchy. A new generation, animated with a grave, profound, active, and energetic spirit, filled the universities, the towns, the courts, the castles, the cottages, and even, in many instances, the cells of the convents. The persuasion that a great transformation in the being of society was at hand, inspired the minds of all with a holy enthusiasm. In what condition, with reference to this movement of the age, was the new emperor found? And whence must spring that formidable impulsion with which the whole body of the people felt themselves so strongly actuated?

A solemn diet was about to be opened, which was the first assembly of the empire whereat the young Charles had been called upon to preside. Nuremberg, where this meeting ought, of right, to have been held in virtue of the golden bull, being infested with the plague, it was in Worms the members were summoned to appear on the 6th of January 1521. Never had so many princes been known to attend at any former diet; each one of them seemed desirous to assist at the first act of government performed by the young emperor, and

each one was pleased to add renown to his authority. The young landgrave, Philip of Hesse, among the rest, who was destined at an after period to play so conspicuous a part in the cause of the Reformation, arrived in Worms about the middle of January, accompanied by 600 horsemen, including many individuals celebrated for their tried bravery.

At the same time, a more powerful motive induced the crowd of electors, dukes, archbishops, landgraves, margraves, counts, bishops, barons, and lords of the empire, as well as the deputies from cities and ambassadors from the kings of christendom, to cover at this moment with their brilliant retinues the roads which led to the city of Worms. It had been announced that regard would be had in this diet to the nomination of a council of regency to govern the empire during the absence of Charles, as well as to the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, and to other questions of grave importance. But public attention had been directed towards another affair, which the emperor had likewise mentioned in the letter of convocation, and this business was that of the Reformation. The grand interests of worldly politics were seen to tremble before the cause of the monk of Wittemberg. It was, in short, on account of this last subject particularly that the nobles flocked in such numbers towards the gates of Worms.

Everything foretold that the diet would be engaged in difficult and stormy debates. Charles, now scarcely twenty years old, of a sallow complexion and feeble health, but knowing how to ride with much elegance, and to break a lance in the lists like others, was, moreover, of a character as yet but little developed; and, although graced with a grave, it may be melancholy, and at the same time benevolent, cast of countenance, he had not displayed thus early any proofs of a distinguished mind, and appeared as if he had not, in fact, adopted any fixed principles of action. The talented and active William of Croÿ, and lord of Chievres, his grand chamberlain, his governor and prime minister, who enjoyed at his court an absolute authority, happened to die at Worms. Many ambitious individuals were here present, and many passions were brought into violent collision. The Spaniards and the Belgians strove earnestly to insinuate themselves into the councils of the young prince, and the nuncios multiplied the amount of their intrigues, whilst the princes of Germany spoke in tones of determined courage. A struggle might be anticipated in which the deaf, influenced by party spirit, would be called upon to play the principal characters.

Charles opened the diet on the 28th of January, the birth-day of Charlemagne. His mind was filled with thoughts of the high importance of his imperial dignity. He said, in his opening speech, that no monarchy could compare itself with the Roman empire, to whose authority almost the whole universe had of old given in its submission; that unhappily that empire was no longer anything more than the shadow of what it had been; but that, by means of his own kingdoms and his powerful alliances, he hoped to re-establish this empire in its ancient glory.

But at the outset numerous difficulties were placed before the eyes of the young emperor. What could Charles do, placed between the nuncio of the pope, and the elector to whom he owed the possession of

his crown? How could he avoid the displeasure of either Aleander or Frederick? The former functionary solicited the emperor to execute the provisions of the pope's bull, whilst the latter potentate beseeched him to undertake no measures against the monk without granting him a candid hearing. With a desire to satisfy both these opposite parties, the young prince, during his stay at Oppenheim, had written a letter to the elector, requesting him to bring Luther to the diet, in which letter assurances were given that no injustice should be done the monk, or any violence shewn to his person, but that, on the contrary, learned men would be appointed to hold conferences with him.

This letter, written by Charles, and accompanied by others dictated by Chievres and the count of Nassau, had thrown the elector into a state of great perplexity. At every moment an alliance with the pope was likely to become necessary on the part of the young and ambitious emperor; and in that case what must become of Luther? If Frederick conducted the reformer to Worms, it might be to the scaffold he led this innocent man. And still the orders of Charles were distinct. The elector intrusted Spalatin to communicate to Luther the substance of the letters he had received. "The adversaries," said the chaplain to the monk, "are using all their endeavours to hasten this affair."

The friends of Luther trembled, but he did not tremble himself. His health was at this time very infirm; but this signified nothing with him. "If I cannot go in good health to Worms," he replied to the elector, "I will be conveyed thither sick as I am. For if the emperor calls me, I cannot doubt but this call must be regarded even as the call of God. If they are determined to employ violence against me, as it is most probable they may be, (for assuredly it is not with the view to afford me instruction I am called,) I submit the affair to the will of the Lord. He still lives and reigns, the same who preserved the three young men in the fires of the furnace. If he does not wish to save me, my life is indeed but a small matter. Let us only prevent the gospel from being exposed to the raillery of the impious, and let our blood be shed for it, so that they may not triumph. Whether shall my life or death contribute most to the salvation of all? This question we are unable to decide. Let us merely pray that God may not permit our young emperor to commence his reign by steeping his hands in my blood. I would much rather prefer to die by the sword of the Romans. You know with what chastisements the emperor Sigismund was visited after the murder of John Huss. Expect everything from me, . . . except flight and retraction. To flee I am not able, and to retract my words still less."

Before receiving this letter from Luther, the elector had already come to a settled resolution. That prince, who was making advances in his knowledge of the gospel, adopted, henceforth, more decision in his measures. He perceived that the conference in Worms was not likely to be productive of a happy issue. "It appears difficult for me," he wrote to Charles V., "to bring Luther to Worms along with me. Relieve me, therefore, of this care. For the rest, I have never been anxious to take his doctrine under my protection,

but merely to prevent his being condemned without a fair hearing. The pope's legates, without waiting for your orders, have adopted measures dishonouring alike to Luther and to me, and I much fear that in this way they have forced Luther to the commission of an imprudent act, which might expose him to great danger were he to make his appearance at the diet." It was to the funeral pile on which the bull of the pope had been consumed the elector here makes an allusion.

But already the rumour of Luther's arrival at Worms had gained credit. Those persons who were eager in their desires after novelty rejoiced at this report; the courtiers of the emperor were, however, alarmed thereat; but no one was so indignant as the legate of the pope. Aleander had enjoyed an opportunity in the course of his journey of witnessing how far the gospel proclaimed by Luther had been listened to with pleasure by every class of society. Learned men, lawyers, nobles, the common clergy, monkish orders, and the people, had become interested in favour of the Reformation. These friends of the new doctrine exhibited much firmness in their deportment; their words were resolute, and an invincible terror seized upon the minds of the partisans of Rome. Popery still maintained an erect posture, but its supports were shaking, in so much that attentive ears discerned, even now, a sound of ruin, like the deaf creaking noise which gives warning before the heavy rock rolls to the ground. Aleander, during the continuance of his journey to Worms, was often urged into a state of frenzy. If he wished to join the festive board, or to pass the night in the dwelling of some friend, neither any of the learned men, nor nobles, nor priests, even among those who were the supposed partisans of the pope, dared to receive him as their guest, and the superb nuncio was obliged to seek a resting-place in the inns of the lowest rank. Aleander, thus tortured, became alarmed, and entertained strong doubts of the safety of his head. In such a plight he reached Worms, and to his Roman fanaticism there was hereafter joined a stinging feeling of the personal injuries he had received. He, therefore, immediately adopted strong measures to prevent the audacious appearance of the formidable Luther. "Would it not be a scandal," said he, "to behold a body of laymen submitting a cause to the process of a renewed examination which had already been condemned by the pope?" Nothing so much terrified a courtier of Rome as a process of examination; and, moreover, should this proof be listened to in Germany and not at Rome, how great was the humiliation, even although Luther were to be unanimously condemned, while such an issue did not appear at all certain. Must not this powerful word of Luther, which had already ensured so much injury, be sure to accomplish the ruin of many princes and lords? Aleander made protestations in the presence of Charles; he implored, he threatened, and spoke as a nuncio of the head of the church. Charles yielded to the force of these arguments, and wrote to the elector that the time granted to Luther having already expired, that monk was now under the ban of excommunication from the pope, so that, were he not willing to retract from his writings, Frederick was bound to leave him alone in Wittemberg. This prince had, however, previously quitted Saxony without Luther. "I pray the Lord to be favourable to our elector," Melancthon had said, on seeing him depart. "It is upon him our hopes are placed for the restoration of christen-

dom. His enemies dare everything, and there is not a stone they leave unturned ; but God will disperse the council of Abithophel. As for us, let us sustain our part of the combat by our teachings and by our prayers. "Luther was grievously afflicted when he heard that he was forbidden to appear at Worms.

It was not enough for Aleander to have hindered the journey of Luther to Worms ; he longed to perfect his condemnation. He introduced the subject unceasingly before the notice of many princes, prelates, and other members of the diet. He accused the Augustine monk not only with disobedience and heresy, but also of sedition, of rebellion, of impiety, and of blasphemy ; but the very accents of his voice disclosed the passions with which he was animated. "It is hatred and the love of revenge which constrain him," it was said, "rather than either zeal or piety." And however frequent and vehement his speeches were, they did not succeed in gaining for him a single partisan. Some individuals begged him to remember that the bull of the pope had only conditionally condemned Luther, whilst others did not wholly conceal the joy they experienced at regarding the evident humiliation of the Roman pride. The ministers of the emperor on the one hand, and the ecclesiastical electors on the other, affected a marked indifference ; the former, with a view to convince the pope more certainly of the need there was to join in league with their master, and the latter in order that the pope might be induced to purchase their favour at a higher price. The persuasion of Luther's innocence prevailed in the assembly, and Aleander felt it impossible for him to retain his anger.

But the coolness manifested by the diet disquieted the legate still less than the coolness displayed by Rome. Rome, which it had been so difficult to rouse to serious thoughts concerning the "intoxicated German," did not imagine but that a bull of the sovereign pontiff would be sufficient to render him perfectly humble and submissive. She had, therefore, resumed all her former security, and no longer despatched either the warnings of a bull or the assistance of a purse. Now, how, without money, was it possible to accomplish the end of such an affair ? Rome must be awakened from its dream of security, and Aleander raises, for this purpose, a shout of alarm. "Germany has detached herself from Rome," wrote he, to the cardinal of Medicis, "and her princes have detached themselves from the pope. . . . Still some delay, still some attention, and more expectation. Money, money, or Germany is lost."

At this cry Rome was startled, and the servants of Popery, roused from their torpor, began to forge with all haste within the Vatican the weapons of their thunder. The pope issued a new bull, and the excommunication, with which until now the heretical doctor had only been threatened, was decidedly pronounced against himself and his adherents. Rome, in thus herself breaking the last thread which held him to her church, increased the freedom of Luther, and in equal proportion his strength. Repelled by the thunders of the pope, he sheltered himself with more enduring love under the protection of Jesus Christ. Cast out from the outer temple, he felt more powerfully that he was himself a temple in which God delighted to dwell. "It is a great glory," said he, "that we sinners, in believing upon Jesus Christ, and in eating his flesh, may receive him unto ourselves

with all his strength, his power, his wisdom, and his justice, according as it is written—*He that believeth in me, I will dwell in him.* Admirable dwelling! marvellous tabernacle! much superior to that of Moses, and all ornamented within, in a magnificent manner, with superb tapestry, with purple curtains and golden furniture; while without, as upon the tabernacle which God commanded to be constructed in the desert of Sinai, was only seen the coarse appearance of a ram's skin or the hair of a goat. Christians often stumble, and, regarding them only outwardly, they appear but a mass of weakness and infamy. But that signifies nothing; for far within this infirmity and this folly is secretly ensconced a power which the world cannot take cognizance of, and which, nevertheless, overcomes the world; for Christ dwells in them. I have frequently seen some Christians who halted in their walk, and were outwardly weak; but who, when brought to the field of battle, or to appear before the bar of the world, Christ suddenly acted within them, and they became so strong and resolute, that the devil in terror fled at their appearance."

The hour of battle was soon to be struck in the hearing of Luther, and Christ, in the communion with which he dwelt in him, shall not be found to fail him. Meanwhile Rome rejected the reformer with violence. And he was held accursed, even he and all his partisans, of whatever authority or rank they might be, and were dispossessed, along with their descendants, of all their honours and of all their wealth. All faithful Christians, to whom was dear the salvation of their souls, must flee at the sight of this cursed brand. Wherever the heresy has been introduced, the priests were appointed, on the Sundays and feast-days, at the hour when the people entered the churches, solemnly to declare the act of excommunication. The cups and ornaments of the altar were to be carried away; the cross was to be laid prostrate on the ground; and twelve priests, holding torches in their hands, were to set fire to these torches, and then throwing them to the ground with violence, they were to be extinguished by being trampled to pieces under their feet. Then the bishop was to declare the condemnation of these impious persons; all the bells were to be rung, and the bishops and priests were to proffer anathemas and maledictions, and all were to preach with boldness against Luther and his adherents.

It was twenty-two days after the excommunication had been published at Rome, and perhaps before it was heard of in Germany, when Luther, learning that there was a renewed intention of calling him to Worms, wrote a letter to the elector, so prudently expressed, that Frederick was able to lay it before the diet. Luther was anxious to correct the false ideas entertained by many princes, and frankly to explain to this august tribunal the true nature of a cause so little understood. "I rejoice with all my heart, most serene lord," said he, "because his imperial Majesty has resolved to take cognizance of this affair. I take Jesus Christ to witness, that it is the cause of the Germanic nation, of the catholic church, of the whole world, and of God himself, . . . and not that of a single man, and more especially of a man like me. I am ready to appear in Worms, provided that I am supplied with a safe-conduct, and with learned, pious, and impartial judges. I am prepared to reply .

for it is not through a rash spirit, or in order to accumulate profit thereby, that I have taught the doctrine with which I am reproached. It is in obedience to the dictates of my conscience, and the words of my oath as doctor of the Holy Scriptures, I have done so, as well as with a view to the glory of God, the salvation of the Christian church, the good of the German nation, and the extirpation of a host of superstitions, abuses, evils, infamies, tyranny, blasphemy, and impiety."

This declaration, uttered in a moment of such serious import for Luther, deserved corresponding attention. We here behold disclosed the motives which actuated his conduct, and the particular causes which led to the renovation of Christian society. These were very different from the jealousy of a monk, or the wish in him of becoming married.

CHAPTER II.

A Foreign Prince—Council of Politicians—Conference between the Confessor and the Chancellor—Inutility of these Manœuvres—Activity of Aleander—Words of Luther—Charles gives in to the Pope.

But motives or causes of the description we have now contemplated were held in little estimation by worldly politicians. However great the high idea was which Charles conceived of his imperial dignity, Germany did not form the centre of his interests or of his policy. He neither understood the German language nor spirit. He was for ever a duke of Burgundy, who to several other sceptres joined the first crown in christendom. It is undoubtedly a remarkable circumstance that, at the moment of her most peculiar transformation, Germany should have chosen for her head a foreign prince, in whose regard the wants and the tendencies of the nation only occupied a secondary rank. The religious movement was assuredly not a matter of indifference to the young emperor; but it had no other signification in his thoughts, saving in as far as it tended to menace the pope. War between Charles and France could not be avoided, and this war must principally be carried on in the territories of Italy. Thus the alliance with the pope became every day an object of higher value to the projects of Charles. He, therefore, wished either to detach Frederick from the cause of Luther, or to satisfy the pope without wounding the feelings of Frederick. Many of the individuals who surrounded the emperor, displayed, in the affairs of the Augustine monk, that disdainful unconcernedness which political men usually affect when the subject in question refers to religion. "Let us avoid extreme measures," said they, "and let us inveigle Luther into a net by means of negotiations, and reduce him to silence by yielding to him some of his proposals. To smother, and not to stir up the fire; this is the true rule to follow. If the monk enters into the snare, we are conquerors in accepting a treaty; he shall be interdicted, and lost by his own doings. For the sake of appearances some outward reforms must be decreed, and the elector shall, in this manner, be satisfied, the pope shall be propitiated, and matters shall be brought to resume their ordinary course."

Such was the scheme recommended by the companions of the emperor. The doctors of Wittemberg seem to have anticipated this new policy. "They attempt in secret to seize upon the spirits," said

Melancthon, "and work in darkness." The confessor of Charles V., John Glapio, a man held in much esteem, a clever courtier, and a monk full of ingenuity, undertook the execution of this design. Glapio was possessed of the perfect confidence of Charles, and that prince, in imitation of Spanish customs, intrusted to him almost exclusively the care of all affairs which related to the matters of religion. From the moment that Charles had been elected emperor, Leo X. had used strenuous endeavours to secure the good will of Glapio, by bestowing favours on him of which the confessor was peculiarly sensible. Nor could the confessor make a better return to the pontiff for his kindness than by reducing the clamours of heresy to silence; and thus he began to further the desired object.

Among the counsellors of the elector was found the chancellor, Gregory Bruck, or Pontanus, a man full of knowledge, decision, and courage, who knew more of theology than all their doctors, and whose wisdom was calculated to keep in check the cunning of the monks attached to the court of Charles V. Glapio, aware of the influence enjoyed by the chancellor, requested the favour of an interview, and addressing him as if he had been a friend to the reformer, he said, assuming an air of benevolence, "I was filled with joy when, in reading the early writings of Luther, I recognised in him a vigorous tree which had thrown out beautiful branches, and which promised to the church a supply of the most precious fruit. Many, it is true, have discovered before him the same things; nevertheless, no person excepting himself has had the noble courage to publish the truth without fear. But when I read his book entitled the *Captivity of Babylon*, it appeared to me as if I had been covered with blows and bruised in every part of my body from head to foot. I do not believe," added the monk, "that brother Martin has declared himself the author of this work. I do not recognise in it either his style or his knowledge" . . . After a little discussion, the confessor continued, "Be so good as introduce me to the elector, I will expose before him, in your presence, the errors of Luther."

The chancellor replied that the occupations of the diet did not allow sufficient leisure for his Highness to accept of such an offer, who, moreover, did not wish to intermeddle in that affair. The monk was much grieved at the rejection of his proposal. "But for all this," said the chancellor to the monk, "since you yourself admit that there is no evil without a remedy, be pleased to explain your meaning."

Assuming, then, a confidential air, the confessor replied, "The emperor ardently wishes to see a man possessed of the qualifications of Luther reconciled to the church; for his books (previous to the publication of the treatise upon the *Captivity of Babylon*) have much pleased his Majesty. . . . The anger which has been excited in the mind of Luther by the appearance of the bull has, no doubt, dictated this last production. Let him declare that he had no wish to disturb the repose of the church, and the learned men of every nation will range themselves on his side. . . . Do procure for me an audience with his Highness."

The chancellor thereafter waited upon his prince. But Frederick was fully aware that any sort of recantation whatever was impossible.

"Say to the confessor," replied the elector, "that I cannot grant his request, and do you continue the conference."

Glapio received this message with great demonstrations of respect; and changing his method of attack, he said, "Let the elector name some men of confidence in order to deliberate on this affair."

The Chancellor.—"The elector does not pretend to defend the cause of Luther."

The Confessor.—"Very well, you, at least, will converse with me on the subject. . . . Jesus Christ is my judge, that I do all this out of love for the church and for Luther, who has opened so many hearts to a knowledge of the truth."

The chancellor having refused to undertake a task which belonged exclusively to the reformer, made preparation to withdraw.

"Stay," said the monk.

The Chancellor.—"What, then, is there to do?"

The Confessor.—"Let Luther deny that he is the author of the *Captivity of Babylon*."

The Chancellor.—"But the bull of the pope condemns all his other works."

The Confessor.—"That is on account of his stubbornness. If he retract respecting this book, the pope, in virtue of his full powers, can easily grant a pardon. What hopes may we not be justified in entertaining now that we have so excellent an emperor." . . .

Perceiving that his words had produced some effect upon the thoughts of the chancellor, the monk hastened to add, "Luther wishes always to argue in accordance with the Bible. The Bible, . . . it is like wax, and can be stretched out or twisted as you please. I will undertake to find in the Bible many opinions more strange still than those of Luther. He deceives himself when he changes into commandments every word uttered by Jesus Christ." Then, desiring likewise to work by fear upon his interlocutor, he added, "What shall happen him, if to-day or to-morrow the emperor comes to arms in this cause? Think you upon the matter." The monk then allowed the chancellor to retire.

The confessor prepared still more traps. "When one shall have lived ten years in his company," said Erasmus, "a knowledge of his character will still be wanting."

"What an excellent work is that of Luther upon the liberty of the Christian," said the confessor to the chancellor, when they again met a few days after their former conversation, "what wisdom, what talent, and what mind is therein displayed; it is in this manner that a man of real learning should write. . . . Let irreproachable men be chosen on both sides, and let the pope and Luther respectively submit to the judgment of these honest men. No one doubts but that Luther may have the advantage upon many articles. I will speak regarding the subject to the emperor himself. Believe me, it is not in the words of my chief I say these things to you. I have told the emperor that God shall punish him as well as all the other princes, if the church, which is the spouse of Christ, be not cleansed from all the stains that now defile her. I have said, moreover, that God himself had raised up Luther, and had ordained him to reprove, in lively accents, the faults of men, using him, as it were, for a rod to chastise the sins of the world."

The chancellor, hearing these words, (which expressed the impression at the time prevalent within the minds of men, and shewed the opinion then entertained of Luther, even by his opponents,) found it incumbent upon him to utter his astonishment at the little respect which was shewn to his master. "Every day deliberations are held in the palace of the emperor concerning these affairs," said he, "to which the elector is not invited. It appears strange to my prince that the emperor, who owes him a debt of gratitude, should thus exclude him from his counsels."

The Confessor.—"I have only once myself assisted at these deliberations, and I heard the emperor refuse to comply with the solicitations of the nuncios. Within the next five years it shall be made manifest what the emperor will do in favour of the Reformation of the church."

"The elector," replied Pontanus, "is ignorant of the intentions of Luther. Let him be brought to this place and have the privilege of a fair hearing."

The confessor, heaving a deep sigh, replied, "I take God to witness in respect of the ardent desire I cherish to behold the Reformation of christendom accomplished."

To lengthen out the consideration of the affair, and to shut meanwhile the mouth of Luther, were the sole motives which actuated the proposals of Glapio. But, above all things, Luther must not be permitted to come to Worms. A ghost, returning from the other world and appearing in the middle of the diet, would have caused less alarm to the nuncios, the monks, and the whole army of the pope, than the entrance into the same assembly of the doctor from Wittenberg.

"How many days will it require to perform the journey from Wittenberg to Worms?" asked the monk, with an air of indifference, at the chancellor, and then praying Pontanus to offer to the elector his most humble salutations—the monk retired from the apartment.

Such were the manœuvres resorted to by courtiers of Rome. The steadfast behaviour of Pontanus, however, disconcerted their artful schemes. This upright man continued as immovable as the rock during all their endeavours at negotiation. Moreover, the Roman monks fell into the snare they had prepared to deceive their adversaries. "The Christian," said Luther, in his figurative language, "is like the bird which is tied at the mouth of a trap. The wolves and the foxes turn about and make a spring to devour it; but they tumble into the hole and perish, whilst the timid bird is left in life. It is in this manner holy angels watch over us, and the devouring wolves, the hypocrites, and persecutors, are unable to do us any harm." Not only were the artifices of the confessor employed in vain, but his averments also helped to strengthen Frederick in his opinion that Luther was in the right, and that it was his duty to defend the reformer.

The hearts of men were inclined more and more towards the gospel. A prior of the Dominicans proposed that the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, England, Portugal, Hungary, and Poland, with the pope and the electors, should appoint so many representatives to whom should be intrusted the decision of this affair. "Never can it

be properly referred to the pope alone." The disposition of the public mind became such that it appeared impossible to condemn Luther without granting him a hearing and refuting his doctrines.

Aleander waxed fretful, and increased the energy of his attempts to conquer. It was not now merely against the elector and Luther he had to contend. He beheld with consternation the secret negotiations of the confessor, the proposition of the prior, the consent of the ministers of Charles, and the extreme coolness of Roman piety evinced by the most devoted friends of the pope, "in so much that it might be supposed," said Pallavicini, "a covering of ice had been spread over these spirits." The nuncio had, however, at last received from Rome a supply of gold and silver, and he was likewise in possession of the energetic briefs which had been addressed to the most powerful persons in the empire. Fearing to witness the escape of his prey, he considered the present moment a fit time for the infliction of a decisive blow. He, therefore, despatched the briefs, scattered money abroad with a full hand, dealt out the most attractive promises; "and, armed with this triple industry," said the cardinal historian, he endeavoured to direct anew in favour of the pope the wavering minds of this assembly of electors. But it was chiefly around the emperor he placed his snares. He took advantage of the existing dissensions between the Belgian and Spanish ministers. He, in fact, completely beset the prince. Every friend of Rome, awakened by the noise the nuncio had created, made earnest entreaties in presence of the young Charles. "Each day," the elector wrote to his brother John, "they have deliberations against Luther; requests are constantly made to put him in straits both to the pope and the emperor, and all means are used to ensure his destruction. Those who glory in the possession of red caps, the Romans, with all their sect, display in this work a most indefatigable zeal."

In short, Aleander pressed forward the condemnation of the reformer with a violence which Luther denominated a marvellous fury. The apostate nuncio, as Luther called him, transported by his rage beyond the boundaries of prudence, even exclaimed on a certain day—"If you pretend, O Germans, to shake off the yoke of Roman obedience, we will so arrange matters that, drawing against each other the sword of extermination, you shall all perish in your own blood." "Behold in what manner the pope feeds the sheep of Christ," added the reformer.

But it was not thus he spoke of himself. He asked no favour on his own account. "Luther is ready," said Melancthon, "to purchase, at the price of his own existence, the glory and the advancement of the gospel." But he trembled when he thought of the desolation of which his death might be the primary signal. He beheld, in imagination, ~~answering~~ people taking vengeance of his martyrdom in the blood of their adversaries, and especially of the priests. He recoiled at the idea of a responsibility so terrible. "God," said he, "arrests the fury of his enemies; but, should this fury be allowed to burst forth, . . . then shall be seen to break over the heads of the priests a storm equal to that which has already ravaged the territories of Bohemia. . . . I am clear of these horrors, for I have earnestly beseeched the Germanic nobility to stay the excesses of the Romans with wisdom

and not by means of the sword. To make war against priests, a people without courage and without strength, is to make an attack upon defenceless women and children."

Charles V. did not resist the solicitations of the nuncio. His Belgian and Spanish devotion had been developed through the agency of his preceptor Adrien, who, at a later period, occupied the pontifical throne. The pope had addressed one of his briefs to Charles, entreating him to give legal force to the bull by the concurrence of an imperial edict. "It is in vain," said the pope to the prince, "that God should bestow on you the sword of supreme power, if you do not make use of this weapon, whether it be against infidels, or against heretics who are worse than the former."

One day, in the beginning of February, at a moment when all were preparing in Worms to witness the performance of a brilliant tournament, and when the tent of the emperor had been already erected, the princes who were ready to engage in this feat were invited to pass an hour in the imperial palace. During this interview, after having read, in the hearing of these noblemen, a copy of the bull, they were presented with the draft of a severe edict which enforced its execution. "If you know of anything better," added the emperor, according to custom, "I am ready to listen to you."

After this occurrence lively debates were sustained in the diet. "The monk," wrote a deputy from one of the free towns in Germany, "gives us plenty to do. Some individuals are urgent to put him to death on the cross, and I believe that he shall not escape from such a fate; but it is to be feared that he shall rise again on the third day." The emperor had imagined that he would be able to publish his edict without opposition on the part of the states; but these conjectures were ill-founded. The public mind was not prepared for its appearance. There was need for bringing over to his views the consent of the diet. "Do you convince that assembly," said the young monarch to the nuncio. This was all that Aleander desired, and he made a promise to have the edict admitted into the diet upon the 13th day of February.

CHAPTER III.

Aleander Admitted into the Diet—Speech of Aleander—Luther Accused—Rome Justified—Appeal to Charles against Luther—Effect of the Speeches of the Nuncio.

The nuncio took pains to prepare himself for the solemn audience he was about to encounter. The task was an important one, but Aleander was equal to the work. An ambassador from the sovereign pontiff, and surrounded with all the splendour of his high office, he was likewise one of the most eloquent men of his age. The friends of the Reformation did not await without fear the issue of the approaching meeting. The elector, under a pretext of indisposition, abstained from taking any part in the discussion; but he commanded some of his counsellors to be present, and to take down a report of the speech made by the nuncio.

The eventful day arrived, and Aleander directed his course towards the assembly of the princes. The public mind was intensely agitated, and the thought occurred to many of the conduct of Annas or Caiaphas when they went to the high priest in order to demand the

death of that Man who seduced the people. At the moment when the nuncio was about to enter the threshold of the door, the usher of the diet, says Pallavicini, going quickly up to him, put his hand upon his breast, and pushed him back. "He was a Lutheran in soul," adds the Roman historian.

If this report be true, it exhibits, without doubt, a singularly passionate action; but it demonstrates at same time the force with which the words of Luther had penetrated into the minds of those who were merely engaged in keeping the doors of the council chamber of the empire. The superb Aleander, drawing himself up with dignity, to the full height of his stature, continued his approach, and entered the hall of assembly. Rome had never till now been called upon to make an apology in due form before an audience so distinguished and august. The nuncio placed on the table before him the proofs of conviction which he had deemed necessary, namely, the works of Luther and the bulls of the popes, and the diet having resumed silence, the nuncio spoke as follows:—

"Very august emperor, very powerful princes, and very excellent deputies! I come to advocate in your presence a cause for which I cherish in my heart the most ardent affection. My heart's desire is to retain upon the head of my master that tiara which all are willing to adore; and it burns to maintain that papal throne, for which I will be ready to give my body to the flames, if the monster who has invented the recent heresy, which I come to contend against, could be able, consumed on the same funeral pile, to mix his ashes with my own.*

"No! all the disagreement between Luther and Rome does not merely refer to the interests of the pope. I have before me the works written by Luther, and it is sufficient to look straight before one to observe that it is the holy doctrines of the gospel he attacks. He avers that those only communicate in a worthy manner whose consciences are filled with sorrow and confusion on account of their sins, and that baptism can justify no person, if such person does not possess faith in the promises of which baptism is the pledge. He denies the necessity of our works in order to obtain celestial glory. He denies that we may have the liberty or the power to observe the natural and divine law. He affirms that we sin of necessity in all our actions. Have there ever been produced from the arsenal of hell opinions so likely to break asunder all the restraints of modesty?

... He calls for the abolition of religious vows. Is it possible to imagine an instance of impiety more sacrilegious? ... What desolation must not be witnessed in the world, when those who ought to be the leaven of the people, shall be seen to cast from them their sacred clothing, shall abandon the temples which they have made to resound with the harmony of their holy songs, and shall plunge themselves into the practices of adultery, incest, and dissipation! ...

* Seckendorff, and after him several Protestant historians, have asserted that Pallavicini had himself composed the speech which he puts into the mouth of Aleander. It is true that the cardinal historian admits to have given it the form in which it is represented; but he indicates the sources whence he had drawn this form, and in particular from the letters of Aleander deposited in the archives of the Vatican.

I, therefore, believe it would be partial to reject it altogether, and I report some specimens of this speech in conformity with both Roman and Protestant sources of information.

"Shall I enumerate to you the crimes of this audacious monk? He sins against the dead, for he denies the existence of purgatory; he sins against heaven, for he says that he would not even believe an angel from heaven; he sins against the church, for he pretends that all Christians are priests; he sins against the saints, for he despises their venerable writings; he sins against the councils, for he calls that of Constance an assembly of demons; and he sins against the world, for he forbids the punishment of death upon any one who has not committed a mortal sin. Some persons have declared that he is a pious man. . . . I do not mean to attack his life, but only to call to the remembrance of this assembly the fact that the devil deceives the people under the appearances of the truth."

Aleander having spoken of the purgatory condemned by the council of Florence, laid down at the feet of the emperor the bull of the pope referring to that council. The archbishop of Mentz lifted this document from the ground, and handed it over to the archbishops of Cologne and Triers, who received the same with gravity, and passed it in their turn to the other princes present. Then, the nuncio having thus accused Luther, proceeded to complete the second part of his discourse, which was intended to justify Rome.

"At Rome," says Luther, "one promises one thing with the mouth, and does another with the hands. If this were true, must not there be drawn from the fact a consequence completely opposed? If the ministers of a religion live conformably with its precepts, it is a mark that it is false. Such was the religion of the ancient Romans, . . . such is that of Mahommed, and that of Luther himself; but such is not the religion which the pontiffs of Rome teach us. Yes, the doctrine which they profess condemns them all, as having committed many faults; several, as guilty, and even some few (I say it ingenuously) as criminals. . . . This doctrine exposes their actions to the blame of men during their life, and to the infamy of history after their death. Now, what pleasure, what utility, I ask, can the pontiffs have found in inventing a religion like this?"

"Shall it be said that the church was not governed during the first centuries by Roman pontiffs. What must we conclude from this? With arguments of a similar nature, men might be persuaded still to feed upon acorns, and princesses to undertake the washing of their own linen."

But it was on his adversary, upon the reformer, that the nuncio particularly wished to vent his rage. Full of indignation against those who asserted that Luther should be heard—"Luther," exclaimed he, "will not allow himself to be instructed by any person. Already has the pope cited him to appear in Rome, but he has not obeyed the summons. Then the pope cited him to appear in Augsburg before his legate, and he only went there under the safe-conduct of the emperor, that is to say, after the hands of the legate had been tied up; and nothing more than his tongue was at his command. Ah!" said Aleander, in turning himself round toward Charles V. "I beseech your imperial Majesty not to commit an action of opprobrium against your authority, and to refrain from mixing in an affair wherein the laity have nothing to gain. Do your duty. Let the doctrine of Luther be interdicted by you throughout the whole empire; and let his writings be everywhere burned. Do not be afraid:

There is in the errors of Luther sufficient proof to cause the burning of a hundred thousand heretics. . . . And whom are we to fear? . . . This populace? . . . They shew themselves terrible before the battle by their insolences, but contemptible in the battle by their cowardice. The foreign princes? . . . But the king of France has forbidden the assumption in his kingdom of the doctrine of Luther; and the king of Great Britain is preparing to inflict upon him a blow with his royal hand. What is believed in Hungary, Italy, and Spain, you already know, and there is not one of your neighbours, whatever may be their hatred against you, who wish you any harm so great as the adoption of this heresy. For if the house of your enemy is next to yours, we might wish he had a fever, but not the plague. . . . Who are all these Lutherans? A collection of insolent grammarians, of corrupted priests, of unruly monks, of ignorant advocates, of degraded nobles, and of common people erring and deceived. How much more numerous is not the Catholic party, as well as more able and powerful. A unanimous decree issued by this illustrious assembly shall serve to enlighten the simple, to warn the imprudent, to decide those who are wavering, and to confirm the weak. . . . But if the hatchet be not put to the root of this venomous plant, if the stroke of death be not inflicted upon it, then . . . I behold it covering with its branches the heritage of Jesus Christ, changing the vineyard of the Lord into a horrible forest, transforming the kingdom of God into a den of wild beasts, and launching Germany into that fearful state of barbarism and desolation into which Asia has been reduced by the superstitions of Mahomed."

The nuncio resumed his seat. He had spoken for three hours, and the seduction of his eloquence had stupified the assembly. The princes trembled, and in affright, says Cochleus, looked earnestly at each other, whilst very soon murmurs were heard in different corners of the hall, condemning the cause of Luther and his partisans. If the puissant Luther had been present, if he had been in a situation to reply to this discourse. If, profiting by the avowals which were drawn from the orator in the recollection of his ancient master, the infamous Borgia, the reformer, had shewn that these arguments, destined to defend Rome, formed, in fact, the proofs of her condemnation. If he had demonstrated that the doctrine which revealed the iniquity of Rome was not invented by him, as asserted by the orator, but was that religion which Christ had given to the world, and which the Reformation sought to re-establish in its primitive lustre. If Luther had represented an exact and animated description of the errors and abuses of Popery, and had shewn how it had converted the religion of Jesus Christ into a means of elevation and rapine; the effect produced by the harangue of the nuncio had been, even at the moment, annihilated; but no one rose to offer a reply. The assembly remained, therefore, impressed with the convictions of the nuncio's discourse, and, agitated and carried away by these urgent feelings, it displayed a readiness to tear by violence from the soil of the empire the appearances of Luther's heresy.

Still this victory was only apparent. It was with the good will of God Rome had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying all her arguments and all her strength. The greatest of her orators had spoken

in an assembly of princes, and had declared all that Rome had to say. But this proved identically the last effort of declining Popery, which, even in the sight of many who witnessed its exertions, was destined to become the harbinger of her defeat. If it be necessary openly to avow the truth, in order that she may triumph and that error may perish, there is an equal necessity for publishing the truth without reserve. Neither the one nor the other, in order to accomplish their destiny, must be hid in darkness. The light is the true judge of all that passes under the sun.

CHAPTER IV.

Sentiments of the Princes—Discourse of Duke George—Character of the Reformation—A Hundred and One Grievances—Charles Yields—Practices of Alexander—The Great of Spain—Peace of Luther—Death but no Recantation.

A few days were sufficient to dissipate the first impressions created by the nuncio's speech, as it always happens when an orator covers with high-sounding words the weakness of his arguments.

The greater number of princes were ready to sacrifice Luther; but not one of them was willing to immolate the rights of the empire or to hide the grievances of the Germanic nation. They were prepared to give up an insolent monk who had dared to speak in such lofty strains, but they were only thus the more eager to impress upon the pope the justice of a reform, when these changes were urged by words uttered from the mouths of the chiefs of the nation. Moreover, it was Luther's greatest personal enemy, Duke George of Saxony, who spoke with the keenest allusion to the encroachments of Rome. The grandson of Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, repulsed by the doctrines of grace which the reformer announced, had not yet lost all hope of seeing in active operation a reform which referred alike to moral and ecclesiastical renovation. The circumstance which had irritated him so fiercely against the monk of Wittenberg, was the fact that with his despised doctrines he seemed to spoil the whole affair. But now, seeing the nuncio endeavouring to confound Luther and the reform of the church in one and the same condemnation, George suddenly stood up in the assembly of the princes, to the utter amazement of those who knew the hatred he felt for the reformer, and spoke to the following effect—"The diet must not forget its grievances against the court of Rome. How many are the abuses which have slidden into our states! The annats, which the emperor liberally granted for the good of christendom, are now exacted as a debt; the Roman courtiers inventing every day new ordinances, in order to monopolize, and to farm for others the ecclesiastical benefices. A multitude of transgressions are permitted, through means of which the rich sinners are shamefully tolerated, whilst those who have no money to redeem their errors are unmercifully punished. The popes have not ceased to bestow on the attendants of their palaces many reversions and spare emoluments, to the detriment of those to whom these benefices belong. The commendams of the abbeys and convents of Rome have been remitted to cardinals, bishops, and prelates, who have appropriated these revenues to themselves, in so much that not one religious individual is found in many convents wherein twenty or thirty of such persons ought to be accommodated. Places are multiplied to an infinite number, and shops to deal in indulgences are

established in every street, and especially in the market-places of our cities, such as the shops of St Anthony, of the Holy Spirit, of St Hubert, of St Cornelius, of St Vincent, and many others of the same description. Societies are formed in Rome for purchasing the right of holding such markets, and afterwards purchasing from their bishop the right of dealing in this sort of merchandise, and, with the view of obtaining sufficient funds to meet all their wants, they press upon and empty the purses of the poor. Indulgences, which should only be granted for the salvation of souls, and which can only be procured by means of prayers, fastings, and many works of charity, are sold for a stated price. The officials of the bishops are known to overwhelm the lower classes with acts of penance for the sins of blasphemy, adultery, debauch, or the violation of certain feast-days, whilst not even a reprimand is given to ecclesiastics who are openly guilty of all these crimes. Many penalties are imposed upon the penitent, in such a manner as to ensure a ready compliance in the same misdemeanour and thus to procure a fresh supply of money. . . . Such are a few of those abuses which cry aloud against the practices of Rome. All shame has been there forsaken, and but one thing occupies the attention of all. . . . Money, money, still is the cry! . . . in so much, that those preachers who ought to teach the truth, think of nothing but to propagate falsehood, and who are not only tolerated but rewarded, because the more they lie the more they gain money. It is from these miry wells such a torrent of corrupted waters flow. Debauch shakes hands with avarice. The ecclesiastical judges receive into their houses women under an infinite variety of excuses, and force and seduce them, either by threats or by the distribution of presents, or, if they do not succeed, the females are blasted in their reputation. Ah! it is the scandal which the clergy give occasion for that precipitates so many poor souls into a state of eternal condemnation. A universal reform must be brought about, and a general council must be called together to accomplish the ends of this reform. These are the reasons wherefore I implore you, with all submission, very excellent princes and lords, to occupy yourselves with much diligence in the arrangement of this affair." Duke George composed a list of the many grievances he had alluded to, a few days after Aleander had delivered his memorable speech. And this important document has been preserved in the archives of Weimar.

Luther had never spoken with greater force against the horrid abuses committed in Rome, but he had done something more. The duke pointed out the evil; whilst Luther, along with the evil, had exhibited the cause and the remedy. He had demonstrated that the sinner must receive true indulgence, that which comes from God solely through faith in the grace and merits of Jesus Christ, and this simple but powerful doctrine had overturned all the money-shops established by the priests. "How must you become pious?" asked he one day. "A Franciscan shall reply: put on a grey cowl, and gird yourself about with a cord. A Roman shall tell you: Attend upon mass and make fastings. But a Christian shall declare: Faith in Jesus Christ alone procures justification and salvation. Before works we must be possessed of eternal life. But when we are born anew, and made children of God by the word of grace, then we perform good works."

The discourse delivered by the duke was undoubtedly the speech of a secular prince ; the discourse of Luther was that of a reformer. The great evil which oppressed the church was in her having become altogether an outward show, in having remodelled all her works and all her graces according to the fashion of exterior and material forms. The indulgences had completed the extreme point of this outward constitution, and that very thing which is, above all things, most spiritual in Christianity, namely, the pardon of sins, had been converted into an object of sale in the same manner as articles of eating and drinking. The grand work of Luther consisted especially in his having made use of this extreme point in the degeneration of christendom, to adjust the method by which he was to re-conduct man and the church back to the primitive sources of life, and to re-establish in the sanctuary of the heart the reign of the Holy Spirit. The remedy was found at this point, as often happens even with evil itself, when the two extremes are brought together. From that time, the church, which, during so many centuries, had displayed its character from without in ceremonies, observances, and human devices, recommenced to develop its nature from within, in faith, hope, and charity.

The speech of the duke carried, in proportion, the greater weight on account of his opposition to Luther being so generally known. Other members of the diet gave in a statement of different grievances, and indeed the ecclesiastical princes themselves pressed the consideration of these complaints. "We have a pontiff whose only delight is in the chase and in the enjoyment of pleasures, said they ; the benefices of the Germanic nation are given away in Rome to bombardiers, to falconers, to attendants, to ass-drivers, to stable-boys, to guardsmen, and to other people of that description, who are ignorant, incapable, and strangers to Germany."

The diet named a commission to make out a report of all these grievances, whose number they found to amount to 101. A deputation of secular and ecclesiastical princes presented an extract from this report to the emperor, beseeching him to ground certain claims thereon, in the provisions of the capitulation he was then engaged in completing. "How many Christian souls are lost," said they to Charles V. ; "how many depredations and extortions are practised, on account of the scandal which surrounds the spiritual chief of christendom ? We must prevent the ruin and dishonour of our people. It is for this reason we, in a body, very humbly implore you, in the most earnest manner, to ordain a general Reformation—to undertake and to accomplish its fulfilment." There was at this period in the bosom of Christian society an unbroken power which worked in the hearts of princes and of people, a wisdom emanating from on high, which influenced even the adversaries of the reform, and prepared the way of that emancipation whose hour had at last been determined.

Charles could not be insensible to these representations of the empire. Nor were either the nuncio or the emperor without the expectation of such a remonstrance. The confessor of the latter had even denounced the vengeance of Heaven if he did not reform the church. Charles likewise immediately withdrew the edict which had commanded the writings of Luther to be publicly burned throughout the districts of the empire, and substituted in its place a provisional

order, whereby these books were to be handed over to the keeping of the magistrates.

This measure did not, however, give satisfaction to the assembly. That body was anxious for the appearance of the reformer within its own courts. "It is unjust," said his friends, "to condemn Luther without having granted him a hearing, and without learning from himself whether or not he was the author of the books which it was proposed to burn. "His doctrine," said his adversaries, "has so seized upon the hearts of the nation, that it is impossible to arrest its progress, if we do not listen to what he has to say for himself. No dispute shall be entered into with him; and if he acknowledges his writings and refuses to retract, then electors, princes, states of the holy empire, in one union, true to the faith of their ancestors, will aid your Majesty with all their strength in the execution of your decrees."

Aleander, alarmed, dreading everything from the intrepidity of Luther and the ignorance of the princes, betook himself with haste to the organisation of such measures as might prevent the appearance of Luther. He went from the ministers of Charles to the princes best disposed towards the cause of the pope, and from these princes to the emperor himself. "It is not permitted," said he, "to call in question the things which the sovereign pontiff has determined. No dispute shall be held with Luther, you say; but," continued he, "shall not the powers of that audacious man, the fire of his looks, the eloquence of his words, and the mysterious spirit which animates his conduct, be sufficient to ensure certain acts of sedition? Already many persons venerate him as if he were a saint, and his image is everywhere seen encircled with a crown of glory, in imitation of the honours paid to the blessed. If there exists a desire to make him appear, let him not at least be put under the protection of the public faith." These last words must suffice to frighten Luther, or to prepare his ruin.

The nuncio found an easy access into the presence of the grandees of Spain. In Spain, as well as in Germany, the opposition manifested against the Dominican inquisitors was a natural feeling. The yoke of the inquisition, which had been for a time removed, had just been re-established by Charles. A numerous party, therefore, in the Peninsula sympathized with Luther; but this sentiment was not prevalent in the ranks of the great, who found again on the banks of the Rhine the very thing which they hated on the other side of the Pyrenees. These nobles were thus impatient, in their love of an ardent fanaticism, to annihilate the new-born heresy. Frederick, Duke of Alba, was more particularly moved with transports of rage whenever he heard mention made of the cause of the reform. He would have willingly waded in the blood of every sectator connected with the contemplated changes. Luther had not yet been summoned to appear, but how powerful was his name, even now, to agitate the fears of all the lords in christendom at this time assembled in the city of Worms!

The man who in this manner excited the powerful ones of the earth, seemed alone to enjoy the confidence of peace. The news from Worms were indeed alarming, and the friends of Luther were startled at their import. "We have nothing left but your vows and your

prayers," wrote Melancthon to Spalatin. "Oh, if God would deign to redeem at the price of our blood the salvation of the Christian people." But Luther, a stranger to fear, shutting himself up in his sequestered cell, meditated therein upon these words of Mary the mother of Jesus, which he applied to his present position—*My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour. The Almighty hath done great things for me, and holy is his name. He has wrought wonderfully with his arm. He hath cast down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted the lowly and meek.* Look to some of the thoughts which crowded at this time on the heart of Luther. "The Almighty,

. says Mary. Oh it is a great boldness on the part of a young woman. With a single word she strikes with languor all the strong, with weakness all the powerful, with folly all the wise, with opprobrium all those whose name is glorious upon the earth, and she lays at the foot of God alone all strength, all power, all wisdom, and all glory. *His arm,*" continues she, "and she denominates thus that power through which he acts by himself, and without the help of any creature, mysterious power! . . . which is exercised in secret and in silence, until it shall have accomplished what it had itself proposed. Destruction is near without its approach having been seen by any one. The raising up again is near without any person having the least thought of its coming. He leaves his children in oppression and weakness, in so much that every one proclaims that they are lost. . . . But it is at this very moment he is most strong; for it is when the strength of man fails, the strength of God begins. Only, let faith await his time. . . . And, again, God permits his adversaries to rise up in their grandeur and their power. He withdraws from them the assistance of his force, and leaves them to fall down upon their own. He takes away from them his eternal wisdom, and leaves them to be filled with their wisdom of a day. And whilst they raise themselves up in the splendour of their own power, the arm of God is taken from under them, and their work vanishes, like a soap bubble bursting in the air."

It was on the 10th of March, at the time when his name had filled with alarm the imperial city, Luther finished this exposition of the *Magnificat*.

The reformer, however, was not left at peace in his retreat. Spalatin, in compliance with the orders of the elector, had sent him a list of the articles of which it was expected he would be prepared to make a retraction. A recantation after the refusal persisted in at Augsburg! "Do not fear," he wrote to Spalatin, "that I will retract a single syllable, seeing that their only argument is to pretend that my writings are opposed to the rites of what they call the church. If the emperor Charles has summoned me merely that I may complete my recantation, I will reply to him, that I shall remain where I am, and so it must be considered as if I had been at Worms and had returned to Wittemberg. But if, on the contrary, the emperor wishes me to appear in order that I may be put to death as an enemy of the empire, I am ready to answer his call; for, with the help of Christ, I will not abandon the word upon the field of battle. I know well that these sanguinary men shall not sleep at rest until they have taken away my life. Oh! would that there were no others but Papists who may render themselves guilty of the shedding of my blood."

CHAPTER V.

Shall a Safe-Conduct be Granted ?—Safe-Conduct—Shall Luther Come ?—Holy Thursday at Rome—The Pope and Luther.

At length the emperor came to a final decision. The appearance of Luther in the presence of the diet appeared the only proper means of terminating that momentous affair which occupied the attention of the whole empire. Charles V. resolved to issue a summons upon the reformer, without granting him the protection of a safe-conduct. At this juncture the part of protector was again assumed by Frederick. The dangers with which Luther was threatened were obvious to all. His friends, says Cochleus, entertained a fear that he might be delivered over into the hands of the pope, or that the emperor himself might put him to death as one unworthy, on account of his heresy, of honourable treatment in regard to pledged promises. There took place on this subject a long and intricate debate among the princes. Impressed, at last, with the vast agitation which then disturbed the minds of the people in almost all the districts of Germany, and fearing lest some sudden tumult or dangerous sedition should break out during the journey of Luther, (no doubt in favour of the reformer's cause,) the princes judged it most prudent to tranquillize the public spirit on the occasion ; and thus, not only the emperor, but even the elector of Saxony, Duke George, and the landgrave of Hesse, through whose states it was necessary he should pass, granted him respectively their particular safe-conduct.

On the 6th of March 1521, Charles V. signed the following summons addressed to Luther :—

“ Charles, by the grace of God, elected Roman emperor, always sacred, &c., &c.

“ Honourable, dear, and pious !—We and the states of the holy empire here assembled, having resolved to make an inquiry regarding the doctrine and the books which you have published for this some time back, have granted you, in order to come and to return from this place in safety, our safe-conduct and that of the empire, which we transmit you herewith. Our sincere desire is, that you should prepare yourself immediately to undertake this journey, so that in the space of the twenty-one days mentioned in our safe-conduct, you may certainly arrive here at our place of residence, and that you will not fail to appear. Do not be apprehensive of either injustice or violence. We are anxious to maintain the purity of our aforesaid safe-conduct, and we expect that you will obey our summons. You shall herein follow our serious advice.

“ Given at our imperial city of Worms, on the 6th day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1521, and the second of our reign.

CHARLES.”

“ After the order of my lord the emperor with my own hand, Albert, cardinal of Mentz, arch-chancellor. NICOLAS ZWYL.”

The enclosed safe-conduct had upon it the following address :—
“ *To the honourable, our dear and pious Doctor Martin Luther, of the order of the Augustines.*”

It began thus :—

“ We, Charles, fifth of the name, by the grace of God, elected Roman emperor, always sacred, king of Spain, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Hungary, of Dalmatia, of Croatia. &c., arch-duke of

Austria, duke of Burgundy, count of Hapsbourg, of Flanders, and of Tyrol, &c. &c."

Then the king of so many nations, making it be known that he had cited to appear before him an Augustine monk, named Luther, commanded all princes, lords, magistrates, and others, to respect the safe-conduct which he had given, under pain of punishment from the emperor and the empire.

Here we see the emperor bestowing the titles of "dear, honourable, and pious," upon a man whom the head of the church had branded with excommunication. A desire was evinced in the composition of this document to hush all suspicious fears in the minds of Luther and his intimate friends. Gaspard Sturm was appointed bearer of this message to the reformer, and ordered to accompany him to Worms. The elector, in dread of the public indignation, wrote, on the 12th of March, to the magistrates of Wittemberg, with instructions to secure the safety of this officer belonging to the emperor, and to afford him a guard, were such a precaution deemed necessary. The herald then departed on his mission.

This is the manner in which God executes his purposes. He (God) desired to place upon a hill that light which he had kindled in the world, and emperor, kings, and princes immediately display an eagerness to accomplish this object without being aware of the design they hasten to complete. It costs little to him to ensure the exaltation of the meanest of his creatures. One act of his power is sufficient to raise the humble infant of Mansfeld from an obscure cabin up into the palace wherein kings are assembled together. There is in his sight no existence of either grandeur or meanness, and, when he chooses, Charles V. and Luther are brought into the same apartments.

But shall Luther pay obedience to the summons we have quoted? His best friends had their doubts upon the subject. "Doctor Martin has been called to appear in this place," the elector wrote, on the 25th March, to his brother; "but I do not know whether he will come. I would not be willing to augur any good under existing circumstances." Three weeks later, namely, on the 16th April, this excellent prince, seeing the symptoms of danger to increase, wrote again to Duke John. "There are some orders posted up detrimental to Luther. The cardinals and the bishops continue to attack him with much obduracy. May God direct all things for the best! And may it please the same Almighty power that I may be enabled to procure for Luther an equitable reception."

Whilst these things were passing in Worms and in Wittemberg, Popery multiplied the number of her blows. On the 28th of March, which was the Thursday before Easter, Rome resounded with the sentence of a solemn excommunication. It is the custom to repeat within the said city at that period the terrible bull in *Cæna Domini*, which is nothing else than a long list of imprecations. On the day we have mentioned, the approaches to the temple in which the sovereign pontiff was fixed to officiate were early occupied by the soldiers of the papal guard, as well as by a crowd of people gathered from all parts of Italy, in order to receive the benediction of the holy father. A quantity of laurel and myrtle branches decorated the

square in front of the church ; many wax tapers were burning upon the balcony of the temple, and the ostensor was thereon raised. All at once the church bells filled the air with their solemn peals ; the pope, invested with the attire of pontifical distinction, and with its ornaments, made his appearance upon the balcony, transported thither on an arm chair. The people fall down upon their knees and uncover their heads, whilst the colours are lowered and the arms of the soldiers grounded, during the observance of a deep silence. A few moments afterwards, the pope, slowly extending his hands, lifts them towards heaven, and again depresses them tardily towards the earth, in forming the sign of the cross. He repeats this movement three times. Then the air is anew cleft with the noise of many bells, which announce to the distant country the completion of the pontiff's benediction. A number of priests now advance in eager haste, holding aloft lighted torches ; they quickly turn these flambeaux upside down, shake them with violence, and cast them to the ground with all their force, as if they represented the flames of hell. The people are moved and alarmed ; and the words of the malediction are heard to fall from the top of the temple.*

When Luther was informed of the execution of this excommunication, he published the purport of it, accompanied by some written remarks composed in that biting style he so well knew how to adjust. Although this publication did not appear until some time after this date, we will here recite some of its sentences. We are supposed to listen to the grand priest of christendom speaking from the balcony of his magnificent church, while the monk of Wittemberg replies to him from the ends of Germany.†

There is something very characteristic in the contrast of these two voices.

The Pope.—"Leo, bishop."

Luther.—"Bishop, as a wolf is a shepherd ; for a bishop ought to exhort according to the doctrine of salvation, and not to vomit forth a number of imprecations and maledictions."

The Pope.—" . . . "Servant of all the servants of God." . . .

Luther.—"In the evening, when we are drunk ; but in the morning we call ourselves Leo. Lord of all lords."

The Pope.—"The Roman bishops, our predecessors, have been accustomed at this feast to make use of the arms of justice."

Luther.—"Which, in your opinion, consist of excommunication and anathemas ; but in the terms of St Paul, of patience, meekness, and charity." (2 Cor. vi. 6, 7.)

The Pope.—"In compliance with the duty of the apostolic office, and in order to maintain the purity of the Christian faith."

Luther.—"That is to say, the temporal possessions of the pope."

The Pope.—"And its unity, which consists in the union of its members with Christ their head, . . . and with his vicar."

Luther.—"Because Christ is not sufficient, there is still need of another."

The Pope.—"To keep inviolate the holy communion of the faithful,

* This ceremony is described in several works, among others, in *Tagebuch einer Reise durch Deutschland und Italien*. (Berlin, 1817, iv. p. 94.) The principal traits go farther back than the times of Luther.

† See, for the bull of the pope and the commentary of Luther, *Die Bulla vom Abendessen*. L Op. (L.) xviii., p. 1.

we observe this ancient custom, and we excommunicate and curse on the part of God Almighty the Father."

Luther.—"Of whom it is said, *God has not sent his Son into the world to condemn the world.*" (John, iii. 17.)

The Pope— . . . "And the Son and the Holy Spirit, and according to the powers, of the apostles Peter and Paul."

Luther.—"And me, says the devouring wolf, as if the power of God was too weak without him."

The Pope.—"We curse all heretics, the Garases or Cathares, the Patarins, the poor of Lyons, the Arnoldists, the Speronists, the Pasagians, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, and the Fraticellians." . . .

Luther.—"Because they have desired to possess the Holy Scriptures, and have requested that the pope should live soberly and preach the word of God."

The Pope.—"And Martin Luther, lately condemned by us for a similar heresy, as well as all his adherents, and all those, whoever they may be, who shew him any favour."

Luther.—"I return you thanks, O very gracious pontiff, in that you have condemned me along with all these Christians. It is an honour done me that my name should be thus proclaimed at Rome during the time of the feast, in a manner so glorious, and that it is made to wander over the world in company with the names of all these humble confessors of Jesus Christ."

The Pope.—"In the same way we excommunicate and curse all pirates and privateers." . . .

Luther.—"Who then is the greatest of all pirates and privateers, if it be not he who steals souls, enchains them, and puts them to death?"

The Pope.—"Particularly those who sail upon our seas."

Luther.—"Our seas! Saint Peter, *our* predecessor has said, *we have neither gold nor silver*—(Acts, iii. 6;) and Jesus Christ has said, *The kings of the nations domineer over them, it must not be so with you.* (Luke, xxii. 25.) But if a vehicle laden with hay must give up the road to a drunken man, how much more reason is there for St Peter and even Jesus Christ himself to yield the pathway to the pope."

The Pope.—"In the same way we excommunicate and curse all those who falsify our bulls and our apostolic letters."

Luther.—"But the epistles of God and the Scriptures of God, every one is at liberty to condemn and burn them."

The Pope.—"In the same way we excommunicate and curse all those who stop the provisions which are being carried to the court of Rome."

Luther.—"He barks and bites like a dog from whom one threatens to take away his bone."

The Pope.—"In the same way we condemn and curse all those who retain the lawful rights, fruits, tithes, and revenues appertaining to the clergy."

Luther.—"For Jesus Christ has said, *If any one wishes to plead against you, and to take away your coat, leave him also your cloak.* (Math. v. 40.) And we have just given the commentary thereon."

The Pope.—"Whatever may be their elevation, their dignity, their order, their power, or their rank, should they even prove to be bishops or kings." . . .

Luther.—"For there shall come amongst you false teachers, who despise authority and speak evil of dignities, says the Scriptures." (Jude 8.)

The Pope.—"In the same way we condemn and curse all those who in any manner or way bring reproach upon the city of Rome, the kingdom of Sicily, to the islands of Sardinia or of Corsica, to the patrimony of St Peter in Tuscany, to the duchy of Spolete, to the margravate of Ancona, to the country or to the towns of Forrara and Benevento, and all other cities or countries belonging to the church of Rome."

Luther.—"Oh! Peter, poor sinner, from whom have you received Rome and all these kingdoms? I salute you Peter, king of Sicily . . . and sinner at Bethsaida!"

The Pope.—"We excommunicate and curse all the chancellors, counsellors, parliaments, lawyers, governors, judges, bishops, and others who oppose our letters of exhortation, of invitation, of defence, of mediation, or of execution."

Luther.—"For the holy bench only seeks how to live in idleness, in magnificence, and in debauchery, thus commanding, tempting, deceiving, lying, dishonouring, seducing, and committing every kind of malicious deed in peace and safety. . . . Lord, arise! it is not as the Papists pretend; for thou hast not forsaken us, and thine eyes are not turned away from us."

In this manner Leo is supposed to have spoken in Rome and Luther at Wittenberg.

The pontiff having terminated his condemnations, the parchment upon which they were written was torn in pieces, and the fragments were cast among the people. Immediately a great commotion is manifested in the heart of the crowd; each one of the bystanders strives to get hold of a morsel of the terrible bull. These were the holy relics Popery offered to her faithful followers on the evening of the great day of grace and of expiation. Very soon the multitude is seen to disperse, and the vicinity of the magnificent church is left again in its accustomed silence. Let us return to Wittenberg.

CHAPTER VI.

Courage of Luther—Bugsenhagen at Wittenberg—Persecutions in Pomerania—Melancthon Desires to Depart with Luther—Amsdorf—Schurz—Suaen—Hutten to Charles V.

We have now reached the 24th day of March, and on that day the imperial herald entered within the gates of the city in which Luther found his abode. Gaspard Sturm proceeded to the house of the doctor and presented to him the summons issued by Charles V. This was a serious and solemn moment for the reformer, and all his friends were in a state of consternation. Not one prince, with the exception of Frederick the Wise, had declared himself in favour of his cause. Certain knights, it is true, had used the language of threatening; but the powerful Charles despised their denunciations. Luther, however, was not in any way disturbed. "The Papists," said he, on beholding the agony of his friends, "are not anxious about my coming to Worms, but are eager to see me condemned and put to death! But this signifies nothing; do you continue to pray not for me, but for the word of God. My blood shall not have lost its native warmth before many

thousand men throughout the universe shall have been made responsible for having shed that blood. The very holy adversary of Christ, the father, the master, and the generalissimo of homicides, insists upon its effusion. Amen! May the will of God be done! Christ will give me his Spirit to overcome these ministers of error. I despise their threats while living, and I shall triumph over them in my death. Endeavours are made in Worms to force from me a recantation. And now behold what sort of recantation I will make: I have formerly said that the pope was the vicar of Christ, now I declare that he is the adversary of the Lord, and the apostle of the devil." And when he was told that all the pulpits of the Franciscans and the Dominicans were ringing with imprecations and maledictions against him. "Oh! how much is my joy increased with these tidings," exclaimed he. He knew that he had followed the will of God, and that God was with him. Wherefore, then, should he not appear with courage? This purity of intention, this liberty of conscience, is a hidden but incalculable strength, which never fails the servant of God, and which renders him more invincible than the might of many cuirasses or numberless armies.

Luther at this time also witnessed the arrival in Wittemberg of a man who was destined to become, like Melancthon, the friend of his after life, even until its close, and who served to afford him much consolation at the moment of his departure. The person we allude to was a priest named Bugenhagen, now about thirty-six years of age, and who had fled to escape the hard treatment inflicted by the bishop of Camin, and the prince Bogislas of Pomerania, upon the friends of the gospel, whether they were ecclesiastics, citizens, or men of letters. Sprung from a senatorial family, and born at Wollin in Pomerania, on which account he was commonly called *Pomeranus*, Bugenhagen had been a teacher since his twentieth year in the city of Treptow. The youth of the place hurried to receive instruction from his words, and the nobles and learned inhabitants contended for the pleasure of his society. He studied assiduously the holy writings, and prayed God to grant him a knowledge of their truth. One day, about the end of December 1520, there was put into his hand, while he was at supper in company with a number of friends, the work of Luther, entitled the *Captivity of Babylon*. "Since the death of Christ," said he, after having glanced over the book, "very many heretics have infested the church, but there has never existed a pest equal to the author of this book." Having carried the said book home to his own house, and having read it over and over again, his thoughts were changed as to the merits of its contents. Many new truths were therein presented to his mind, and having returned, some days afterwards, into the presence of his colleagues, he said to them, "The whole world has fallen into the most obscure darkness. This man alone perceives the truth." "Some priests, one deacon, and even the abbot himself, recognised the pure doctrine of salvation, and very soon, preaching with unction, they led their hearers," says an historian, "from the contemplation of human superstitions, to rest upon the alone-powerful merit of Jesus Christ." Then persecution was quickly resorted to. Already many victims were groaning in the cells of prisons, and Bugenhagen escaped from his enemies and arrived at Wittemberg. "He suffers for love of the gospel, Melanc-

thon likewise wrote to the chaplain of the elector. "Where could he fly, if it were not into the sanctuary of our ἄσυλον, (asylum,) and under the protection of our prince."

But no person received Bugenhagen with so much joy as Luther. It was arranged between them that, immediately after the departure of the reformer, Bugenhagen should commence an explanation of the Psalms. It was thus Divine providence conducted at that time this powerful man to replace in part him whom Wittenberg was about to lose. Placed one year later at the head of the church in that city, Bugenhagen presided in the same situation for a term of thirty-six years. Luther designated him by distinction the *Pastor*.

Luther had now to take his departure. His terrified friends believed that, if God should not interpose the production of a miracle, it was to death the reformer directly walked. Melancthon, at a distance from his own country, had become attached to Luther with all the affection of a tender soul. "Luther," said he, "stands me in the place of all my friends; he is for me more great and more admirable than I can express. You know how much Alcibiades admired his Socrates; but it is in another fashion still that I admire Luther, for it is as a Christian." Then he adds the following simple but beautiful sentence—"Every time that I contemplate his character, I find him anew still greater than himself." Melancthon was anxious to follow Luther into the scenes of his dangers. But their mutual friends, and, no doubt, the doctor himself, were decidedly opposed to this wish. Must not Philip be bound to replace his friend? and, were that friend never to return again to Wittenberg, who would then be found to continue the work of the Reform? "Ah! would to God," said Melancthon, resigned, but in sorrow, "that it had been permitted me to go along with him."

The vehement, spirited, Amsdorff, also declared that he would accompany the doctor. His courageous soul felt a pleasure in the anticipations of danger. His noble pride would have urged him to appear without fear in the presence of an assembly of kings. The elector had summoned to Wittenberg, as the professor of law, a celebrated man of much mildness of temper, the son of a physician in St Gall, Jerome Schurff, who lived on terms of great intimacy with Luther. "He has never yet been able to resolve," said Luther, "to pronounce the sentence of death upon a single malefactor." This timid man, however, longed earnestly to assist the doctor in quality of a counsellor during the progress of his dangerous journey. A young Danish student, Peter Suaven, who lodged in the house of Melancthon, and who afterwards became celebrated on account of his evangelical labours in Pomerania and Denmark, equally declared his intention of accompanying his master. The youth of the schools must be represented at the side of the champion of the truth.

Germany was perplexed at the thought of the dangers which threatened the representative of her people. She now found a voice worthy of herself wherewith to express the sentiments of her fear. Ulric of Hutten trembled at the idea of the blow his country was about to suffer, and he wrote on the 1st of April to Charles V. himself in the following strain:—"Very excellent emperor, you are on the point of losing both yourself and us. What object is proposed in this affair of Luther, if it be not the destruction of our liberty and

the abasement of your authority? There is not in the length and breadth of the empire an honest man who does not take the most lively interest in this affair. The priests alone are enraged against Luther, because he is opposed to their excessive power, their shameful luxury, and their depraved modes of living, and because he has pleaded for the doctrine of Christ, for the liberty of the country, and for the practice of holy manners. O emperor! drive from your presence these orators from Rome, and these bishops and cardinals, who are anxious to prevent the accomplishment of all reforms. Have you not observed the sadness of the people in beholding you, upon your arrival, as you approached the Rhine, surrounded by a company wearing red hats, . . . by a troop of priests, and not by a band of valiant warriors?

"Do not give over your sovereign majesty to those who desire to trample its dignity under foot! Have pity upon us! Do not drag into your own ruin the whole districts of the nation! . . . Conduct us if you will into the midst of the greatest dangers, at the point of soldiers' swords or the mouths of cannon, and let every nation conspire against us, or let every army on earth assail us, so that we may be able to shew openly our valour, rather than allow us to be thus vanquished and enslaved, as it were, hiddenly and in the dark, like so many women without arms or the power to do battle. . . . Ah! we had hoped that it was you who were destined to deliver us from the yoke of the Romans, and who would have overthrown the horrors of pontifical tyranny. May God grant that the future shall prove more prosperous than the commencement!

"The whole of Germany is ready to throw itself at your feet; she implores you with tears; she entreats your assistance, your compassion, and your fidelity; and, by the sanctified remembrance of those Germans who, when the whole world was under the subjection of Rome, did not bend their necks before the powers of that superb city, she conjures you to save her, to give her back to herself, to deliver her from bondage, and to avenge her of her tyrants."

In this manner spoke to Charles V. the German nation through the organ of the knight. But the emperor paid no attention to this impassioned appeal, and, probably, threw it with disdain into the hands of one of his secretaries. He was a Fleming and not a German, and his personal power, not the liberty and glory of the empire, was the object of all his desires.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure for the Diet of Worms—Luther's Farewell—His Condemnation is Posted up—Cavalcade in the Vicinity of Erfurt—Meeting of Jonas with Luther—Luther in his former Convent—Luther Preaches in Erfurt—Incident—Faith and Works—Concourse of People and Courage of Luther—Luther to Spalatin—Sojourn at Frankfurt—Fears at Worms—Plan of the Imperials—Firmness of Luther.

The 2d of April had now arrived, and Luther must bid adieu to his friends. After having announced to Lange, by a note, that he would arrive on the Thursday or Friday following at Erfurt, he took farewell of his colleagues. Turning towards Melancthon, he said, in a tremulous accent, "If I should never return, and should my enemies put me to death, O my brother, do not cease to teach and to stand fast in the truth. Labour in my place, since I may not be able

to labour therein myself. If you are permitted to live, it signifies little whether I perish or not." Then committing the keeping of his soul to him who is faithful, Luther mounted his carriage and quitted Wittenberg. The counsellor of the city had supplied him with a vehicle of modest fashion, covered over with a linen cloth, which the travellers could arrange according to their own pleasure. The imperial herald, dressed in his uniform, and bearing the eagle of the empire, rode before on horseback and escorted by his attendants. Then followed Luther, Schurff, Amsdorff, and Suaven, in their chariot. The friends of the gospel, the citizens of Wittenberg, were seen pouring forth their supplications to God, whilst the sorrows of the moment caused tears to flow from their eyes; and in this manner Luther took his leave of home.

He very soon observed that unhappy presentiments filled the hearts of those with whom he met on his journey. At Leipsic no honours were offered him, saving the usual present of a supply of wine. At Naumburg he encountered a priest, probably J. Langer, a man of austere zeal, who preserved carefully in his closet a portrait of the famous Jerome Savonarola de Ferrara, who had been burned in 1498 at Florence, in compliance with the orders of pope Alexander VI., as a martyr to the cause of morals and liberty, as well as a confessor of evangelical truth. Having taken in his hand this portrait of the Italian martyr, the priest walked up to Luther and presented the picture to his view in perfect silence. The reformer thoroughly understood the announcement conveyed by the appearance of this mute image, but his intrepid soul remained unmoved. "It is Satan," said he, "who would wish to hinder, by these terrors, the confession of the truth in the assembly of the princes, for he foresees the blow which that confession must inflict upon his reign." "Remain firm in the truth which you have acknowledged," then gravely replied the priest, "and thy God will likewise remain firm with thee."

Having passed the night at Naumburg, where the burgomaster had received him with hospitality, Luther arrived on the evening of the next day at Weimar. Scarcely had he been a moment in the town, when he heard loud cries to proceed from every quarter around him, which it turned out were made in consequence of the public proclamation of his own condemnation. "Look about you," said the herald, and in obeying this admonition, Luther was amazed to behold imperial messengers engaged, in every part of the town, with the duty of posting in all proper situations the edict of the emperor, whereby his writings were ordained to be remitted into the hands of the magistrate. Luther was persuaded that these rigorous measures were adopted in advance, with the intention of staying his progress by thus working on his fears, and afterwards to ensure his condemnation for having refused to appear. "Very well, doctor, do you propose to proceed farther on your journey?" said the imperial herald in affright: "Yes," replied Luther, "although interdicted in every town through which I have to pass, I will continue my route! I repose confidently upon the safe-conduct of the emperor."

Luther had, in Weimar, an audience of Duke John, brother to the elector of Saxony, who then resided in that town. The prince invited the reformer to preach there, and he consented to do so. Many words of life were sent forth from the agitated heart of the

worthy doctor. A Franciscan monk, who heard his discourse, John Voit, the friend of Frederick Myconius, was thereby converted into a believer of the evangelical doctrine. He left the convent two years afterwards, and became, at a later period, professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg. The duke gave Luther the needful supply of money for prosecuting his journey.

From Weimar the reformer next went to Erfurt. This was the place wherein he had passed the days of his youth. He hoped to see here his friend Lange, if, as he had previously said in writing, there was no danger in entering into this respected city. Luther was still three or four leagues distant from the town, near to the village of Nora, when he perceived at a distance the approach of a troop of horsemen. Could these men be friends or foes? was the eager question that suggested itself to his mind. But very soon Crotus, the rector of the university, Eobanus Hesse, the friend of Melancthon, whom Luther denominated the king of poets, Euricius Cordus, and John Draco, with a body of others besides, amounting to the number of forty, including members of the senate, of the university, and citizens, all mounted on horseback, saluted the reformer with acclamations of friendly recognition. A multitude of the inhabitants from Erfurt covered the road, and loudly joined in these expressions of joy. An eager desire was manifested to look upon the strong man who had dared to declare war against the pope.

A young man, at the time 28 years of age, called Justus Jonas, had rode forward in advance of his cortege. Jonas, after having studied the law at Erfurt, had received the appointment of rector to the university in 1519. But enlightened by the study of those evangelical truths which were at this period diffused through every district of Germany, he had conceived the notion of becoming a theologian. "I believe," wrote Erasmus to this young man, "that God has chosen you as an organ wherewith to make known the glory of his Son." The whole force of the thoughts of Jonas were directed towards Wittemberg and towards Luther. Some years previous to the time we speak of, while yet a student of the law, Jonas, possessed of quick and enterprising spirit, had set out on foot, in the company of a few friends, and had traversed, in order to meet with Erasmus, who was then living in Brussels, many forests infested with robbers, and cities ravaged by the plague. Shall he not now be willing to encounter other dangers in order to accompany the reformer to Worms? He earnestly entreated Luther to grant him the favour we have described; and Luther gave his consent. It was thus these two doctors first saw each other, who were destined to labour together all their after-life in the work of renovating the church. Divine providence was pleased to gather round Luther the men who were appointed to compose the light of Germany, such as Melancthon, Amsdorff, Bugenhagen, and Jonas. On his return from Worms, Jonas was named provost of the church of Wittemberg, and made a doctor in theology. "Jonas," said Luther, "is a man whose life must be bought at a great price in order to retain him upon the earth." No previous preacher had received, in equal proportion, the gift of captivating his hearers. "Pomeranus is a theorist," said Melancthon, "I am a dialectician, but Jonas is an orator. The words flow from his lips with admirable beauty, and his eloquence is full of force. Still Luther

surpasses all our efforts." It would appear that, very much about the same time, one of Luther's brothers, and a friend of their childhood, had likewise joined the escort of the reformer.

The deputation from Erfurt wheeled about in procession, and the horsemen and people on foot, surrounding the carriage of Luther, the whole body entered within the walls of the city. At the gates, in the squares, and along the streets, where the poor monk was wont of old so often to beg for a supply of bread, the crowd of spectators was immense. Luther descended from his carriage at the convent of the Augustines, where the gospel had given such consolations to his heart. Lange received his friend with joy ; although Usingen, and some others of the more aged fathers, displayed towards the reformer an exceedingly cold demeanour. A great desire was expressed to hear Luther preach, at the same time that he was interdicted from preaching. But the herald himself, affected with the same wish, yielded to the solicitations of the brethren.

On the Sunday after Easter, the church of the Augustines at Erfurt was filled with an attentive multitude. The same brother who had formerly opened the doors and swept out the church now mounted into the pulpit, and, having opened the Bible, he read aloud the following words—" *Peace be with you, and when Jesus had said this, he shewed them his hands and his side.*" (John, xix. 20.) "All philosophers," said he, "teachers, and writers, have applied themselves to demonstrate how man may be able to obtain eternal life, and they have not succeeded in their attempts to solve this question. I am now desirous to explain it to you."

This has been in every age the grand question, and at present the auditors of Luther were seen to redouble their fixed attention.

"There are two kinds of work," continued the reformer : "strange works—these are the good ; one's own works, and they are of little worth. One person builds a church, another goes on a pilgrimage to St James or St Peter ; a third fasts, prays, puts on the cowl, and walks about with naked feet ; while some one else does feats of a different description. All these works are of no value, and shall perish ; for our own works are deficient of all force. But I now come to announce in your hearing the nature of the true work. God has raised from the dead, a man, the Lord Jesus Christ, in order that he may destroy death, make an end of sin, and shut the gates of hell. Such is the work of salvation. The demon believed that he held the Lord in his power when he beheld him extended on the cross between two thieves, suffering the most shameful martyrdom, cursed of God and of men. . . . But Divinity displayed its power, and annihilated death, sin, and hell. . . ."

"Christ has conquered, behold the grand truth ! and we are saved by his work, and not by our own. The pope tells another story. But I declare this, the Mother of God herself has been saved, not on account of her virginity or her maternity, or for her purity or her works, but solely by means of faith, and through the works of God."

Whilst Luther spoke, a sudden noise broke upon the ears of his audience ; one of the galleries creaked, and fears were entertained lest it should fall under the weight of the crowd therein assembled. The incident caused a tremulous agitation in the breasts of the whole congregation. Some fled from the church, while others remained

oppressed by their fears. The orator stopped his discourse for a moment; then stretching forth his hand, he cried with a loud voice—"Fear nothing! there is no danger; the devil attempts in this way to prevent me from announcing the truths of the gospel, but he shall not succeed in his purpose." At this summons, those who were fleeing from the house turned back in astonishment, and betook themselves to their seats, whilst the congregated body resumed its former composure, and Luther, without paying further heed to the attacks of the devil, continued—"You speak a great deal to us about faith, perhaps you will say to me, let us know then how it is to be procured. Even so be it, for I wish to instruct you on this point. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, *Peace be with you! look at my hands*, that is to say; see, O man, it is me, it is me only who hath taken away thy sins, and who hath redeemed you; and now you have peace, said the Lord. . .

"I did not eat of the fruit of the tree," Luther went on to say; "nor have you any more than me eat of that fruit; but we have received the sin which Adam has transmitted to us, and we have committed sin. In the same manner, I have not suffered on the cross, neither have you so suffered; but Christ has suffered for us; we are justified by the work of God and not by our own. . . I am," said the Lord, "your justification and your redemption." . .

"Let us believe in the gospel, and in St Paul, and not in the letters and decretals of the popes." . . .

Luther, after having demonstrated faith as the course of justification to the sinner, advocated the performance of works as the consequence and manifestation of salvation.

"Seeing that God has saved us," continued he, "let us so order our works that he may have pleasure therein. Are you rich? let your wealth be made useful to the poor. Are you poor? let your services be useful to the rich! If your labour is useful to yourself alone, the service which you pretend to render to God is nothing more than a lie."

Not a word in this sermon concerns Luther himself; not one allusion is made to the circumstance in which he then found himself placed; nothing said about Worms, or Charles, or the nuncios. The reformer preaches Christ and him alone. At this moment, when the whole world had its eye fixed upon him, Luther is no way pre-occupied with references to himself; this is, indeed, the true mark of a servant of God.

Luther departed from Erfurt and traversed the territories of Gotha, where he again delivered another sermon. Myconius adds, that at the moment when the congregation was dismissing on this occasion, the devil disengaged from the front of the church some stones which had not moved for the space of two hundred years. The doctor went to bed in the Convent of the Benedictines at Rheinhardtsbrunn, and proceeded thence to Isenach, where he felt himself indisposed. Amsdorff, Jonas, Schurff, and all his friends were thrown into a state of alarm. He was bled, and the most anxious care was bestowed upon the invalid doctor; the physician of the city, John Oswald, running himself to the sick man's chamber, and taking along with him a draught of cordial water. Luther drank off this dose, and the strength he regained during some hours of sleep enabled him to prosecute his journey on the following day.

Everywhere the people crowded round the vehicle of the doctor. His advance to Worms resembled, in fact, the returning march of a conqueror. All looked with feelings of wonder upon that intrepid individual, who went to submit his head to the mercy of the emperor and the empire. An immense multitude of the inhabitants surrounded his chariot, and some were bold enough to address him in the following strain:—"Ah," said they, "there are at Worms so many cardinals and bishops! . . . They shall burn you and reduce your body to a heap of ashes, as they did in the case of John Huss." But no anticipations of danger alarmed the monk. "Although they should make a fire," said he, "which might extend from Worms to Wittenberg, and which might rise in flames to the very heavens, I would walk through it in the name of the Lord, I will appear before them, I will enter the mouth of this Behemoth, I will break his teeth, and I will confess the Lord Jesus Christ."

One day, when he was about to enter an inn, and while the crowd was pressing close, as usual, upon his footsteps, an officer pushed to the front of the multitude, and said to Luther—"Are you the man who has undertaken to reform Popery? . . . How shall you be able to accomplish such a task?" . . . "Yes," replied Luther, "I am the man. I put my confidence in Almighty God, whose word and commandment I have before me." The officer, amazed, then looked upon the reformer with a milder expression of countenance, and said again—"My dear friend, what you now say is just. I am the servant of Charles; but your master is greater than mine. He will assist and protect you."

Such were the impressions produced by the appearance of Luther. His very enemies were astounded at sight of the vast multitude which surrounded his progress; although it is in different colours they have represented the occurrences of the present journey. The doctor at last arrived in Frankfort, on Sunday the 14th of April.

The news of Luther's approach had already reached the city of Worms. The friends of the pope had not believed that he would have obeyed the citation of the emperor. And Albert, the archbishop cardinal of Mentz, had used all his endeavours to arrest the progress of the reformer, while some new devices were put in operation to secure the accomplishment of his designs.

Luther arrived at Frankfort, and after having taken a portion of rest, he announced his approach to Spalatin, who was, at the time, in the city of Worms, in attendance upon the elector. This is the only letter he wrote during the whole progress of his journey. "I proceed on my journey," said he, "although satan has used his efforts to stay my approach on the road by the infliction of severe sickness. From Isenach to this place I have continued to decline in strength, and I am now as I have never been before. I hear that Charles has published an edict with the view of giving me alarm. But Christ lives, and we shall enter into Worms in spite of all the gates of hell or all the powers of the air. Be so good, therefore, as have lodgings prepared for me."

The next day Luther went to visit the distinguished school of William Nesse, the celebrated geographer of the day. "Apply yourselves," said he to the young boys, "to the perusal of the Bible and to a search after the truth." Then placing his right hand upon one

of the children, and his left upon another, he pronounced a blessing upon the whole school.

If Luther blessed these children, he was himself the hope of many old people. A widow, advanced in age and serving God, Catherine de Holzhausen, went to meet the reformer, and said to him—"My father and mother have told me that God would raise up a man who should oppose the excesses of Papal vanities, and who should save the word of God. I hope that you are this man, and I desire for you in this work the grace and the Holy Spirit of God."

These sentiments were, however, far from being universal in the city of Frankfort. The dean of the church of Notre-Dame, John Cochleus, was one of the most devoted adherents to the Roman church. In beholding Luther to pass through the streets of Frankfort on his departure for Worms, the dean could not suppress his fears. He imagined the church to stand in need of faithful defenders, and although, it is true, no one had summoned him to appear, this was of no consequence in his view. Scarcely had Luther passed the boundaries of the town, before Cochleus resolved to follow his steps, prepared, as he said, to give up his life in defence of the honour of the church.

The dread was great in the camp of the pope's friends. The author of the heresy was about to arrive; every day and every hour brought him nearer to the city of Worms. Should he enter into that city, perhaps all should be lost. The archbishop Albert, the confessor Glapio, and all the politicians who surrounded the emperor, were in a state of commotion. How could they prevent the monk from appearing in the town? To carry him off by force was not to be thought of, because he was in possession of a safe-conduct from the emperor. Cunning could alone suffice, and these clever men immediately formed the following plan:—The confessor of the emperor, and his grand-chamberlain, Paul of Amsdorf, took a hasty leave of Worms, and directed their course to the castle of Ebernburg, at ten leagues distance from the city, where Francis de Seckingen resided, the same knight who had offered his house as a place of refuge for Luther. Bucer, a young Dominican, the chaplain of the elector palatine, and converted to a believer in the evangelical doctrine, at the time of the dispute in Heidelberg, was at the time sheltered within the walls of this "hotel of the just." The knight, who was not deeply instructed in religious matters, was readily imposed upon, and the character of the former chaplain palatine favoured the designs of the confessor. In fact, Bucer was of a pacific disposition, and, distinguishing fundamental from secondary points, he thought it was possible to sacrifice the latter in the prosecution of unity and peace.

The chamberlain and the confessor of Charles commenced their attack. They strove to persuade Seckingen and Bucer of the consequences which must befall Luther if he persisted in entering the town. They declared that the emperor was ready to send several learned men to Ebernburg, in order to confer with the doctor in that place. "It is under your protection," said they to the knight, "that the two parties shall be placed. We are in agreement with Luther upon essential matters," said they to Bucer; "he exerts himself merely in the defence of some secondary points, and you shall serve as our mediator." The knight and the doctor are shaken in their opinions.

and the chamberlain and the confessor continued their expostulations. "It is necessary that the invitation addressed to Luther should come from you," said they to the knight, "and that Bucer should be the bearer thereof." Everything is arranged in unison with their desires. Only let the too credulous Luther come to Ebernburg, his safe-conduct shall have expired, and then who shall be able to defend him?

Luther had now got the length of Oppenheim, and his safe-conduct only remained in force for three days longer. He beheld the approach of a troop of cavalry towards his carriage, and very soon recognised at their head the same Bucer with whom he had had some very intimate conversations at Heidelberg. "These troops belong to Francis of Seckingen," said Bucer to Luther, after the first salutations of friendship. "He sent me to meet you and to conduct you to the protection of his strong castle. The confessor of the emperor is desirous of having an interview with you. His influence over Charles is without bounds, and all may be comfortably arranged, but beware of Aleander." Jonas, Amsdorff, and Schurff, were at a loss how to answer these representations. Bucer pressed the consideration of his message, but Luther hesitated not for a moment. "I will continue my route," said he to Bucer, "and if the confessor of the emperor has anything to say to me, he shall find me in Worms. I go to the place where I have been cited to appear."

Nevertheless Spalatin himself began to be troubled in his mind and to indulge in fears. Surrounded at Worms by the enemies of the Reformation, he had heard it said that no respect ought to be paid to the safe-conduct of a heretic, and he was in great dread concerning the safety of his friend. At the moment when this friend was about to pass the gates of the city, a messenger accosted him and said, in the name of the chaplain—"Do not enter within the walls of Worms." Such was the advice of his best friend, the confident of the elector, even of Spalatin himself. . . . Luther, immovable, cast a look upon this envoy, and replied—"Go and say to your master, that although there should be as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the house tops, I will enter within its walls." . . . Luther had perhaps never displayed such magnificent courage. The envoy returned into Worms, and there reported the words of this astonishing reply. "I was then intrepid," said Luther, a few days before his death, "I feared nothing. God is able to give to man a courage equal to that. I know not if at present I should have so much liberty and joy." "When the cause is good," adds his disciple Mathesius, "the heart expands, and it gives courage and strength to evangelists and soldiers."

CHAPTER VIII.

Entrance into Worms—Chant of the Dead—Council held by Charles V.—Capito and the Temporisers—Crowds Around Luther—Citation—Hutten to Luther—Approach towards the Diet—Speech of Freundsberg—Imposing Assembly—Allocation of the Chancellor—Reply of Luther—His Wisdom—Speech of Charles V.—Alarm—Triumph—Firmness of Luther—Outrage of the Spaniards—Council—Trouble and Prayer of Luther—Strength of the Reformation—His Oath to the Scriptures—The Court of the Diet—Discourse of Luther—Three Kinds of Writings—He Demands his Errors to be Proved—Grave Warnings—He Repents his Discourse in Latin—See me here, I cannot do otherwise—The Weakness of God—New Trials.

At last, on the 16th of April, early in the morning, Luther discovered the walls of the ancient city. There was only now in Worms one opinion. Some young nobles, unable to restrain their impatience,

Bernard of Hirschfeld, Albert of Lindenau, with six knights, and other gentlemen belonging to the suites of the princes, to the number of one hundred, if Pallavicini is to be credited in his assertions, hurried out on horseback, and, surrounding the reformer, they escorted him upon his entrance within the walls of the city. The procession appears. In front, the imperial herald rode forward, equipped in all the trappings of his office, and Luther followed, seated inside his modest carriage. Jonas came up behind, whilst the rest of the horsemen surrounded the chariot of the reformer. A vast multitude was gathered around the gates of the city. It was about mid-day when Luther crossed the boundaries of that town, beyond which so many people predicted he should never again be allowed to pass. It was the dinner hour, but the moment the watchmen on the steeple of the cathedral blew their trumpets, every one ran into the streets to catch a sight of the stranger monk. Behold Luther within the walls of Worms.

Two thousand persons accompanied the progress of the reformer through the streets, and such haste was made to meet the train at every corner, that the crowd increased rapidly at each step of its advance. The throng was much greater than at the time the emperor had made his entrance into the same city. All of a sudden, says a historian, a man clothed in a singular dress rushed forth from the crowd, and carrying before him a grand cross, similar to that which was used in funeral processions, came near to the carriage of Luther, and there, in a loud voice, but with the plaintive accent employed in saying mass for the repose of the souls of the dead, he chanted mournfully the following words, as if they had proceeded from the empire of the dead :—

Advenisti, O desiderabilis !
Quem expectabamus in tenebris.

Thou hast arrived, whom, in full desirousness,
We have long'd for in the grave's deep darkness.

It was thus with a *Requiem* the arrival of Luther was celebrated. A fool of the court belonging to one of the dukes of Bavaria was, if the story be true, the personage who addressed to Luther these warning rhymes, full at once of wisdom and irony, in imitation of the many examples quoted with reference to the sayings of such characters.

But the noise of the multitude soon drowned the singing profundity (*de profundis*) of the cross-bearer. The retinue advanced with much trouble through the dense phalanx of people. But at last the herald of the empire stopped in front of the house occupied by the knights of Rhodes. It was in this dwelling two counsellors of the elector were lodged, namely, Frederick de Thun and Philip de Feilitzsch, as well as the marshal of the empire, Ulric de Pappenheim. Luther descended from his carriage, and on putting his foot to the ground he said, "God will be my defence."—"I entered into Worms in a covered car, and in my monk's dress," said he at a later period; "and every person in the town ran out into the streets, eager to procure a sight of the monk Martin."

The news of his arrival equally overpowered with alarm the elector of Saxony and the pope's nuncio Aleander. The young and sprightly archbishop Albert, who stood between the extremes of these

two parties, was horror-struck at the thought of so much audacity. "Had I not possessed more courage than he did," said Luther, "it is true that I should never have been seen in Worms."

Charles V. immediately summoned his counsel. And the privy-counsellors of the emperor hastened to the palace, impelled thither by the urgency of their fears. "Luther has arrived," said Charles, "what must we do.?"

Modo, the bishop of Palermo and chancellor of Flanders, replied, if we are to believe the testimony of Luther himself, "We have a long time consulted together on this subject. Let your imperial Majesty get quickly rid of this man. Did not Sigismund cause John Huss to be burned? A safe-conduct ought neither to be held by, nor given to, or respected in the case of a heretic." "No," said Charles, "what we have promised we must fulfil." It was thereupon resolved to summon the reformer to appear.

Whilst the great were thus conflicted in their counsels respecting the affairs of Luther, there were many men in Worms who rejoiced at the opportunity afforded them of contemplating closely the character of this illustrious servant of God. Capito, the chaplain and counsellor of the archbishop of Mentz, was first in rank among those happy individuals. This remarkable man, who a short time before had announced the gospel in Switzerland, believed it, at this time, his duty to follow a rule of conduct which caused him to be accused of laxity on the part of the Evangelists and of dissimulation on the part of the Romans. He had nevertheless preached at Mentz the doctrine of faith with profound perspicuity. At the time of his departure, he had been replaced by a young preacher of eminent zeal, named Hedio. The word of God, in fact, was under no restraint in the city we have named, the ancient see of the primate of the Germanic church. The gospel was listened to therein with avidity, and it was in vain that the monks exerted themselves to make popular their own peculiar method of preaching, or tried their utmost endeavours to stay the march of intellect; in all these attempts they were conspicuously unsuccessful. But while thus upholding the new doctrine, Capito was anxious to continue in friendship with those who persecuted his own opinions. He flattered himself, like many others of a similar disposition, that in this manner he was rendering a great service to the church. To believe their representations, if Luther was not burned, or if all the Lutherans were not placed under the ban of excommunication, this arose solely on account of the influence possessed by Capito over the mind of the archbishop Albert. The dean of Frankfort, Cochleus, who arrived at Worms about the same time with Luther, immediately went to the house of Capito. This latter person, who was, at least in outward appearances, on intimate terms with Aleander, introduced Cochleus to the said nuncio, whereby Capito became an instrument of communication between the two greatest enemies of the reformer. Capito was, no doubt, sincere in his wish to aid the cause of Christ by keeping up the acquaintances he encouraged; but it is impossible to report any favourable circumstances which resulted from his careful management. Events disconcert almost always those calculations founded upon human circumspection and wisdom, and proved that a decided walk, in being the more open, is also equally the more prudent.

Still a mighty crowd unceasingly pressed round the doors of the hotel at Rhodes, where Luther had entered upon his first arrival in town. He was, in the sight of some, a prodigy of wisdom, while, in the opinion of others, he was regarded as a monster of iniquity. The whole inhabitants of the place, however, were eager to see his face.

Nevertheless a few hours were left him to recover from the fatigues of the journey, or to converse in company with his most intimate friends. But scarcely had the shades of evening appeared, when a host of counts, barons, knights, and plain gentlemen, with ecclesiastics and citizens, rushed towards the dwelling of the reformer. Every one, even his bitterest enemies, were struck with the boldness of his bearing, the joy which seemed to animate his countenance, and the power of the words he uttered, as well as with that elevation and enthusiasm of mind, in itself so imposing, and which imparted to the demeanour of this simple monk an irresistible authority. But while some attributed this inexplicable grandeur to a Divine influence secreted within his bosom, others, who were the friends of the pope, loudly declared that he was possessed of a devil. The visitors pressed on one after another, and their excessive number engaged Luther in conversation until a late hour of the night.

The next day, Wednesday, the 17th of April, in the morning, the hereditary marshal of the empire, Ulric de Pappenheim, cited the reformer to appear, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in presence of his imperial Majesty and the states of the empire. Luther received this message with marks of profound respect.

Thus everything was brought to a fixed point. Luther is about to appear in the name of Jesus Christ before the most august assembly in the universe. Nor are encouragements wanting to gladden him in his adventurous situation. The fiery Ulric of Hutten was at this time an indweller in the Castle of Ebernbourg. Not having, it in his power to visit Worms, (because Leo X. had requested Charles V. to send him bound hand and foot to Rome,) this knight was desirous of extending the hand of friendship to the magnanimous Luther, and on this very day, the 17th April, he wrote a letter to the reformer, wherein he quoted the words of the King of Israel. "*The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble ; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee ; send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion ; grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel.*" (Psalm xx.) O well-beloved Luther ! my respectable father ! . . . be not afraid, but be strong. The counsel of the wicked has assailed thee, and they have opened their mouths against thee like roaring lions ; but the Lord shall arise in opposition to the impious, and shall disperse them. Fight, then, valiantly for Christ. As for me, too, I will struggle with courage. Would to God that it had been permitted me to see how these wicked enemies frown. But the Lord will dress his vineyard which the wild boar of the forest has laid waste. . . . Christ save you." Bucer did that which it was denied Hutten to accomplish : he arrived in person within the walls of Worms, and did not leave his friend during the whole course of his sojourn there.

Four o'clock struck, and the marshal of the empire made his appearance. Luther must attend this summons, and he is prepared to do so. He was, however, agitated by the remembrance of the

august assembly in whose presence he was about to appear. The herald walked first, followed by the marshal of the empire, and then Luther advanced. The multitude gathered together in the streets was even greater than on the previous evening. It was impossible to move forward in the right direction, and it was equally vain to request that room should be made for that purpose, for the crowd increased, at every step. At last the herald, perceiving the utter uselessness of any attempt to reach the City Hall through the public thoroughfares, opened the door of a private house, and conducted Luther along the gardens and sequestered passages of the neighbourhood, until they gained the chamber of the diet. The people, discovering the contrivance, adopted, rushed into the houses which lined the route of the monk, and stood at the windows looking towards the gardens we have referred to, whilst many individuals clambered on to the roofs of the buildings thus forcibly occupied. The tops of the houses, the pavement on the streets, every place, high and low, were all covered with a mass of spectators.

Arrived at last before the town-house, Luther, and those who accompanied him, were again unable to press onward to the door, on account of the dense multitude which opposed their progress. Cries of make way resounded on every side, but no one offered to move from the spot. Then imperial soldiers were called upon to clear a passage for the entrance of Luther and his escort. The people now made a rush to enter the hall behind the reformer, but the soldiers kept them back with their halberds. Luther made his way into the interior of the house, but even here every corner was crammed with spectators. There were congregated together, both in the ante-chambers and at the windows, more than five thousand lookers-on, composed of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and the inhabitants of other countries. Luther with difficulty walked through the encumbered passages. As he finally approached the door which opened into the presence-hall of his judges, he met at this spot a gallant knight, the celebrated General George of Freundsberg, who, four years later, at the head of the German light cavalry, knelt down on his knee with his soldiers on the field of Pavia, and then, throwing himself on the left flank of the French army, drove them into the Tessin, and decided in a great measure the captivity of the King of France. This old general, beholding Luther as he passed, touched him on the shoulder, and, shaking his head, whitened amidst the storms of battle, said to the reformer with an earnest expression of voice, "My little monk! my little monk, you have before you a march and an affair such as neither me nor many more captains have ever seen equalled in the most bloody battles of our day! But if your cause is just, and if you have confidence therein, advance in the name of God, and fear nothing. God will not forsake you." A beautiful homage paid by the valour of the sword to the courage of the spirit! "*He that ruleth the spirit is better than he that taketh a city,*" (Prov. xvi. 32,) a king himself has said.

At last the doors of the hall are thrown open. Luther enters within the presence-chamber, and many persons who did not belong to the body of the diet hurried in after him. Never had any man before this time appeared in the front of an assembly equally august. There were present on the bench the emperor Charles V., whose

kingdoms extended over both the new and the old world ; his brother, the archduke Ferdinand, six electors of the empire, whose descendants at this moment (almost in every instance) are the wearers of kingly crowns ; twenty-four dukes, the greater number of them reigning over territories either more or less extensive, and among whom there were those whose names were destined to become, at an after period, formidable in the cause of the Reformation, such as the Duke of Alba and his two sons ; eight margraves, thirty archbishops, bishops, or prelates ; seven ambassadors, including those sent by the kings of France and England ; the deputies from ten free cities, and a great number of princes, counts, and sovereign barons, amounting in all to two hundred and four distinguished individuals. Such was the imposing court before which Martin Luther stood, at the call of an imperial summons.

This public appearance constituted in itself a glorious victory over the powers of popedom. The pope had condemned this man, and yet this man now found himself arraigned before a tribunal which, in this very act, placed itself above the authority of the pope. The pope had put Luther under the penalty of an interdict, separating him from all human society, and he was, nevertheless, convoked in honourable terms, and received before the most august assembly in the universe. The pope had commanded that his mouth should for ever be shut, and still he was about to open his mouth in the hearing of thousands of auditors gathered together from the most distant districts of all christendom. An immense revolution had thus been completed by means of Luther. Rome already seemed descending from her throne, and it was the word of the monk which had summoned her so to descend.

Several of the princes, seeing the humble son of the miner of Mansfeld agitated in the presence of this extraordinary assemblage of kings, approached the place where he stood in testimony of their good will towards him, and one thus expressed himself to the reformer—" *Do not fear those who can kill the body, but who cannot kill the soul.*" Another even added—" *When you shall be led before kings, the spirit of your Father shall speak through your mouth.*" In this manner the words of his Master were brought to afford consolation to the reformer, even by the organs of the powerful of this world.

Meanwhile the guards were occupied in making room for Luther to advance. He, therefore, now walked forward and reached the front of the throne of Charles V. The sight of an assembly so brilliant and august seemed for a moment to dazzle and intimidate the spirit of the monk. Every eye was cast upon him, but his agitation began to yield to the wonted composure of his mind, and an awful silence reigned. " Say nothing," said the marshal of the empire to Luther, " before interrogations are put to you," and then left his side.

After a moment of solemn calm, the chancellor of the archbishop of Triers, John of Eck, the friend of Aleander, and who it is necessary carefully to distinguish from the theologian of the same name, rose, and, in a loud and distinct voice, said, first in Latin and then in German, " Martin Luther, his holy and invincible imperial Majesty has summoned you to appear before his throne, in compliance with the advice and the counsel of the states of the holy Roman empire, in order to demand from you an answer to the two following questions. In the

first place, Do you acknowledge that these books have been composed by you?" At the same time the imperial orator pointed with his finger to twenty works placed upon a table in the middle of the hall and in front of Luther. "I could not imagine," said Luther, in recounting this circumstance afterwards, "how they had been able to procure all these books." It was Aleander who had undertaken the accomplishment of such a task. "Secondly," continued the chancellor, "Are you willing to retract from these books and their contents, or do you persist in the opinions which you have advanced?"

Luther, without suspicion, was about to reply in the affirmative to the first of these questions, when his counsel, Jerome Schurff, quickly seizing the opportunity, said with a loud voice, "Let the title of these books be read out."

The chancellor stepped forward to the table and read the titles of the books. There were among their number several works of devotion altogether foreign to the controversy.

This enumeration having been finished, Luther said, first in Latin and then in German—

"Very gracious emperor, gracious princes and lords !

"His imperial Majesty has demanded from me answers to two questions.

"With regard to the first of these questions, I acknowledge that the books which have just been named have been composed by me. I cannot deny them.

"With regard to the second, in consideration that this is a question which concerns the nature of faith and the salvation of souls, and in which is also concerned the word of God, that is to say, the greatest and most precious treasure that is to be found either in heaven or in earth, I would act with much imprudence if I were to reply to it without mature reflection. I might affirm less than the subject requires, or more than truth would substantiate, and thus render myself guilty of disobeying the words of Christ—*Whosoever shall deny me before man, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven.* It is for this reason I pray your imperial Majesty, with all submission, to grant me time, in order that I may be enabled to reply without bringing a reproach upon the word of God."

This reply, far from affording any evidence of hesitation on the part of Luther, was alike worthy of the reformer and of the assembly in which he stood. He was constrained to exhibit a calm and dignified demeanour in the treatment of so grave a subject, and to refrain at this solemn instant, from every appearance of passion or levity. In imposing upon himself a suitable delay, he would, moreover, so much the more strongly prove the unshaken firmness of his resolution. Many men of whom we read in history have, by the utterance of a sentence too promptly spoken, drawn down upon the world and upon themselves evils of incalculable magnitude. Luther laid a restriction upon his naturally impetuous temper, and restrained his words, which were generally ready to escape the confines of his lips; he made a pause, when every sentiment that animated his breast was eager to disclose their ardent desires. This self-command, this calm forbearance in a man of such a character, increased a hundredfold his strength, and put him in a condition to reply at an after period with

a wisdom, a power, and a dignity, which deceived the expectations of his adversaries, and confounded all their pride and malice.

Nevertheless, as he had spoken in a respectful tone and subdued accent, many were willing to believe that he hesitated in his purpose, and that he had, indeed, become alarmed. A ray of hope was thus allowed to penetrate within the souls of the partisans of Rome. Charles, impatient to comprehend the mind of the man whose word had caused the whole empire to tremble, had never turned his eyes aside from their keen scrutiny of Luther's features. The emperor now looked towards one of his courtiers, and said disdainfully—"Assuredly it would never be this man who should induce me to become a heretic." Then rising from his seat, the young emperor withdrew, in company of his ministers, into another council-chamber, the electors removing to a second hall, joined by the princes, while the deputies of the free cities retired into a third apartment for consultation. The diet being again speedily reunited, agreed to grant the request made by Luther. This decision was, however, regarded as a serious error on the part of men of lively passions.

"Martin Luther," said the chancellor of Triers, "his imperial Majesty, in conformity with that benevolence which is natural to him, is most willing to afford you still another day, but under the condition that you will make your reply in words spoken from your mouth, and not in writing."

Then the imperial herald made his appearance and re-conducted Luther to his hotel. Threats and exclamations of joy were heard by turns to break upon the air, during the time occupied in his return to his present abode. The most inauspicious reports were spread abroad among the friends of Luther. "The diet is dissatisfied," it was said, "the envoys of the pope have triumphed, and the reformer shall be sacrificed." Feelings of passion were warmly excited, and several gentlemen hastened to the house wherein Luther was lodged. "Doctor," said they to the reformer, in great perplexity, "how has this come to pass? It is confidently said that they are willing to burn you! Such a deed shall not be perpetrated," said these knights, "without their lives being made to compensate for its atrocity." "And that would truly have happened," said Luther, when repeating these words twenty years afterwards in Eisleben.

On the other hand the enemies of Luther triumphed. "He has asked time," said they; "he will retract. At a distance his speech was arrogant, but now his courage has failed him. . . . He is vanquished."

Luther was perhaps the only being in Worms who was in possession of a composed mind. A few moments after his return from the diet, he wrote to the imperial counsellor Cuspianus. "I write to you in the middle of tumult," (most probably he alluded to the noise made by the crowd on the street before his lodgings.) "I have this very hour been in the presence of the emperor and his brother. . . . I have acknowledged myself the author of my own writings, and I have declared that I will give an answer to-morrow respecting the question of recantation. I will not retract a single letter from all my works, with the help of Jesus Christ."

The turmoil of the people and of the foreign soldiers was increased from hour to hour. While the members of the diet proceeded with

calm deliberation in their meeting, the parties outside on the streets actually came to blows with one another. The Spanish soldiers, proud and unmerciful in their disposition, inflicted wounds by their impudence upon the body of the citizens. One of these satellites attached to Charles, finding in a bookseller's shop a copy of the pope's bull, published by Hutten, with a commentary annexed by the said knight, took hold of it and tore it into pieces, and, casting down the fragments, he trampled them under his feet. Others having discovered several numbers of Luther's work upon *The Captivity of Babylon*, carried them off and destroyed them.

The indignant people were roused at the sight of such irregularities, and throwing themselves upon the soldiers, they forced them to take flight. On another occasion, a Spaniard on horseback, with his sabre in hand, pursued along one of the principal streets in Worms a German who used all his efforts to escape, while the people, alarmed, dared not shew any opposition to the advance of this furious stranger.

Some politicians believed that they had fallen upon a plan whereby Luther might be saved. "Retract," said they to him, "your errors of doctrine; but persist in the maintenance of every word you have written against the pope and his court, and you are safe." Aleander trembled at the consequences of this advice. But Luther, unmoved in his design, declared that he was little interested in the affairs of a political reform, if it did not depend upon the doctrine of faith.

The 18th of April having arrived, Glapio, the chancellor of Eck, and Aleander, had met together early in the morning, in conformity with instructions received from Charles V., in order to arrange the manner of proceeding in the affairs of Luther.

Luther had been taken by surprise for an instant, when on the previous evening he had found himself introduced into the presence of so august an assembly. His heart had been troubled at the sight of so many princes before whom it was the custom of the great to bend their knee. The thought that he was about to refuse obedience to those whom God had invested with such sovereign authority, disturbed his soul, and he felt the necessity of seeking for strength from a higher source than any that was to be found here below. "He who, attacked by the enemy, presents the breast-plate of faith," said he one day, "resembles Perseus holding the head of the Gorgon. Whoever looked thereon was dead. In this manner we must present the Son of God to the snares of the devil." He experienced on this morning of the 18th of April moments of severe trouble, in which the face of God was veiled from his view. His faith grew weak; his enemies were multiplied around him, and his imagination was struck with terror. . . . His soul was like a ship tossed upon the angry billows of the ocean, which, trembling in its movements, falls down to the depths of a fearful abyss, and anon rises in height until it reaches the very skies. In this hour of bitter sorrow, when he drank the cup of Christ, and seemed stationed in the garden of Gethsemane, he threw himself with his face downwards upon the ground, and uttered those interrupted cries, which it is impossible to comprehend, if we do not reflect upon the agony in which they were addressed to the powers of heaven. "Almighty and everlasting God, how terrible is the world before me; how it seems to open its

mouth to swallow me up, and O how little is my trust in thee. . . . How weak is the flesh, and how powerful is Satan. If it be in what the world counts powerful I must put my trust, I am undone. . . . The steeple has fallen down, and judgment is pronounced! . . . O God! O God! . . . O thee, my God! . . . help me against all the wisdom of this world! Do this; thou must do it—thou alone—for it is not my work, but thine own. I have nothing to do here; I have nothing to contest for myself, with these great ones of the earth. For me, truly I would wish to pass happy and tranquil days. But the cause is thine, . . . and it is just and eternal! O Lord, be my protection. Faithful God, unchangeable God! I put no confidence in any man. That were vain. All that comes from man changes: all that comes from man fails. O God! O God! Dost thou not hear? . . . My God, art thou dead? No; thou can'st not die! Thou only hidest thyself! Thou hast chosen me for this work, I know. . . . Ah! well, then do thou work, O God! . . . Be thou at my right hand, for the sake of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, who is my defence, my shield, and my buckler."

After a moment's silence and struggle, he continued as follows:—"Lord, where dost thou dwell? O my God! where art thou? . . . Come! come! I am ready, . . . I am ready to yield up my life for thy truth's sake, . . . patient as a lamb; for the cause is just, and it is thine own! . . . I will not detach myself from thee, neither now, nor throughout eternity! . . . And although the world should be filled with demons, although my body, which is, however, the work of thy hands, should be made to bite the dust, and to be extended on the ground, cut in pieces . . . and reduced to ashes, . . . my soul is thine. . . . Yes, I have guarantee of thy words for the fact. . . . It belongs to thee, my soul, it shall eternally dwell with thee. . . . Amen. . . . Help me, O God! . . . Amen!"

This prayer discovers the character of Luther and of the Reformation. History here draws aside the veil of the sanctuary, and displays to us the secret place wherein strength and courage were communicated to this humble and poor individual, who was the organ of God for emancipating the souls and the thoughts of men, and for beginning the course of a new era. Luther and the Reformation are here taken in the fact. We now espy their most secret resorts; we now recognise wherein lay their peculiar force. This expression of a soul which sacrificed itself to the cause of the truth, is to be found in the recollection of pieces relative to the appearance of Luther at Worms, under the number of XVI., in the midst of a heap of safe-conducts and documents of that description. Some one of his friends had, no doubt, heard him utter this prayer, and has preserved its substance for our instruction. It is, in our opinion, one of the most valuable documents of history.

After having thus prayed, Luther experienced that peace of soul without which man is unable to do anything great. He occupied himself in reading the word of God, he glanced over his own writings, and prepared himself for giving his answer in suitable terms. The thought that he was about to bear testimony in favour of Jesus Christ and his word, in the presence of the emperor and the empire,

filled his heart with joy. The moment for appearing drew near, and he approached with emotion the Holy Scriptures, which lay open upon his table, and, placing his left hand upon the volume, he raised his right towards heaven, swearing to remain faithful to the gospel, and openly to confess its faith, even were he compelled to seal this confession with his blood. After this action he felt still more at rest in his bosom.

At four o'clock the herald appeared, to conduct him again to the meeting-place of the diet. General curiosity had still increased; for the answer, it was known, must be decisive. The diet being engaged in business, Luther was obliged to wait in the court, in the middle of an immense crowd, which undulated like the waves of a heavy sea, and crushed in its movements the person of the reformer. For two long hours the doctor of Wittenberg was exposed to the pressure of this multitude, every one of the whole body was eager to catch a sight of the stranger. "I had not been accustomed," said he, "to all their ways, and to the fearful noise they made." Such a reception would have proved a miserable scene of preparation for an ordinary man. But Luther was with God. His aspect was serene, and his features composed in their expression; for the Eternal had set him upon a rock. The night began to fall, and the torches were seen to be lighted in the assembly-room of the diet. The artificial light now gleamed through the large casements into the circle of the court. The whole series of objects assumed a solemn air. At last the doctor was admitted within the walls of the court-house. A number of persons rushed in along with him; for all were anxious to hear the words of his reply. Every mind was on the stretch, and waited with impatience the arrival of a moment so loaded with importance. On this occasion Luther was free, calm, and confident, without its being possible for any one to discover in him the least symptom of disquietude. The prayer had produced good fruit. The princes having taken their places, although not without difficulty, because these places were closely beset by the throng, and the monk of Wittenberg having gained his position in front of the throne of Charles V., the chancellor of the elector of Triers opened the proceedings by saying—

"Martin Luther, you yesterday requested a term of delay, which has now expired. There was certainly no obligation to grant you this indulgence, since every person ought to be sufficiently instructed in the question of faith, so as to be enabled to give, at all times, an account to those who demand from him a reason for his faith; more especially you, who are a teacher of the Holy Scriptures, the most learned and talented. . . . Reply, therefore, now to the request of his Majesty, who has shewn you so much favour. Are you willing to defend your writings in their full extent, or are you willing to retract certain portions of their contents?"

After having spoken these words in Latin, the chancellor repeated the same in German.

"Then Doctor Martin Luther," say the reports taken at Worms, "replied in the most submissive and humble manner. He did not at all exclaim, nor speak with violence, but with fairness, mildness, suitably and modestly; but, nevertheless, with much Christian joy and firmness."

"Most serene emperor, illustrious princes, and gracious lords,"

said Luther, directing his looks upon Charles, and then upon the assembly, "I humbly appear before you this day, in accordance with the command given me yesterday, and I conjure, by the mercies of God, your Majesty and your august Highnesses, to listen with favour to the defence of a cause which I have full assurance is just and true. If, through ignorance, I am found wanting in the customs and proprieties of the court, pardon my errors in this respect; for I have not been reared in the palaces of kings, but in the obscurity of a cloister.

"Yesterday two questions were put to me in the name of his imperial Majesty: the first, If I was the author of certain books whose titles were then read; and the second, If I was willing to revoke or defend the doctrine which I have therein taught. I gave an answer to the first question, and I persevere in the sentiment of that reply.

"With regard to the second question, I have composed several books upon matters of very different import. There are some in which I have treated upon the subject of faith and good works, in a manner so pure, simple, and Christian-like, that my very adversaries, far from finding cause to condemn these works, have confessed that they are useful and worthy of being read by pious persons. The bull of the pope, however violent it may be, acknowledges this fact itself. If, then, I am about to retract from these books, what should I do? Unhappy being, single among the rest of men, I would thus abandon many truths which, with a unanimous voice, my friends and my enemies have alike approved, and I would oppose myself to opinions which the whole world has counted it a glory to confess.

"I have, in the second place, composed some books against Popery wherein I have attacked those who, by their false doctrine, their evil life, and scandalous example, have desolated the Christian world, and caused the loss of both body and soul. Are not the lamentations of all those who fear God a proof of this? Is it not evident that the human laws and doctrines of the popes perplex, torment, and martyrize the consciences of the faithful, whilst the crying and perpetual extortions of Rome swallow up the property and the riches of christendom, and more particularly of this very illustrious nation? . .

"Were I to revoke all that I have written on this subject, what should I do but fortify this fearful tyranny, and open wide, for so much and such gross impiety, a door of yet larger dimensions? Overflowing, then, with more fury than ever, we should see these proud men, to increase, to rise in their passions, and to storm continually the more. And not only would the yoke which now presses on the Christian people be rendered more irksome on account of my retraction, but it would become, so to speak, more legitimate, because it would receive, by means of this very retraction, the confirmation of your most serene Majesty, and of all the states of the holy empire. Great God! I would thus be converted into a vile cloak, destined to conceal and encourage every description of crimes and tyranny!

"Thirdly, in short, I have written some books against private persons who were willing to defend the cause of Roman tyranny and to destroy the doctrine of faith. I am free to confess that I may have attacked such persons with more violence than my ecclesiastical pro-

fession warranted. I do not regard myself as being a saint, b neither can I retract from the sentiments of these books, because would, in such case, acknowledge the impious notions of my adversaries, and they would take occasion therefrom to crush with st greater cruelty the people of God.

"Nevertheless, I am a mere man, and not God. I will, therefor defend myself after the manner of Jesus Christ. *If I have spok evil, bear witness of the evil*"—(John, xviii. 23)—said he. "Ho much more then should I, who am but dust and ashes, and who a so liable to err, desire that every one should point out whatever wrong in my doctrine? It is for this reason I conjure you by tl mercies of God, you, most serene emperor, and you very illustrio princes, and whoever else it may be, whether in a high or low cond tion, to prove to me from the writings of the prophets and tl apostles that I have deceived myself. From the moment that am convinced of my errors, I will immediately retract every o of them, and I will be the first person to lay hold upon m writings and to cast them into the fire.

"What I have just said shews clearly, I think, that I hav well considered and weighed the dangers to which I now expo myself; but far from being alarmed on this account, it affords m unspeakable joy to see that the gospel is to-day, as formerly, cause of trouble and discord. Such is the character and the destin of the word of God. *Think not that I am come to send peace o earth, but a sword*, says Jesus Christ—(Matt. x. 34)—God wonderful and terrible in his counsels; let us fear lest, in pretenc ing to arrest discord, we may not be persecuting the holy wor of God, and may not cause to burst upon ourselves a frightfi deluge of insurmountable dangers, of present disasters, and e eternal desolations. . . . Let us fear lest the reign of th young and noble prince, the Emperor Charles, upon whom, after God we place such high hopes, should not only begin, but also con tinue and end, under the most dismal auspices. I could quote man examples from the oracles of God," continued Luther, speaking i presence of the greatest monarch of the world, with a courag full of nobleness. "I could speak to you of the Pharaohs, of th kings of Babylon, and those of Israel, who have never worke more effectually to accomplish their own ruin than when, i accordance with counsels in appearance the most wise, they thought to establish their empire. *God removeth mountains, and they knor not; which overturneth them in his anger.*—(Job, ix. 5.)

"If I have said these things, it is not because I think that prince so great have need of receiving my poor advice, but because I wish t render to Germany the things which she has a right to expect from her children. Thus, recommending myself to the consideration o your august Majesty and your most serene Highnesses, I pray you i humility not to suffer the hatred of my enemies to cause to burst upo me an indignation which I have not deserved."*

Luther had spoken these words in German with modesty, but with much warmth and consistency; and he was commanded to repeat them over in Latin. The emperor was no admirer of the German

* This speech, like all the words we quote, is drawn faithfully from authentic documents.

language. The imposing assembly which surrounded the reformer, the noise, and his own emotions, had greatly fatigued him. "I was in a complete state of perspiration," said he, "heated by the tumult, and standing up in the middle of a congregation of princes." Frederick of Thun, the privy counsellor of the elector of Saxony, (situated by order of his master close to the person of the reformer, in order to watch events, so that none might offer violence or cause surprise to Luther,) seeing the state in which the poor monk stood before him, said, "If you are unable to repeat your speech, this will suffice, doctor;" but Luther, having rested for a moment to take breath, began again, and repeated his discourse in Latin, with the same animation and poignancy as before.

"This effort gave extreme pleasure to the elector Frederick," recounts the reformer.

As soon as he had ended his speech, the chancellor of Triers, the orator of the diet, said to Luther with indignation, "You have not replied to the question which has been put to you. You have not been brought here to call in question the things which have been decided on by councils. A clear and precise answer is demanded of you. Do you wish or not to make a recantation? Luther then replied, without a moment's hesitation—"Since your most serene Majesty and you exalted powers require from me a simple answer, clear and precise, I will give it you, and this it is—I cannot submit my faith, neither to the pope nor to councils, because it is clear as the day, that they have often fallen into error, and even into the most palpable contradictions with themselves. If, therefore, I am not convinced by the testimony of the Scriptures or by manifest reason, if I am not persuaded by the very passages which I have quoted, and if thus my captive conscience be not delivered from the word of God, *I neither can nor wish to retract*, for it is not safe for a Christian to speak against his conscience." Then looking round on that assembly, in the midst of which he stood upright, and which held in its hand the power of death, he said—"Behold, here I stand, and I fear it is impossible for me to do otherwise; may God help me! Amen."

Thus Luther, constrained to obey the dictates of his faith, dragged by his conscience to the gates of death, oppressed by the most noble necessity, the slave of that which he believed, and in this slavery supremely free, resembled the ship which a fearful storm drives to and fro, and which, in order to save something more precious than itself, is willingly driven to pieces upon a rock. In like manner did the reformer pronounce these sublime words, which, at the distance of three hundred years, still cause us to tremble. In this manner spoke a monk, in the presence of the emperor and the great of the nation; and yet that man, weak, poor, and alone, but supported by the grace of the Most High, appeared greater and more powerful than all the monarchs around him. His word possessed a force against which all their authority was powerless. It is here we descry that weakness of God which is stronger than men. The empire and the church were arrayed on one side, and on the other an obscure individual. God had brought these kings and prelates to assemble together thus publicly to confound their wisdom. The battle is lost; and the consequences of that defeat of the powerful of the earth shall be recognised among every people and in every age until the end of time.

The assembly remained in a state of amazement. Several of the princes had great difficulty in concealing their sentiments of admiration. The emperor, relieved from his first impressions, exclaimed—"The monk speaks with an intrepid heart and unshaken courage." The Spaniards and the Italians alone were confused, and very soon they began to mock at a grandeur of soul which they were unable to comprehend.

"If you do not retract," answered the chancellor, after the impression produced by this speech had somewhat subsided, "the emperor and the states of the empire will consider what ought to be done in the case of an obstinate heretic." At these words the friends of Luther trembled; but the monk repeated this sentence—"May God help me! for I can retract nothing."

Luther was then taken from the hall, and the princes continued their deliberations. Each one of them was convinced that the present was a critical moment in the affairs of christendom. The Yes! or No! of this monk was destined to decide, perhaps for ages, the question of repose both in the church and in the world. An attempt had been made to frighten him, and he had been, on the contrary, raised upon a rostrum, in the presence of the nation. A wish was entertained to give publicity to his defeat, and his victory had only been the more widely proclaimed. The partisans of Rome could not resolve to suffer the penalty of their humiliation. Luther was, therefore, recalled, and the orator said to him, "Martin, you have not spoken with the modesty which is consistent with your character. The distinction which you have made, with reference to your works, was not required, for if you should retract from those which contain errors, the emperor will not permit the rest to be burned. It is extravagant to seek for refutations drawn from the Scriptures, when you are found to bring to life heresies already condemned by the universal council of Constance. The emperor, therefore, commands you to say simply, by a yes or no, whether you are determined to maintain the things which you have advanced, or if you desire thereof to retract a certain portion?" "I have no other answer to make than that which I have before given," replied Luther, in a composed accent. He was now understood. Firm as a rock, all the waves of human power dashed themselves in vain against his resolute posture. The force of his words, his courageous bearing, the lightning of his looks, and the unshaken constancy which was expressed in the rude features of his Germanic visage, had sufficed to produce upon the minds of the assembled princes a profound impression. There was nothing left for hope to brood upon. The Spaniards, Belgians, and Romans themselves, were struck dumb. The monk had gained the victory over these great ones of the earth. He had said No! to the church and to the empire. Charles V. rose from his seat, and the whole assembly followed his example. "The diet shall meet again to-morrow morning to learn the opinion of the emperor," said the chancellor, with a loud voice.

CHAPTER IX.

Victory—Tumult and Calm—The Glass of the Duke of Erick—The Elector and Spalatin—Message of the Emperor—A Wish is shewn to Violate the Safe-Conduct—Lively Opposition—Enthusiasm in Favour of Luther—Voice of Conciliation—Fears of the Elector—Concourse at the House of Luther—Philp of Hesse.

The night was advanced, and every one made his way home in the dark. Luther was provided with two imperial officers to conduct him to his place of residence. Many imagined that his doom was fixed, and that he was about to be carried to prison, whence he should only be brought forth on his way to the scaffold, an idea which proved the origin of an immense tumult. Several gentlemen exclaimed, "Is it to prison that they are dragging him?" "No," replied Luther, "they are accompanying me to my lodgings." At the rehearsal of these words the angry spirits were calmed. Then a number of Spaniards, from the house of the emperor, following in the train of this audacious man, assailed him with hootings and mockery, along the streets through which he had to pass, while others strove to imitate the cries of wild beasts in search of their prey. But Luther remained steadfast and in peace.

Such was the exhibition of the scene acted at Worms. That intrepid monk who, until now, had braved with a certain haughtiness all his enemies, spoke at the hour we speak of, when in the presence of those who thirsted for his blood, with a calm, dignified, and humble accent. He indulged in no exaggerations or human enthusiasm or anger; he remained at peace amidst the most stirring emotions; modest in his resistance to the authorities of the world; and grand in the presence of the whole majesty of the earth. We have here the most irrefragable proof that Luther then obeyed the will of God, and not the suggestions of his own pride. There was in the hall at Worms one greater than either Luther or Charles V. *When you bear testimony of me before nations, be not in trouble, Jesus Christ has said, for it is not you who shall speak.* Perhaps this promise has never been accomplished in a more manifest manner than in the instance now before us.

A profound impression had been produced upon the chiefs of the empire. Luther had taken good observation of this fact, and his courage was thereby increased. The servants of the pope were enraged because John de Eck had not more resolutely interrupted the guilty monk. But many princes and lords were gained over to espouse a cause maintained with a conviction so determined. In the bosom of some, it is true, this impression proved transitory; but in others, on the contrary, who concealed their sentiments at the time, its influences were manifested at an after period with decided courage.

Luther had returned to his hotel, and sought rest to his body, worn out by a contest so hardy. Spalatin and some other friends were seen around him, and they all together offered up praises to God. During the conversation that ensued, a valet entered the room, carrying a silver vase, filled with beer from Eimbeck. "My master," said the servant, in going up to Luther, "begs you will refresh yourself with a draught from this cup." "Which of the princes is it," said

the doctor of Wittemberg, "who has so graciously remembered me?" It was the old Duke Erick from Brunswick. The reformer was overcome by the kindness of this present from so powerful a lord, and one who belonged to the party of the pope. "His Highness," continued the valet, "was pleased to taste the liquor in the cup before he sent it for your acceptance." Then Luther, who was thirsty, poured out some of the duke's beer, and having drank it, he said, "As this day the Duke Eric has remembered me, may the Lord Jesus Christ, in like manner, remember him at the hour of his last combat." It was but a small present, said Luther, willing to acknowledge his gratitude to a prince who had remembered him at such a moment, but he gave in return what he could, an earnest prayer for his soul. The valet faithfully reported the message to his master. And the old duke recollected the expression of this short prayer at the moment of his death, saying then to a young page, Francis de Kramm, who stood by his bed side, "Take the New Testament," said he, "and read it to me." The child read the words of Christ, and the dying soul was refreshed. *Whoever shall give you a drink of cold water in my name, because you belong to Christ, the Saviour has said, he shall in no ways lose his reward.*

Scarcely had the valet of the Duke of Brunswick left the apartment, before a messenger from the elector of Saxony made his appearance with an order for Spalatin to return immediately to the house of Frederick. This prince had just returned from the diet in a state of great excitement. He had imagined that in the presence of the emperor, Luther should find his courage to slacken. The constancy of the reformer had, therefore, in this regard deeply moved the elector. He was proud to be owned as the protector of such a man. When the chaplain arrived, the table was set, and Frederick was about to take his seat at supper, in company with the members of his court, while the valets had already carried away the basons in which it was customary to wash the hands before partaking of the repast. Seeing Spalatin enter the apartment, the prince made him a sign at once to follow him into his bed-chamber, and there in private he said to him, under great emotion, "Oh! how father Luther has spoken before the emperor, and before all the states of the empire. I only trembled lest he should become too bold." And Frederick then took a resolution to protect for the future the doctor with more determined courage.

Aleander perceived the impression which Luther had produced, and was aware that not a moment must be lost; but that it was imperative to urge on the young emperor to act most vigorously. The times were favourable; for war with France was all but certain. Leo X., anxious to increase his states, and little affected about the peace of christendom, had, at the same moment, entered into two secret treaties of negotiation, the one with Charles against Francis, and the other with Francis against Charles. By the former treaty he demanded for himself, from the emperor, Parma, Placenza, and Ferrara; while, by the latter, he reclaimed from the king a portion of the kingdom of Naples, which would thus be taken away from Charles. This last-named prince was, in fact, fully alive to the importance of gaining over Leo to the support of his cause, in order to secure an

alliance with the pope in the war against his rival Francis. It was thus but a small matter to purchase, at the price of Luther's life, the friendship of the powerful pontiff.

The day after Luther's appearance in the diet, namely, Friday the 19th of April, the emperor caused to be read in that assembly a message written in French with his own hand:—"Descended," said he, "from the Christian emperors of Germany, from the Catholic kings of Spain, from the archdukes of Austria, and from the dukes of Burgundy, who have all been illustrious defenders of the Roman faith, I have the firm purpose of following the example of my ancestors. A single monk, misled by his own foolishness, has set himself in opposition to the faith of christendom. I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my power, my friends, my treasures, my body, my blood, my spirit, and my life, in order to put an end to this impious behaviour. I am about to dismiss the Augustine, Luther, forbidding him to cause the least tumult among the people, then I will proceed against him and his adherents, as against manifest heretics, by excommunication, by interdict, and every means calculated to ensure their destruction. I demand of the members of the states to conduct themselves like faithful Christians."

This allocation was not, however, satisfactory to the wishes of every one. Charles, young and quick of temper, had not acted in consistency with the usual forms; for he ought, in the first place, to have asked the advice of the diet. Two extreme opinions were immediately expressed. The creatures of the pope, the elector of Brandenburg and several ecclesiastical princes, insisted that no respect should be shewn to the safe-conduct granted to Luther. "The Rhine," said they, "ought to receive his ashes, as it had received, a century before, the ashes of John Huss." Charles, if we must believe the statement of a certain historian, deeply repented, at an after period, his refusal to follow this cruel advice. "I confess," said he, towards the close of his life, "that I have committed a great fault in allowing Luther to live. I was not obliged to keep my promise with him, that heretic having offended a master much greater than me, even God himself. I could, I ought indeed to have forgotten my word, and to have avenged the injury offered to the authority of God; it is because I have not put him to death that heresy has not ceased to make rapid progress. His death would have smothered the evil in its cradle."*

A proposition so horrible, filled with alarm the mind of the elector, and of all Luther's friends. "The execution of John Huss," said the elector palatine, "has brought down upon the German nation too much misery to encourage the raising up again of a scaffold for similar purposes." "The princes of Germany," exclaimed George of Saxony himself, that irreconcilable enemy of Luther, "shall not permit the violation of a safe-conduct. This first diet, convoked by our new emperor, shall not render itself guilty of an action so shameful. An instance of such perfidious conduct does not consist with the an-

* Sandoval, Hist. of Charles V., quoted by Llorente, Hist. of the Inquisition, p. 57. In the opinion of Llorente, the supposition that Charles, near the close of his life, inclined towards evangelical sentiments, is nothing more than an invention of the Protestants, and of the enemies of Philip II. That question is an historical problem, which the numerous quotations of Llorente seem unhappily to resolve completely according to his own views of the case.

cient German honesty." The princes of Bavaria, likewise devoted to the interests of the church of Rome, supported the views of this protestation. The scene of death which the friends of Luther had already conjured up before their eyes seemed speedily removed to a distance.

The rumour of these debates, which lasted for two days, was quickly spread over the town. Party spirit became excited, and many gentlemen, partisans of the reform, began to speak with a determined tone against the treachery recommended by Aleander. "The emperor," said they, "is a young man whom the Papists and bishops lead about at their pleasure and convince by their flatteries." Pallavicini gives the names of four hundred nobles who were ready to maintain with their swords the fidelity of the safe-conduct possessed by Luther. On Saturday morning were seen placarded on the walls of the houses, and in public places, a quantity of notices, some against the cause of Luther and others in its favour. One of these intimations was composed simply of the following words from Ecclesiastes: *Unhappy is the land whose king is a child.* Seckingen, it is said, had assembled, at a few leagues distance from Worms, within the impregnable ramparts of his fortress, a considerable number of horsemen and soldiers, and he only suspended his orders of attack until he should learn the issue of the affair. The enthusiasm manifested by the people, not only in Worms, but also in the most distant towns of the empire, the intrepidity of the knights, and the attachment evinced by many princes for the person of the reformer, all tended to convince Charles and the diet that the step recommended by the Romans was calculated to compromise the supreme authority, to excite revolt, and even to shake the stability of the empire. It was nothing more than a poor monk they were anxious to have burned; but the princes and the partisans of Rome did not possess either sufficient strength or sufficient courage to complete their sanguinary design. No doubt, also, Charles V., still a young man, was at the time seriously impressed with the awful responsibility of committing perjury. This dread on the part of the prince is fairly indicated, if the report be true, in the sense of the following words which, according to certain historians, he made use of on this occasion. "When good faith and fidelity shall be banished from every part of the universe, they must find a refuge in the hearts of princes." It is mournful to suppose that he may have forgotten this salutary sentiment when he advanced towards the precincts of the tomb. It may be, however, that other motives even now regulated the conduct of the emperor. The Florentine, Vettori, a friend of Leo X. and of Machiaveli, declares that Charles only saved Luther in order thus to hold the pope in check.

During the sittings of the diet on Saturday, the violent counsels of Aleander were abandoned. Luther was well respected, and a desire was felt to save this very simple man, whose confidence in God was so affecting; but a desire was also felt to save the church. Fears were entertained equally at the thought of the consequences which would follow either the triumph or the sufferings of the reformer. Hints of conciliation were, therefore, heard to escape the lips of several members, and proposals were made to approach the doctor of Wittenberg with new attempts at agreement. The archbishop-elect

of Mentz himself, as well as the young and sumptuous Albert, more devout than courageous, says Pallavicini, had become afraid while witnessing the interest which the people and the nobility testified in favour of the Saxon monk. His chaplain, Capito, who had been linked in friendship, during his stay in Basil, with that evangelical priest from Zurich, named Zwingle, the intrepid defender of the truth, whose character we have already referred to, had likewise, without doubt, represented to Albert the justice of the reformer's cause. The worldly archbishop had experienced one of those returns of Christian sentiments, which are sometimes observable in the history of his life, and consented to wait upon the emperor with the purpose of requesting his Majesty to allow the adoption of a last effort. But Charles refused all compliance with their wishes. On Monday, the 22d of April, the princes came in a body to renew the solicitations of Albert. "I will not depart from the things I have already fixed upon," replied the emperor. "I will not appoint any one to wait officially upon Luther. But," added he, to the great scandal of Aleander, "I will grant this man three days for reflection; and, during that time, each one of his friends are at liberty to afford him suitable exhortations." This was all that was required. The reformer, it was believed, exalted by the solemnity of the appearance, would yield in the course of a more friendly conference, and might, perhaps, be saved from falling into the abyss on whose brink he now stood.

The elector of Saxony knew the contrary, and he was filled with alarm. "If it were in my power," he wrote the next day to his brother Duke John, "I would be ready to support Luther. You have no idea to what extent the partisans of Rome attack me. If I could repeat to you the whole affair, you would become acquainted with marvellous things. They desire his ruin; and however little one espouses his cause, or shews an interest in his person, you are immediately stigmatized as a heretic. May God, who never forsakes the just cause, bring all to a good conclusion." Frederick, without displaying the lively affection he cherished for the reformer, contented himself with keeping a close watch upon all his movements.

It was not in the same manner many men of all ranks conducted themselves while now residing within the walls of Worms. They made known their sympathy alike without fear and with loud protestations. Ever since Friday, a crowd of princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, members of the ecclesiastical body and laymen, with individuals from the ranks of the people, surrounded the hotel in which the reformer resided: they continued going out and in the house, and could not be satisfied with their frequent opportunities of looking on his countenance. He had become the man of Germany. Those even who had no doubt about his being in error, were touched with that nobleness of soul which constrained the monk to sacrifice his life at the call of his conscience. Luther had with many of the personages then present in Worms—the elite of the nation—frequent conversations filled with that pungency which so forcibly marked all his sentences. It was impossible to quit his company without being animated with a generous enthusiasm in favour of the truth. "How many things I shall have to tell you," wrote at this time the private secretary of the margrave Casimir of Brandenburg, George Vogler, to one of his friends. "How many conversations full of goodness and

piety has Luther held with me and with others. How full this man is of grace."

One day a young prince, seventeen years old, entered in a frolicsome manner the court of the hotel. This youth was Philip, who, for the last two years, had reigned over the district of La Hesse. The young landgrave was possessed of a quick and enterprising spirit, joined to a wisdom more mature than his years, with a warlike propensity, and impetuous temper, and would only be guided according to the ideas of his own inclination. Struck with the speeches made by Luther, he was anxious to see the monk more closely. "He was not, nevertheless, as yet on my side," said Luther, in relating the circumstance. He leapt from his horse, and ascended to the chamber of the reformer, and without any further introduction, began to apostrophize the monk thus—"Ah! very well, my dear doctor, how goes matters with you?" "Gracious lord," replied Luther, "I hope that matters shall go well with me." "From what I hear," replied the landgrave, laughingly, "you insist, doctor, that a woman can leave her husband and take another when the first has become too old!" "It was the gentlemen of the imperial court who had told this story to the landgrave. The enemies of the truth are never at a loss to invent fables upon the pretended teachings of Christian doctors. "No, my lord," replied Luther gravely; "I beg that your Highness will not speak in this fashion." Thereupon the prince extended his hand to the doctor, and cordially shook that of the monk, and said to him—"Dear doctor, if you are in the right, may God help you!" Then the prince left the room, mounted his horse, and departed. This was the first interview enjoyed by these two men who were destined at an after period to find themselves at the head of the Reformation, and to defend it, the one with the sword of the word, and the other with the sword of a king.

It was the archbishop of Triers, Richard de Greifenklau, who, with the permission of Charles V., had undertaken the part of mediator. Richard, intimately connected with the elector of Saxony, and a good Roman Catholic, desired, in arranging this difficult affair, to render at once a service to his friend and to the church. On Monday evening, the 22d April, at the moment when Luther was about to sit down to table, a messenger from the archbishop came to say that that prelate desired to see the monk the next day, Tuesday, at six o'clock in the morning.

CHAPTER X.

Conference in the House of the Archbishop of Triers—Exhortation of Wehe to Luther—Reply of Luther—Private Conversation—Visit of Cochleus—Supper in the House of the Archbishop—Attempt at the Hotel of Rhodes—A Council proposed—Last Conversation of Luther with the Archbishop—Visit to a Sick Friend—Luther receives Orders to quit Worms.

On the day appointed, the chaplain and the imperial herald, Sturm, were found in the house of Luther before six o'clock in the morning. But even two hours sooner—namely, at four o'clock, Aleander had summoned into his presence Cochleus; for the nuncio had not been slow to recognise in the man who had been introduced to him by Capito a devoted servant to the court of Rome, upon whom an equal reliance could be placed, even with reference to the personal zeal of the nuncio. It being impossible for Aleander to be

present at the interview about to take place, he was anxious to secure a substitute who might attend on his behalf. "Be sure to go to the house of the archbishop of Triers," said the nuncio to the dean of Frankfurt; "do not, however, enter into any discussion with Luther, but be content with lending the most attentive ear to all that is said, so that you may be able to give me a faithful report of the whole conversation."

The reformer arrived in company with some friends at the house of the archbishop. He found this prelate surrounded by the margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, the Duke George of Saxony, the bishops of Brandenburg and Augsburg, a certain number of noblemen, deputies of the free towns, lawyers and theologians, "among whom were seen Cochleus and Jerome Wehe, the chancellor of Baden. This last-named person, a clever lawyer, was eager to further a reformation in manners and discipline; nay, he even went beyond this, for he said, "It is necessary that the word of God, so long hidden under a bushel, should be brought forth in all its splendour." It was this conciliatory character who was deputed to manage the affairs of this conference. Turning with a benevolent air towards Luther, Wehe thus addressed the reformer, "You have not been requested to come here in order to join in any dispute, but with the intention of offering you some brotherly exhortation. You are aware with what caution the Scriptures adviseth us to beware of the *flying-arrow* and the *demon of the day*. This enemy of the human race has forced you to publish things contrary to the spirit of religion. Think well about your own salvation and that of the empire. Take care that those whom Jesus Christ has redeemed by his death from the penalty of eternal death, may not be seduced by you, and thus be doomed to perish for ever. . . . Do not set yourself in opposition to the deeds of holy councils. If we do not maintain the decrees of our fathers, there shall be nothing but confusion found in the affairs of the church. The eminent princes who now hear me speak take a peculiar interest in your safety; but if you persist, then the emperor shall be obliged to banish you from the empire, and no corner of the world shall be found sufficient to secure an asylum for you under such circumstances. . . . Reflect on the sad fate which awaits you!"

"Most serene princes," replied Luther, "I return you my grateful thanks for your solicitude on my account; for I am but a poor man, too insignificant to deserve the attention of an exhortation on the part of such great lords." He then continued—"I have not blamed the actions of all councils, but only that of Constance; because therein this doctrine of John Huss has been condemned—*That the Christian church is the assembly of those who are predestined to salvation*; and because therein is condemned this article of our faith—I believe in the *holy universal church*; and even the very word of God is condemned by the decrees of the same council. My method of teaching excites it is averred, many scandals," added he, "I reply that the gospel of Christ cannot be preached without causing scandal. How men such as a fear, or the apprehension of danger, detach me from the Lord or from that divine word which alone is true? No, I would rather sacrifice my body, my blood, and my life."

The princes and the doctors having consulted together, they again

requested Luther to listen, and Wehe anew observed, in a mild tone—"It is requisite to honour powers, even when they are in the wrong, and to make many sacrifices for the sake of charity." Then, with a more urgent accent, the chancellor added—"Commit yourself to the judgment of the emperor, and be not afraid."

Luther.—"I consent with all my heart to the proposal that the emperor, the princes, and even the most despicable of Christians, should be requested to examine and pass a judgment upon my works; but upon one condition, that they shall adopt as their rule of merit the word of God. Man has nothing else to do but to shew obedience to that word. My conscience is under subjection thereto, and I am a prisoner to obey its laws."

The Elector of Brandenburg.—"If I comprehend you aright, doctor, you are unwilling to acknowledge any other judge besides the Holy Scriptures."

Luther.—"Yes! my lord, precisely, that is my last word."

Then the princes and the other doctors retired; but the excellent archbishop of Triers could not come to the resolution of abandoning his enterprise. "Come here," said he to Luther, while he passed into his private parlour; and at the same time orders were sent to John de Eck and to Cochleus on the one side, and to Schurff and Amsdorff on the other, to follow the prelate into the same apartment. "Wherefore is an appeal constantly made to the Holy Scriptures?" said Eck furiously; "it is from them all heresies have proceeded." "But Luther," says his friend Mathesius, "continued immovable as a rock which rests upon the true rock, the word of the Lord." "The pope," replied the reformer, "is not judge in the things which concern the word of God. Every Christian must see and understand that word for himself, as he must thereby live and die." The party then broke up. The partisans of Popery were convinced of the superiority of Luther, and attributed this superiority to the want of some person who was capable of giving suitable answers. "If the emperor had acted wisely," said Cochleus, "when he summoned Luther to appear in Worms, he should at the same time have called thither some theologians prepared to refute his errors."

The archbishop of Triers proceeded to join the assembly of the diet, therein to announce the little success which had attended his mission of mediation. The astonishment of the young emperor equalled his indignation. "It is high time," said he, "to put an end to this affair." The archbishop requested a farther delay of two days, and as all the diet joined in this proposal, Charles V. yielded his consent. But Aleander, in a state of fury, burst forth into the expression of a torrent of reproaches.

While such things were current in the meetings of the diet, Cochleus panted with eager desire to obtain the victory denied to prelates and kings. Although he had from time to time thrown in a word during the progress of the conference in the house of the archbishop of Triers, the order received from Aleander had served to restrain the eloquence of the dean on that occasion. He resolved, therefore, to remunerate himself for this forbearance, and the moment after he had delivered his report to the nuncio of the pope, he hurried off in search of an interview with Luther. He addressed the reformer now in terms of friendship, and expressed the chagrin which the resolution of the

emperor had imposed upon his feelings. After they had dined, the conversation became more animated, and Cochleus urged Luther to make a recantation. The reformer gave a sign significant of refusal, while several noblemen, who were at the same table, with difficulty refrained from the utterance of angry expressions. They, at same time, testified their displeasure at the conduct of the partisans of Rome, in thus exhibiting a constant wish not to convince the reformer by means of the Scriptures, but to constrain him by force. "Very well," said Cochleus to Luther, impatient at the repetition of such reproaches, "I offer to engage with you in a public dispute, if you wave the protection of your safe-conduct." The whole of Luther's wishes centred in the performance of a public dispute. What must he now do? To renounce his safe-conduct was to assist in his own destruction; to refuse the challenge of Cochleus, was to manifest an evidence of doubt on the goodness of his cause. The guests at the table discovered in this offer a perfidious conspiracy with Aleander which the dean of Frankfort was about to mature. But Vollrat of Watzdorf, one of the present company, delivered Luther from the embarrassment of a choice so delicate. This nobleman, whose temper was warm, became indignant at the discovery of a plot which attempted nothing less than the delivery of Luther into the hands of the public executioner, and rising from his seat, he laid hold upon the terrified priest, whom he pushed out of the room, while he even prepared to shed his blood, had not the rest of his companions at the moment hurried from the table and interposed their entreaties between the furious knight and Cochleus, now trembling in an agony of despair. The dean hastened away in a state of much confusion from the hotel of the knights of Rhodes. It was, no doubt, in the heat of debate the proposition above-mentioned escaped from the lips of Cochleus, and that in reality there did not exist between him and Aleander a formed plan, contrived before hand to inveigle Luther into a snare so despicable. Cochleus repudiates the idea, and we are willing to give credence to his testimony. But it must be remembered that he, at the conclusion of a conference with the nuncio, went straight to the dwelling of the reformer.

In the evening, the archbishop of Triers entertained at supper the personages who had assisted at the conference of the morning: he considered such a meeting calculated to soften the disparities of feeling, and to bring the minds of the party into a more harmonious condition. Luther, so intrepid and so immovable before arbitrators or judges, displayed in private society a good nature and gaiety which encouraged the most lively hopes of accommodation with him. The chancellor of the archbishop, who had exhibited so much formality in the performance of his official duties, gave his willing support to this friendly association, and, towards the conclusion of the repast, he proposed the health of Luther. The reformer was about to acknowledge the honour conferred on him; the wine was poured out, and he had now made, in accordance with the usual custom, the sign of the cross upon his glass, when all of a sudden the glass burst in his hand, and the wine flowed over the table. The guests were thrown into a state of consternation. "There must be poison in the cup," said some of Luther's friends in loud accents. But the doctor, in the most unconcerned manner, replied with

a smile on his countenance*—"Dear sirs, either this wine was not destined for me, or it had been injurious for me." Then he calmly added, "Without doubt the glass has broken, because, in washing it, it has been too speedily dipped into cold water." These very simple words are, under such circumstances, clothed with conspicuous grandeur, and describe a peace of mind that could not be shaken. It must not be presumed that the Roman Catholics here entertained a notion of poisoning Luther, especially in the house of the archbishop of Triers. But this entertainment had not the effect of either estranging or bringing closer together the opinions of those who partook in its pleasures. Neither the favour nor the hatred, of men were able to exercise an influence over the resolution of Luther; that resolution proceeded from a higher source.

On Thursday morning, the 25th of April, the chancellor Wehe, and Doctor Peutingger from Augsburg, the counsellor of the emperor, who had evinced for Luther a large share of his esteem ever since the conferences with De Vio, went in company to the hotel of the knights of Rhodes. The elector of Saxony had also sent Frederick de Thun and another of his counsellors to assist in the business of the anticipated conversation. "Put yourself entirely at our disposal," said Wehe and Peutingger, in accents expressive of great concern, who were indeed willing to sacrifice everything in order to prevent the division which was about to rend the church. "This affair shall be concluded in the most Christian spirit; we give you full assurance of this fact." "In two words learn my answer," replied Luther. "I consent to renounce the document of my safe-conduct. I place in the hands of the emperor my person and my life, but the word of God . . . never!" Frederick de Thun, in emotion, rose and said to the envoys, "Is not this enough? Is not the sacrifice sufficiently great?" Then declaring that he did not wish to hear anything more, he left the apartment. Wehe and Peutingger, hoping to have yet some better success with the doctor, now drew their chairs close to his, and said, "Place yourself in the hands of the diet." "No," replied Luther, "*for cursed be the man that trusteth in man.*" (Jerem. 17.) Wehe and Peutingger increased the ardour of their exhortations and their attack; they press, with keener emphasis, their words upon the doctor. But Luther, grown weary of their solicitations, arose from his seat and took his leave of his visitors by saying, "I will not permit that any man should be placed above the word of God." "Reflect again on what we have said," repeated the envoys in withdrawing, "we will return to this house after mid-day." These individuals did, in fact, once more return to the hotel, but persuaded that Luther would not yield the contest, they came provided with a new proposition. Luther had refused to acknowledge the pope, afterwards the emperor, and then the diet, and there now only remained another judge whose judgment he had himself at one time invoked, namely, that of a general council. No doubt such a

* Es musse Gift darinnen gewesen seyn.—Luther does not speak of this circumstance; but Razeburg, the friend of Luther, physician to the elector, John Frederick, reports it in a manuscript history to be found in the Library at Gotha, and says he received the report from an eye-witness of the fact.

proposition was humiliating to the authority of Rome; but it was the last plank of safety, and the delegates offered the arbitration of a council to the acceptance of Luther. The reformer might perfectly well have accepted of this proposal without exacting any sort of conditions. Some years must pass away before the difficulties which the convocation of a council would present to the views of the pope could be overcome, and to gain the advantage of a few years was, in the case of the reformer and the Reformation, to gain everything. God and time were fitted to accomplish wonderful events. But Luther placed integrity above every other consideration; he had no wish to save himself at the expense of the truth, although to dissemble it was only necessary for him to have remained silent. "I consent thereto," replied he, "but (and to make such a demand, was tantamount to a refusal of the proposition) on the condition that the council will judge only after the contents of the Holy Scriptures."

Peutinger and Wehe, imagining that a council could not be supposed to judge in any other manner, hurried, in the extasy of their feelings, towards the house of the archbishop. "Dr Martin," cried they, "submits his works to the judgment of a council." The archbishop in his turn hastened to communicate these good news to the emperor, when some doubts at the moment arose in his own mind, and he sent a message for Luther to come to his house.

Richard de Greiffenklau was alone when the doctor arrived at his mansion. "Dear doctor," said the archbishop, with much benevolence and cordiality, "my doctors assure me that you have agreed to submit, without reserve, your cause to the judgment of a council." "My lord," replied Luther, "I can bear everything, but I cannot abandon the Holy Scriptures." The archbishop clearly saw that Wehe and Peutinger had explained themselves in an irregular manner. Rome could never consent to the meeting of a council which was only to judge in conformity with the Holy Scriptures. "It was," said Pallavicini, "to expect that a weakened eye should read some very small letters, and, at sametime, refuse it the use of spectacles." The good archbishop sighed, "I have done well to have brought you here. What must have become of me had I immediately carried this news to the emperor?"

The unshaken steadfastness, the obstinacy of Luther, no doubt, created astonishment; but they must be understood and respected by all those who are acquainted with the law of God. Rarely has a more noble homage been paid to the unchangeable word of Heaven, and this, too, at the risk of the liberty and the life of the man who gave such testimony of his faith.

"Very well," said the venerable prelate to Luther, "point out yourself a source of remedy."

Luther, (after a moment's silence.)—"My lord, I have no other test to propose than that of Gamaliel. *If this purpose be the work of men it shall destroy itself. But if it proceeds from God, you cannot destroy it, and take care that you may not be found waging war against God.* Let the emperor, the electors, the princes, and the states of the empire, forward this reply to the pope."

The Archbishop.—"Retract at least some of your articles."

Luther.—"Provided it be not those which the council of Constance has condemned."

The Archbishop.—"Ah! I much fear that it is these very articles you shall be required to retract."

Luther.—"Rather than that would I sacrifice my body and my life, rather leave my arms and my legs to be cut away, than abandon the clear and truthful word of God."

The archbishop at last comprehended the character of Luther. "You may withdraw," said the prelate, in accents of sustained composure. "My lord," replied Luther, "be pleased to arrange matters, so that his Majesty may convey to me the safe-conduct necessary to secure my safe return." "I will apply for the requisite document," replied the worthy archbishop, and the parties separated.

In this manner were these negotiations brought to an end. The whole empire had placed its regard upon the actions of this man, and had, with the most ardent supplications and the most terrible threats, striven to alter his proceedings, but this man had neither moved to the right hand nor to the left. His refusal to submit to the sway of the iron rod in the hands of the pope served to secure the emancipation of the church, and to introduce a new era in the history of the world. The intervention of providence was most evident. We here look upon one of those grand scenes in that history over which is seen to hover and arise the majestic figure of Divinity itself.

Luther went out with Spalatin, who had joined the party during the visit we have described in the house of the archbishop. The counsellor of the elector of Saxony, John de Minkwitz, had fallen sick in Worms, and the two friends now bent their steps together towards the dwelling of their invalid countrymen. Luther solaced the mind of this weak brother with consolations of a most affectionate nature. "Farewell," said he afterwards on retiring, "I will quit Worms to-morrow."

Luther had not deceived himself. Before three hours had passed away, after his return to the hotel of the knights of Rhodes, the Chancellor de Eck, in company with the chancellor of the emperor and a notary, presented themselves in the apartments of the reformer.

The chancellor said—"Martin Luther, his imperial Majesty, the elector, princes, and states of the empire, having exhorted you to submission at different times, and in divers manners, but always in vain, the emperor, in virtue of his office of supporter and defender of the Catholic faith, has seen himself obliged to proceed. He, therefore, commands you to return home within the space of twenty-one days, and forbids you to disturb the public peace upon your journey, either by preaching or by the distribution of your writings."

Luther was well aware that this message formed the commencement of his condemnation. "It has come about, according to the pleasure of the Eternal," replied he with calmness. "The name of the Lord be blessed." Then he added, "Before all things, I very humbly, and from the bottom of my heart, return thanks to his Majesty, the electors, the princes, and the other states of the empire, for having listened to my statements with so much benevolent attention. I have desired, and only now desire, but one thing, the Reformation of the church, in consistency with the Holy Scriptures. I am ready to do everything, and to suffer everything, in order to submit myself humbly to the will of the emperor. Life or death, honour or oppro-

brium, all are alike to me ; I have but one reservation to insist upon—the preaching of the gospel ; for, says St Paul, *the word of God cannot be bound.*" The deputies then left the apartments of the doctor.

On the morning of Friday, the 26th of April, the friends of the reformer, and several noblemen, met together in the lodgings of Luther. These visitors were delighted at the remembrance of Christian constancy with which Luther had met the advances of Charles and the empire, and to recognise in him the traits of that celebrated portrait of antiquity :—

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.—(Horat. Od., lib. iii. 3.)

A wish was expressed to have a parting meeting, and to say adieu, perhaps for ever, to this intrepid monk. Luther, therefore, ordered a modest repast to be made ready. On this occasion he was doomed to take leave of his friends, and to escape to a distance from their association, under the threatening aspect of the heavens darkened with heavy clouds. He wished to pass this solemn moment in an address to God. He directed his thoughts to heaven, and pronounced a blessing on those who sat at table with him. Ten o'clock in the morning struck. At that warning sound Luther departed from the hotel in company of the friends who had escorted him to Worms. Twenty gentlemen on horseback surrounded the reformer's chariot. A great crowd of people convoyed this cavalcade beyond the walls of the city. The imperial herald Sturm joined the travelling party some time afterwards at Oppenheim, and the next day they arrived at Frankfort.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure of Luther—The Journey from Worms—Luther to Cranach—Luther to Charles V.—Luther in the House of the Abbot of Hirschfeld—The Curate of Isenach—Several Princes leave the Diet—Charles Signs the Condemnation of Luther—The Edict of Worms—Luther in the House of his Parents—Luther Attacked and Carried off—The Ways of God—La Warthourg—Luther Captive.

In this manner Luther escaped from within those walls of Worms which threatened to become the boundaries of his grave. His whole heart gave thanks to God, to whom he rendered all the glory. "The devil himself," said he, "guarded the citadel of the pope ; but Christ has made a large breach in its walls, and satan must confess that the Lord is more strong than he is."

"The meeting of the diet at Worms," said the pious Mathesius, the pupil and friend of Luther, "forms one of the most awful and glorious days exhibited on earth before the end of the world." The combat, which was undertaken in Worms, sent forth a challenge which was heard at a distance, and at the noise thus produced throughout every corner of christendom, even from the regions of the north on to the mountains of Switzerland, and as far as the cities of England, France, and Italy, many individuals were seen to lay hold on the powerful arms of the word of God.

Luther arrived at Frankfort on Saturday evening the 27th of April, and he took advantage of a moment's liberty on the following day, the first he had enjoyed for a long time, to write a note, replete at once with familiarity and energy, to his friend, the celebrated painter, Cranach, at Wittemberg. "Your obedient servant, dear

companion Lucas," says he. "I believed that his Majesty would assemble in Worms a company of fifty doctors, in order honestly to convince the erring monk. But not at all. Are these books composed by you? Yes. Are you willing to retract from their contents? No. Very well, you may go your ways then. Such is the history of the whole matter. O blinded Germans! . . . how have we acted like children, and allowed ourselves to be played upon and duped by Rome? . . . The Jews must for once sing out Aha! Aha! Aha! But Easter shall also come for us; and then we will sing, Allelujah!*" . . . We must be silent and suffer for a little while. *A little while, and ye shall not see me; and again a little while, and ye shall see me*, said Jesus Christ—(John, xvi. 16.) I hope this shall also be the case with me: Adieu. I recommend you all together to the Eternal. May he preserve in Christ your understanding and your faith against the attacks of the wolves and dragons of Rome. Amen."

After having written this somewhat egotistical letter, Luther, as time was precious, immediately set out for Friedberg, which is six leagues distant from Frankfort. The next day, Luther again gave himself over to meditation. He felt a desire to write yet once more to Charles V., anxious that his name (Luther's) should not be confounded with that of a guilty rebel. He explained with perspicuity, in his letter to the emperor, the nature of the obedience due to the king, as well as that which belongs to God, and described the limit where the one must stop to yield preference to the other. We are brought, in reading Luther, involuntarily to remember the following sentence of the greatest autocrat of modern times:—"My domination ends where that of the conscience begins."†

"God, who is the searcher of hearts, is my witness," said Luther, "that I am ready with earnestness to shew obedience to your Majesty, whether it be in honour or in dishonour, whether it be in life or in death, and excepting absolutely nothing in this respect, save the word of God, through which man lives, and moves, and has his being. In all the affairs of the present time my fidelity shall be immutable, for here to gain or to lose are things indifferent to salvation. But God is not willing, when he speaks of eternal good, that man should submit himself to man. Submission, with reference to the spiritual world, is an act of real worship, which can only be rendered to the Creator."

Luther also wrote, but in German, another letter addressed to the states of the empire. It was conceived in terms very similar to those made use of in the epistle he had immediately before written to the emperor. He therein gave an account of all that had passed in Worms. This letter was, moreover, copied off several times and spread abroad in the different districts of Germany. "Everywhere," says Oechelens, "it excited the indignation of the people against the emperor and against the higher ranks of the clergy."

* Es müssen die Juden einmal singen, Io, Io, Io! . . . (L. Ep. i., p. 589.) These cries of joy, uttered by the Jews at the time of the crucifixion, represent the songs of triumph used by the partisans of Popery, on occasion of the catastrophe which was about to happen to Luther; but the reformer discovers in the future the allelujahs of deliverance.

† Napoleon to the Protestant deputa-

tation after his accession to the empire.

Early the next morning Luther wrote a note to Spalatin, in which he enclosed the two former productions of the previous evening; he then sent back to Worms the herald Sturm, now converted to the doctrine of the gospel, and embracing this rescued friend, the reformer departed in haste for Grunberg.

On Tuesday he was still two leagues distant from Hirschfeld, when he met with the chancellor of the prince-abbot of that city, who came to offer Luther a kind welcome. Very soon afterwards a troop of cavalry appeared, headed by the abbot in person. This ecclesiastical noble sprang from his horse, while Luther descended from his carriage, and the prince and the reformer cordially embraced each other. They then commenced their entrance into Hirschfeld, at whose city gates the senate was ready to receive the procession. The princes of the church were thus seen hastening to salute a monk cursed by the pope, at the sametime that the leaders of the people bowed their heads before a man put under an interdict by the emperor.

"At five o'clock in the morning we will be in the church," said the prince, when he rose at evening from the table at which he had invited the reformer to join him. He wished Luther to take his rest in his own (the prince's) bed. The next day Luther preached before the prince-abbot and his numerous retinue.

In the evening, Luther arrived at Isenach, the place of his childhood. All his friends still resident in that city crowded around his person and beseeched him to preach. In conformity with this request, the same individuals in a body conducted Luther the next day into the sanctuary. At this moment the curate of the place appeared, accompanied by a notary and the requisite number of witnesses. The local priest advanced in a state of great emotion, trembling between the fear of losing his living and that of opposing the powerful man then placed before him. "I protest against the liberty you are about to take," said at last the curate in an embarrassed tone. Luther ascended the pulpit, and immediately that voice which, twenty-three years previous to this date, had been heard singing in the streets of the same city, as a means whereby to procure daily bread, now gave utterance, under the vaults of the ancient church, to those accents which had everywhere begun to shake the world. After the sermon, the confused curate walked silently towards Luther. The notary had prepared the deed, the witnesses had signed it, and all was regularly done to ensure the safety of the priest's living. "Excuse what I have done," said he humbly to the doctor, "I have been actuated by a fear of the tyrants who now oppress the church."

There was, indeed, much cause to be afraid, for matters had taken a serious turn at Worms, where Aleander seemed to reign with uncontrolled power. "Exile is the single lot of Luther for the future," wrote Frederick, to his brother, Duke John. "Nothing can save him. If God permits that I should return to my home, I will have incredible things to relate to you. It is not only Anna and Caiaphas, but also Pilate and Herod, who are united against him." Frederick was little anxious to remain longer in the city of Worms, and, therefore, hastened his departure. The elector-palatine followed this example, and the elector-archbishop of Cologne refrained from attending the meetings of the diet. Several princes of lesser

rank also imitated the conduct we have noticed. Judging it impossible to turn aside the blow which was about to be inflicted, these individuals preferred, perhaps wrongfully, to quit their present situation. The Spaniards, the Italians, and those German princes who came from the districts farthest beyond the mountains, remained alone in the diet.

The field was thus left open, and Aleander gained a decided victory. He presented to Charles the copy of an edict destined to serve as the model of a decree to be passed by the diet against the person of Luther. The work of the nuncio gave satisfaction to the irritated emperor. He summoned a meeting of the diet to be held in his own apartments, wherein he ordered the edict drawn out by Aleander to be read, of which all those who were present, Pallavicini asserts, signified their approbation.

On the morrow, the day of a grand feast, the emperor was seated in the temple, surrounded by the lords of his court. The religious ceremonies were brought to a conclusion, and a multitude of people filled the sanctuary, when Aleander, clothed in all the ornaments of his dignified office, approached the seat of Charles V.* He held in his hand two copies of the edict against Luther—the one written in Latin the other in German, and the nuncio bending himself before his imperial Majesty, he prayed Charles to affix his signature and the seal of the empire to these documents. It was at the moment when the sacrifice was about to be offered, wherein the sweet odour of the incense filled the temple, and when the harmony of psalmody was ringing under its vaults, as it may be said, in presence of the Divinity, that the destruction of the enemy of Rome was doomed to be signed. The emperor, assuming an air of gracious acquiescence, took hold of the pen and signed the deed. Aleander went forth crowned with victory. He immediately sent the decrees to the printing-house, and very speedily they were distributed throughout all the districts of christendom. This fruit of the labours of Rome had cost much pain to Popery! Pallavicini himself informs us, that this edict, although dated on the 8th of May, was signed at an after period; for it had been antedated, in order to make it be believed that it was completed at the time when the full complement of the members of the diet were still present in regular assembly.

"We, Charles V.," said the emperor, (then follows his various titles,) "to all the electors, princes, prelates, and others to whom it may concern—

"The Almighty having selected us to defend the holy faith, in more kingdoms and with more power than has ever been intrusted to the care of any of our predecessors, we propose to employ all our forces to prevent a stain being brought upon our holy empire by the scandal of certain heresi s.

"The Augustine monk, Martin Luther, although warned and exhorted by us, has thrown himself like a madman upon the holy church, and has attempted to smother it by the publication of books full of blasphemy. He has defiled in a shameful manner the indestructible law of holy marriage; he has endeavoured to excite the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the priests, and overthrow—

* Cum Caesar in templo adesse

processit illi obviam Aleander. (Pallavi-

cini, i., p. 122.)

ing all obedience, he has not ceased to excite to deeds of revolt, division, and war, to murder, robbery, and conflagration, and to labour to ruin completely the faith of Christians. . . . In a word, and to pass over in silence many other malicious attempts, this being, who is not a man, but satan himself under the form of a man, and clothed in the habits of a monk, has gathered together, in a revolting heap, the whole mass of the most guilty heresies known in the times that are passed, and has even added from himself new enormities of a similar kind.

"We have, therefore, driven from our presence this same Luther, whom every pious and sensible man regards as a fool, or as one possessed with a devil, and we expect that, after the expiry of his safe-conduct, the most efficacious means shall be adopted to stop the course of this furious madman.

"Wherefore it is that, under pain of incurring the chastisements due to the crime of high treason, we forbid you to harbour the aforesaid Luther so soon as the fatal term shall have expired, to conceal, support, or to lend him, either by word or deed, publicly or privately, any description of succour. We farther enjoin you to seize him, or cause him to be seized, wherever you may meet with or hear of him, to bring him to us, or to detain him in full security until we shall have informed in what manner you must act in respect to his person, and that you may receive the recompense due to so holy a deed. With regard to his adherents, you shall seize them, discourage them, and confiscate their property.

"With regard to his writings, if the most wholesome food itself becomes the horror of every man so soon as it is mixed with a drop of poison, how much more horrible are such books in which are found a mortal venom for the soul, and how much the more ought they to be, not only rejected, but also annihilated! You shall, therefore, burn them, or have them entirely destroyed in some other manner.

"For the rest, poets, printers, painters, or sellers or buyers of placards, writings, or paintings, against the pope or the church, you shall seize upon their persons and their goods, and shall treat them according to your own good pleasure.

"And should any one, whatever be his rank, dare to act in contradiction with the decree of our imperial Majesty, we command that he shall be banished from the empire.

"Let every one behave in accordance with the requirements of these presents."

Such was the nature of the edict which was signed in the cathedral of Worms. It was of greater force than a bull of Rome, which, although published in Italy, could not be executed in Germany. The emperor himself had spoken, and the diet had ratified this decree. All the partisans of Rome sent forth a shout of triumph. "This is the close of the tragedy!" cried they. "In my mind," said a Spaniard attached to the court of Charles, Alphonzo Valdez, "I am persuaded it is not the end, but the beginning." Valdez rightly perceived that the movement was in the church, among the people, and belonging to the age, so that, although Luther should fall, his cause would not fall with him. But not a single person could conceal from himself the imminent, nay, it may be said, inevitable danger to which the reformer was now exposed; and the vast multitude of superstitious beings were

seized with fits of horror at the thought of that incarnate satan, clothed in a monk's habit, which the emperor had pointed out to the nation.

The man against whom the powerful of the earth had in this manner forged the thunder-bolts of their vengeance, was now about to leave the church at Isenach, and to prepare himself for bidding adieu to some of his most endeared friends. He did not choose to continue his route through Gotha and Erfurt, but to pass by way of Mora, from which town his father originally came, and therein to visit, once more, his aged grandmother, who died four months after this event, as well as to enjoy another opportunity of personal communication with his uncle, Henry Luther, and some other near relatives. Schurff, Jonas, and Suaven, parted, to proceed in the direct course towards Wittemberg; while Luther got into his carriage, accompanied by Amsdorff, who remained as his travelling companion, and soon entered the enclosures of the forest of Thuringia.

He arrived the same evening at the village of his fathers. The poor old peasant woman now enclosed in her fond embrace that grandson who was on his return from an immediate interview with the Emperor Charles, and who was engaged in controversy with Pope Leo X. Luther passed the next day with the relations of his family; happy, after the tumult in Worms, in the gratification of such tranquil delight. The day after the one we have here noticed, Luther proceeded on his journey along with Amsdorff and his brother James. It was in these solitary tracts that the fate of the reformer was about to be decided. They had passed through the wood of Thuringia, and were prosecuting their route in the direction of Wallershausen. As the carriage ran over an unfrequented road, close to the church abandoned by Glisbach, and at a short distance from the castle of Altenstein, a sudden noise was heard, when instantly five horsemen, with masks over their faces, and completely armed, rushed upon the travellers. The brother, James, so soon as he beheld the approach of the assailants, leapt from the chariot and made his escape at full speed, without uttering a sentence.* The postillion shewed an inclination to defend himself. "Stop," cried one of the concealed assailants to the post-boy, and with a blow struck him to the ground. A second man, masked in the manner we have described, laid hold on Amsdorff and kept him at a distance. At the same time the other three horsemen seized upon Luther, but earnestly refrained from speaking a word. They threw over his shoulders a horseman's cloak, and lifted him on to the back of a spare horse they had in reserve for this purpose. Then the two former strangers left respectively Amsdorff and the postillion, when all the five resumed their places on horseback. The hat of one fell as he mounted, but no time was wasted in its recovery; for, in an instant, they disappeared with their prisoner amidst the thickets of the forest. They, in the first place, hastened on in the direction of Broderode; but, soon afterwards, they retraced their steps by another path; and without leaving the confines of the forest, they therein made in every sense turnings and returnings, in order to deceive the search of any one who might follow on their track.

Luther, little accustomed to ride on horseback, was very soon over-

* *Ad carnem meam trans sylvam profectus.* (L. Ep. ii., p. 7.)

come with fatigue. He was, therefore, permitted to dismount for a few seconds, and rested himself close to a beech tree, taking, at same time, a drink of water from a neighbouring spring, which still bears the name of Luther's Spring. His brother James still continued his flight, until, in the evening, he reached the town of Wallerhausen. The postillion, in a state of alarm, leaped into the chariot wherein Amsdorff had also remounted, and giving the whip to the horses, they set off from the fatal spot at a rapid pace, and carried, at a quick rate, the friend of Luther on to the city of Wittemberg. Thus, at Wallerhausen, at Wittemberg, and at every stage of the route, information was given of the seizure made upon Luther. - These news, which caused joy to some, impressed the greater number of hearers with feelings of astonishment and indignation. Very soon a shout of lamentation was heard to resound in every quarter of the provinces of Germany—"Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies."

After the violent combat which Luther had been constrained to endure, God was willing to conduct him into a place of rest and peace. After having elevated him on the famed theatre at Worms, where all the powers of the reformer's soul had been so nobly exalted, he prepared for him the obscure and humiliating retreat of a prison. He draws forth from the recesses of obscurity the most profound, these weak instruments with which he proposes to accomplish the performance of great things; and afterwards, when he has allowed these agents to shine for a time with eminent lustre upon a gorgeous scene he hurries them back again to the solitudes of a still profounder obscurity. The Reformation was destined to complete its purposes by other means than that of violent struggles or pompous obedience to a lordly summons. It is not in this manner the heaven penetrates within the mass of the people; the Spirit of God requires a more peaceful introduction. The man who constantly and unmercifully pursued the champions of Rome must for a while be withdrawn from the sight of the world. That grand individuality must be obscured, in order that the revolution which was about to gain its end should not bear the impress of an individual. Man must disappear from the work, so that God may therein be seen alone, moving by his Spirit over that abyss wherein was engulfed before the darkness of the middle ages, and saying, *Let there be light*, in order that it may be answered, *And the light was*.

Night having at last approached, and it being thus impossible for any one to follow the steps of Luther's guardians, these protectors adopted a new route. It was close upon eleven o'clock at night when they arrived at the foot of a mountain, up whose ascent the horses walked at a slow pace. On the top of this hill an old fortress was placed, surrounded on every side, save that by which it was approached, with the black woods which cover the mountains of Thuringia.

It was into this elevated and isolated castle, called La Wartburg, wherein the landgraves of old were wont to hide themselves, that Luther was now conducted. The bolts were drawn, the bars of iron fell down, the gates were opened, and the reformer passed the threshold, when these folding gates were again locked behind him. He dismounted from his horse within the confines of a court. One of the horsemen, Burkard de Hund, lord of Allenstein, withdrew, and another, John de Berlepsch, the provost of Wartburg, conducted

Luther into a chamber fitted to be his prison, and wherein was hanging the apparel of a knight, including his sword. The three other horsemen who waited upon the provost took off the doctor's ecclesiastical garment, and dressed him anew in an equestrian costume, which had been prepared for his use, commanding him, at same time, to allow the hair of his head and his beard to grow at length, so that no one in the castle should ever be able to discover who he was. The people in the fortress of Wartburg were doomed to know the prisoner only under the name of Sir George. Luther, in the clothing which had been forced upon him, had, in fact, some difficulty in recognising himself. At last, however, he was left alone, and his mind had leisure to reflect, by turns, upon the marvellous things which had recently happened at Worms, upon the uncertain future which awaited his progress, and upon his new and singular retreat. From the narrow windows of his keep he beheld the dark, solitary, and immense forest which surrounded his dwelling. "Here it was," says the biographer and friend of Luther, Mathesius, "that the doctor dwelt, like St Paul in his prison at Rome."

Frederick of Thun, Philip Feilitsch, and Spalatin, had not concealed from Luther, in a private conversation they had held with him at Worms, in conformity with the orders of the elector, that his liberty must be sacrificed to appease the anger of Charles and the pope. Nevertheless his seizure was encompassed with so much mystery, that Frederick himself was, for a long time, kept in ignorance of the place in which Luther was confined. The mourning of the friends of the Reformation was prolonged. The spring-time passed away, summer, autumn, and winter succeeded; the sun accomplished his yearly course, and the walls of La Wartburg still enclosed their saddened prisoner. The truth had been struck with an interdict by the diet, and its defender, shut up within the walls of a strong castle, had disappeared from the theatre of the world without a single person knowing what had in reality become of him. Aleander triumphed, and the Reformation appeared lost, . . . but God reigned and reigns, and the blow that seemed destined to annihilate the cause of the gospel shall only be found to serve as the means of saving its courageous minister, and of extending to a greater distance the light of the faith.

Let us now leave Luther captive in Germany, upon the heights of La Wartburg, and let us consider what God, at that time, did within the territories of the other countries belonging to christendom.

BOOK VIII.

THE SWISS.—1484-1522.

CHAPTER I.

Movement in Switzerland—Source of the Reformation—Democratic Character—Foreign Service—Morality—La Teckenburg—A Hut of the Alps—A Family of Shepherds.

AT the moment in which the decree of the diet of Worms appeared, a movement, constantly gathering strength, began to agitate the peaceful valleys of Switzerland. To the cry which was heard resounding over the plains of Upper and Lower Saxony there were echoed back, from the bosom of the Helvetic mountains, the energetic

responses of the shepherds and citizens of their warlike cities. The partisans of Rome, seized with terror, exclaimed that a vast and awful conspiracy had broken out everywhere within the church and against the church. The friends of the gospel, on the other hand, elated with joy, declared that, as in the spring-time the breath of life is seen to blow from the shores of the sea, even up to the very summit of the mountains, even so the Spirit of God now dissolved throughout the provinces of christendom the ice frozen over their surface during the continuance of a long winter, and clothed with verdure and flowers the face of the earth, alike upon the lowest plains and rocks the most arid and precipitous.

It was not the country of Germany which communicated the light of the truth to Switzerland, or Switzerland to France, or France to England; all these countries received that light from God, so that it was not one part of the world which transmitted its rays to another, but the same bursting globe communicated its sparks simultaneously to the whole earth. Raised infinitely above the condition of men, Christ, the eastern star on high, was, at the eve of the Reformation, as well as that of the establishment of Christianity, the divine fire whence emanated the life of the world. One single and same doctrine was at once established in the sixteenth century, in the homes and the temples of people the most diverse and estranged from each other: it was the same Spirit which everywhere produced the same faith.

The Reformation in Germany and the like event in Switzerland clearly demonstrate this fact. Zwingli did not enter into communication with Luther. There was, without doubt, a bond of agreement between these two men, but it must be sought for beyond the confines of the earth. He who from the heavens conveyed the truth to Luther also bestowed the same gift on Zwingli. They held their communication through God. "I commenced to preach the gospel," said Zwingli, "in the year of grace 1516, that is to say, at a time when the name of Luther had not yet been heard of in our districts. It was not from Luther I learned the doctrine of Christ, but from the word of God. If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I do, and that is all."*

But if the divers reformations exhibit the same spirit whence all of them had originally emanated, like one vast unity, they received, likewise, certain peculiar traits from the diverse people among whom their work was completed.

We have already given a sketch of the condition in which Switzerland was found at the period of the Reformation. We will, therefore, only add a few words here to what we formerly advanced. In Germany, the monarchical principle prevailed, while in Switzerland the ruling principle was democratic. In Germany, the Reformation had to struggle with the will of princes, but in Switzerland with the will of the people. An assembly of men, more easily persuaded than a single person, also assumes more prompt decisions. The victory over Popery, which cost the expenditure of many years

* 1516, eo scilicet tempore, quum Lutheri nomen in nostris regionibus inauditum adhuc erat . . . doctrinam Christi non a Luthero, sed ex verbo Dei didici. (Zwinglii Opera, curant. Schulero et Schulthesio, Turici, 1829, vol. i. p. 273.)

beyond the Rhine, had only to spend on the same object on this side of that river a few months or days.

In Germany, the person of Luther stood forth in majestic grandeur in the midst of the Saxon populations; he seemed the single champion who attacked the Roman colossus; and whenever the combat was seen in active operation, we discover at a distance his imposing stature foremost on the field of battle. Luther was like the monarch of the revolution then in earnest progress. In Switzerland the struggle was engaged in at once in several cantons. There was there a confederation of reformers, their number creating in us sentiments of wonder. It is undoubtedly true that one head distinguished itself above the rest, but no one offered to take the command. It was a republican magistracy, in whose body every member was represented by its own original physiognomy, and exerted many distinct influences. We behold the features of Wittenbach, Zwingli, Capito, Haller, *Æcolampade*, as well as of Oswald Myconius, Leon Juda, Farel, Calvin, all striving in the districts of Glaris, Basil, Zurich, Berne, Neufchatel, Geneva, Lucerne, Schaffouse, Appenzel, St Gall, and in the Grisons. In the Reformation of Germany there was only discernible one scene, alike and level as the country. But in Switzerland the Reformation was divided, in the same manner as Switzerland itself is divided by her thousand hills. Every valley, we may say, had its special revival, and every height of the Alps its peculiar light.

A mournful epoch had commenced in the history of the Swiss nation since their exploits against the dukes of Burgundy. Europe, which had learned to appreciate the strength of Swiss arms, had brought them away from the fastnesses of their own mountains, and had robbed them of their independence, by rendering them the dispensers, on the field of battle, of the fate of European states. The hands of the Swiss brandished a sword against the breast of the Swiss on the plains of Italy and France, and the intrigues of the foreigner filled with confusion and envy those high valleys of the Alps, so long the theatre of simplicity and peace. Attracted by the glitter of gold, sons, labourers, and men-servants, quitted by stealth the huts of the Alpine pasture-ground, in order to join their associates on the banks of the Rhone or the Po. The Helvetic unity was torn asunder by the slow steps of the mules which carried loads of gold into the recesses of the mountains. The Reformation, for in Switzerland also it was partly political, proposed to re-establish the ancient unity and virtue of the various cantons. Her first proclamation was addressed to the Swiss with the view of encouraging them to break in pieces the perfidious nets of the foreigners, and to cling to each other, in a steadfast union, at the foot of the cross. But this generous call was not listened to; and Rome, accustomed to purchase in these valleys the blood which she shed in order to increase her own authority, quickly manifested her sore displeasure at the attempt. She, therefore, excited one body against another of the Swiss inhabitants, and destroyed the amicable form of the nation.

The Swiss stood much in need of a Reformation. There was, it is true, in the character of the Helvetians, a simplicity and good nature which the refined Italians considered ridiculous; but the simple

people we refer to were understood to transgress, more habitually than any others, the laws of chastity. Astrologers have attributed this evil to the influence of the stars; philosophers, to the strength of the temper of these hardy people; and moralists, to the principles of the Swiss nation, which reckoned cunning, dishonesty, and calumny, as sins much more heinous than that of impurity. Marriage was forbidden among the priests, but it would have been difficult to find one who lived in a state of actual celibacy. These individuals were required to conduct themselves, not chastely, but prudently. This was one of the first disorders against which the Reformation directed her attacks. It is, therefore, time to describe the commencement of that new day in the valleys of the Alps.

About the middle of the eleventh century, two solitary wanderers approached on their way from St Gall towards the mountains which run to the south of that ancient monastery, and arrived within the confines of a desert valley, extending to nearly ten leagues in length, (La Tockenburg.) On the north, the high mountains of Sentis, the Sommerigkopf, and the Old Man, separate this valley from the canton of Appenzel; on the south, Kuhfirsten, with its seven heads, intervenes between the valley and the Wallenses, Sargans, and the Grisons, while towards the east the valley opens up to the rays of the rising sun, and discloses a magnificent prospect of the Alps of the Tyrol. The two solitary wanderers arrived close to the source of a small river, the Thur, and on this position raised a couple of huts. By degrees the valley became populated, and, on the most elevated quarter, at 2,010 feet above lake Zurich, there was constructed, around a church, a village called *Wildhaus* or the *Wild-house*, from which there now depend two hamlets, Lisighaus, or the house of Elizabeth, and Schönenboden. The fruits of the earth no longer flourish upon these heights. A greensward of alpine freshness covers the whole valley, and extends far up over the sides of the mountains, above which masses of enormous rocks shoot up towards heaven in savage grandeur.

At a quarter of a league distant from the church, near to Lisighaus, on the margin of a foot-path which leads through the pasture-grounds to the other side of the river, stands at this moment an isolated house. Tradition reports that the wood necessary for the construction of this house was cut down of old on the very spot where the building is now placed.* Everything indicates the remote date of the construction of this cottage. The walls are thin, the windows formed of small round panes of glass, and the roof is composed of shingles, laid over with stones, to prevent the wind from carrying it away. Before the door spurts forth a limpid spring.

In this house lived, towards the end of the fifteenth century, a man named Zwingli, the leader or bailiff of the commonalty. The family of the Zwingles or Zwingli was ancient, and held in great esteem among the inhabitants of these mountains.† Bartholomew, the

* Schuler's Zwingli's Bildungs Gesch., p. 290. † Diss Geschichte der Zwingli's, was in guter Achtung dieser Landen, als ein gut alt ehrlich Geschlecht. (H. Bullinger's Hist. Beschreibung der Eid. Geschichten.) These precious works were only to be found in M.S. in 1837. I am indebted for the communication of these to the kindness of M. J. G. Hess. I have preserved in my quotation the orthography of the days of the M.S. The friends of history have from that time taken away other impressions.

brother of the bailiff, in the first place made curate of the parish, and afterwards, in 1487, dean of Wesen, enjoyed also in the country a certain celebrity. The wife of the leader of Wildhaus, Marguerite Meili, whose brother, John, was at an after period the abbot of the convent of Fischingen in Thurgovia, had already given birth to two sons, Heini and Klaus, when, on the first day of the year 1484, seven weeks after the birth of Luther, a third son was born in this solitary hut, called Ulric.* Five other sons, John, Wolfgang, Bartholomew, James, Andrew, and one daughter, Anna, were afterwards added to the number of this Alpine family. Not a single individual in the country was more revered than the bailiff Zwingle. His character, his public trust, and his numerous children, constituted him the patriarch of these mountains. He was a shepherd as well as his sons. The moment that the month of May appeared to cheer the aspect of the skies, the father and his children departed to take possession of the pasture-grounds in company with their flocks, ascending the mountains gradually from station to station, and in their progress reaching about the end of July the most elevated summits of the Alps. They then began to descend in the same progressive manner in the direction of the valley, and the whole inhabitants of Wildhaus entered once more, in autumn, the retreats of their humble dwellings. Often, during the days of summer, the young people who were appointed to remain within the enclosures of these habitations, anxious to breathe the air of the mountains, were wont to set out in troops towards the shepherd's huts, and as they went, they joined the melody of their voices to that of their rustic instruments, for all were musicians in this primitive community. On their approach towards these huts, the shepherds saluted them at a distance with a flourish from their horns and with songs, and then set out before them a collation of prepared milk, at the conclusion of which repast, the happy assembly made a variety of circuits, and afterwards redescended in the direction of the valley, marching to the sound of the bagpipe. Ulric, in his youth, no doubt frequently joined in these innocent sports. He grew in stature at the foot of those rocks which seemed fitted to last for ever, and whose summits reached the clouds. "I have often thought," said one of his friends, "that, drawn near to heaven on the tops of these sublime heights, he there acquired heavenly and divine thoughts."

The winter evenings were long in the district where stood the humble dwellings of Wildhaus. And during that protracted season of leisure the young Ulric was accustomed to listen at the fire-side of his father's house to the conversations of the bailiff and the elders of their community. He heard descriptions given of the heavy yoke under which the inhabitants of the valley were formerly obliged to groan. His heart, as well as that of the old men around him, beat with joy at the thought of the independence Tockenburg had gained, and which the alliance with the Swiss had been the means of securing. The love of his country was thus kindled in his bosom, and Switzerland became dear to his affections, so that if any one used expressions unfavourable to the character of his confederates, the child immediately coloured with emotion, and defended their cause with a vehemence

* *Quadragesimum octavum agimus*, wrote Zwingle to Vadian on the 17th Sept. 1531.

ment spirit. Often, too, was the same youth seen, in the course of these long winter nights, seated at the feet of his pious grandmother, his eyes steadfastly fixed upon her countenance, while he listened to her stories from the Bible, and her devout legends, the substance of which he treasured with avidity within the inmost recesses of his heart.

CHAPTER II.

The Young Ulric—Ulric at Wesen and at Basil—At Berne—The Convent of the Dominicans—Jetzer—The Apparitions—The Passion of the Lay Brother—The Imposture—Discovery and Punishment—Zwingli at Vienna—At Basil—Music at Basil—Wittenbach Teaches the Gospel—Leo Juda—The Curate of Glaris.

The worthy bailiff had great pleasure in witnessing the happy dispositions of his son. He soon perceived that Ulric was capable of accomplishing other tasks beyond the guardianship of his flocks upon Mount Sentis or the harmonious repetition of the shepherd's homeward call. One day he took his boy by the hand and led him away in the direction of Wesen. He crossed the verdant brow of the Ammon, avoiding the wild and bold rocks which surround the lake of Wallenstadt, and, upon reaching the burgh, he entered the house of his brother, the dean, presenting to his notice the young mountaineer, whom he intrusted to the care of the priest, in order that an examination might be instituted regarding the mental capacities of young Ulric.* The most distinguishing feature of the youth's character was a natural horror at falsehood, and a great love of the truth. He tells himself how, one day when he began to reflect, the thought occurred to him that a lie ought to be punished more severely than even an act of robbery; "for," adds he, "truth is the mother of every virtue." The dean very soon became attached to his nephew as to an only son, and, charmed with the vivacity of his intellectual powers, he confided his instruction to the direction of a schoolmaster, who in a short time communicated to his pupil all the knowledge he was himself possessed of. When he had reached his tenth year, the young Ulric displayed symptoms of a superior mind, and his father and uncle consequently resolved to send him to Basil.

When the child of Tockenburg arrived within the walls of this celebrated city, animated with that rectitude, that singleness of heart, which he seemed to have imbibed with the pure air of his mountain home, but which, in fact, proceeded from a higher source, a world altogether new was presented to his view. The renown of the famous council of Basil, the university founded in that city in 1460 by Pius II., the printing-presses which thus brought to light the brilliant works of antiquity, and which spread over the world the first-fruits of the revival of letters, and the residence of the most distinguished men—of the Wessels, the Wittenbachs, and particularly of the prince of learned men, of the sun of the schools, Erasmus—all contributed to render Basil, at the period of the Reformation, one of the grand repositories of light in the east.

Ulric became a student in the college of St Theodore. In this place, a man of an affectionate and mild disposition, at that time rare

**Tenerrimum ad huc ad fratrem sacrificum adduxit, ut ingenii ejus periculum faceret. (Melch. Ad. Vit. Zw. p. 25.)*

among these private tutors, Gregory Binzli, was one of the masters. The young Zwingle made rapid progress in his studies. Learned discussions, then in fashion among the teachers of the university, had also engaged the attention of the very boys occupied with the sciences of the schools. Ulric took a part in these debates, and exercised his growing strength against the capacities of other boys belonging to different institutions, wherein he was always a conqueror, in those struggles which seemed the prelude to the more ardent efforts which were destined to overthrow in Switzerland the authority of popedom.* These successes filled the hearts of rivals, of a more advanced age, with jealousy against the young Zwingle. Very soon the school at Basil was surpassed by him, like his former scene of instruction at Wesen.

A distinguished scholar, Lupulus, had just opened at Berne the first classical school instituted in Switzerland. The bailiff of Wildhaus and the curate of Wesen mutually resolved to send their child to this promising seminary. And Zwingle quitted, in the year 1497, the cheerful plains of Basil, on his return to those high lands in the Alps, where he had passed the days of infancy, and whose snowy heads he afterwards beheld from Berne glistening in the beams of the sun. Lupulus, a distinguished poet, introduced his pupil into the sanctuary of classic learning—a retreat then unknown, and whose threshold had only been passed by a few ambitious itinerants. The young neophyte inhaled with ardour those perfumes of antiquity. His mind was thereby expanded, his style assumed a settled form, and he became a poet.

Among the convents of Berne, that of the Dominicans was specially noted. The monks of this establishment were engaged in a serious quarrel with the brethren of the Franciscans. The latter body maintained the truth of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, which the former denied. Wherever they went, before the rich altars which adorned their church, and among the twelve columns which supported its vaults, the Dominicans cherished with ardour the thought of humbling their rivals. These monks had had occasion to observe the beautiful voice possessed by Zwingle, while they had received flattering accounts of his precocious talents, and conceiving that he might be qualified to afford additional lustre to their order, they exerted all their efforts to attract his notice, and invited him to reside within their monastery until the period when he might be able to assume the character of a novice. The whole future life of Zwingle was thus exposed to hazard. The bailiff of Wildhaus having heard of the allurements employed by the Dominicans, trembled for the safety of his son's innocence, and commanded him instantly to leave Berne. Zwingle in this manner escaped those monastic troubles into which Luther willingly precipitated himself. The events which afterwards took place are well calculated to convince us of the imminent danger to which Zwingle was, at the time we speak of, exposed.

In the year 1507 a great commotion was experienced in the city of Berne. A young man from Zurzach, called John Jetzer, having presented himself one day at the entrance of this same convent of the Dominicans, had been repelled from the door. The poor boy, in a

* In disputationibus, quæ pro more tum erant inter pueros usitate, victoriam semper reportavit. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

state of distress, had returned to renew his intercessions for admittance, and, holding in his hand fifty-three florins and some pieces of silk, he had said—"This is all that I possess, take my property, and receive me into your order." He was then admitted, on the 6th of January, in the capacity of a lay brother. But, from the first night of his entrance, a singular noise, which pervaded the silence of his cell, filled his mind with terror. He thereupon escaped, and sought for refuge in the convent of the Carthusians, from which he was sent back to the monastery of the Dominicans.

The following night, the eve of the feast of St Mathias, the young stranger was again awakened by the stifled sounds of deep sighs, and, opening his eyes, he beheld at his bed-side a tall white phantom. "I am," said a sepulchral voice, "a soul escaped from the flames of purgatory." The lay brother tremblingly replied—"May God protect you, I can do nothing in your case." Then the spirit advanced towards the person of the poor brother, and, seizing him by the throat, indignantly reproached him for his present refusal. Jetzer, full of alarm, cried out—"What, then, can I do to save you?" "Scourge yourself until the blood come, during the continuance of eight hours, and remain prostrate upon the ground in the chapel of St John." Such was the reply of the spirit, who then disappeared. The lay brother told the story of this apparition in confidence to his confessor, the preacher of the convent, and, in obedience to his recommendation, submitted himself to the completion of the required discipline. Very speedily the report was spread throughout the city that a soul had presented itself to the Dominicans in order to secure its deliverance from purgatory. The convent of the Franciscans was now abandoned, and every person hastened to the church wherein might be seen the holy man lying prostrate on the ground. The soul from purgatory had declared that it would reappear again in eight days. And, on the night indicated, it, in fact, once more visited the convent, accompanied by two other spirits, who continued to torment the former, and gave utterance to the most hideous groans. "Scott," said the first spirit, "Scott, the inventor of the doctrine of the Franciscans respecting the immaculate conception of the Virgin, is among those who suffer with me such vivid torture." At the report of this intelligence, very quickly diffused throughout the districts of Berne, the partisans of the Franciscans were still more affrightened. But the soul, when it a second time disappeared, announced a visitation from the Virgin herself. Consequently, on the day appointed, the astonished brother beheld Mary in presence within the walls of his cell. He could not believe the testimony of his eyes. She approached the brother with a benevolent expression, putting into his possession three tears shed by Jesus, three drops of his blood, a crucifix, and a letter addressed to Pope Julius II., "who," said she, "was the man chosen by God to abolish the feast of her pretended immaculate conception." Then coming closer up to the bed-side on which the brother lay, she declared to him that a manifestation of great grace was about to be conferred on him, and pierced his hand through with a nail. The lay brother screamed out in agony, but Mary bound up his hand in a piece of linen, which her Son, she said, had worn at the time of their flight into Egypt. This wound, however, was not sufficient; for, in order that the glory of the Dominicans should equal that of the Franciscans,

Jetzer was doomed to bear the five wounds inflicted upon Christ and upon St Francis, in his hands, feet, and side. The four other wounds were, therefore, imposed, and immediately afterwards, when he had received a drink, the brother was conveyed into a hall adorned with tapestry, representing the passion of our Lord, where he passed many a long day exposed to the sufferings of fasting, and where very soon his imagination became deranged. Then, from time to time, the doors of this hall were opened to the visits of the people, who came in crowds to contemplate, with devout astonishment, this brother penetrated with the five sores, extending his arms, inclining his head, and imitating by his positions and gestures the crucifixion of our Lord. At certain times he foamed, and appeared ready to give up the ghost. "He endures the cross of Christ," were the words murmured by the assembled throng, while the multitude, eager to witness miracles, continued uninterruptedly to encumber the passages of the convent. Many men, deserving peculiar consideration, such as Lupulus himself, the master of Zwingle, were overcome with fear, while the Dominicans, from the elevation of their pulpits, proclaimed the glory with which God had covered their order.

This order had for several years experienced the necessity of humbling that of the Franciscans, and of augmenting, by means of miracles, the respect and liberality of the people. Berne had been chosen as the theatre of these operations, "a simple, rustic, and ignorant city," as affirmed by the sub-prior of Berne to the chapter held at Wimpfen on the Neckar. The prior, sub-prior, preacher, and purveyor of the convent, were intrusted with the performance of the principal characters, but they were unable to support their parts on to the end of the play. A new apparition of Mary having taken place, Jetzer recognised the voice of his confessor, and, giving vent to his persuasions in an audible voice, Mary quickly disappeared. She, however, once more returned with the purpose of censuring this act of the incredulous brother. "This time it is the prior!" exclaimed Jetzer, rushing forward with a knife in his hand. The saint threw a pewter plate at the head of the poor brother and again vanished from his sight.

Suddenly alarmed at the discovery which Jetzer had just made, the Dominicans sought to rid themselves of his interference by administering to him a dose of poison. He suspected their designs, and, having accomplished his escape, he published abroad the particulars of this imposture. Still the Dominicans put a bold face on the matter, and despatched certain deputies to Rome. The pope issued instructions to his legate in Switzerland, and the bishops of Lausanne, and Sion, to take cognizance of the affair. The four Dominicans we have named were convicted and condemned to be burned alive, in furtherance of which sentence they were consumed by fire, on the 1st of May 1509, in the view of more than thirty thousand spectators. This transaction gained celebrity in every quarter of Europe, and, by uncovering one of the greatest plagues of the church, it became an early harbinger to the Reformation.*

Such were the men out of whose hands the young Zwingle happily

* Wirz, *Helvetische Kirchen Gesch.* vol. iii. p. 337. *Anshelms Cronik*, iii. and iv. No event concerning the period of the Reformation has given rise to so many works. See *Haller's Biblioth. der Schw. Gesch.* iii.

escaped. He had finished his studies of literature in Berne, and now he must devote himself to the accomplishments of philosophy, for which purpose he directed his steps towards Vienna, in Austria. A youth from St Gall, Joachim Vadian, whose original genius offered to the prospects of Switzerland the possession of a learned man, and one distinguished as a legislator; Henry Loreti, from the canton of Glaris, commonly called Glarean, and who seemed destined to shine in the circle of poets; a young Swabian, John Heigerlin, the son of a blacksmith, and on that account called Faber, whose character was flexible—a lover of honours and glory, and who was endowed with all the qualifications of a courtier. Such were the companions of his studies and amusements encountered by Ulric during his residence in the capital of Austria.

Zwingle returned in 1502 to Wildhaus, but, in gazing once more upon these mountains, he felt that he had lately been slaking his thirst at the well of science, and that it was impossible for him longer to live in the midst of the songs of his brethren and the bleating of their flocks. He was now eighteen years old, and he resolved to return to Basil,* in order there to renew his acquaintance with letters. He could in this place assume at once the characters of a master and a student, and while he taught in the school of St Martin he received instruction within the halls of the university, by which arrangement he was enabled to afford pecuniary assistance to his father. Shortly after the period we refer to, he took his degree as master of arts. An Alsatian named Capito, who was nine years older than him, at this time became the most intimate friend of Zwingle.

Zwingle devoted himself particularly to the study of scholastic theology; because called to combat, at an after period, its singular sophisms, he was urged to explore the depths of their obscure labyrinths. But the cheerful student from the mountains of the Sentis was often seen to lay aside for a time his search among the dust of the schools, and, causing his philosophical labours to be succeeded by amusement, he was wont to take in his hands the lute or the harp, or perhaps the flute, the violin, the dulcimer, the bugle, or the hunting-horn, and with these instruments of his pleasures would fill the air, as in the fields of Lisighaus, of his chamber, or the dwellings of his friends, with the sweet music of his native hills, to which he joined the accompaniment of his melodious voice. He was in the business of music a true child of Tockenbourg, a master of the art. He played freely upon the instruments above mentioned, and even upon others we have not enumerated. Full of enthusiasm for the success of this accomplishment, he strove to impart a taste for its pursuit in the university. It was not from a love of dissipation he made such efforts, but because he delighted in thus relieving his mind when tired by the exertions of serious study, and believed that such a relaxation was well fitted to bring back the energies of his soul to refreshed vigour in their difficult labours after knowledge. No person was endowed with a more merry temper, a more amiable character, or more attractive powers of conversation. We in him behold a vigorous tree brought from the Alps, shooting forth in all its native strength, and which, not having yet been pruned, cast out on every side formidable

* Ne diutius ab exercitio literarum cessaret. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

branches; and the time was approaching when these lofty branches shall be seen to point, in all their beauty, towards heaven.

After having forced an entrance within the fields of scholastic theology, he turned back from these arid lands, fatigued and disgusted, as he had not found therein anything save a mass of confused ideas, a vain babble, empty glory and barbarism, but not one thought healthful in doctrine. "It is a loss of time," he said, and resolved to wait a better opportunity.

At this time (it was in November 1505) there arrived at Basil Thomas Wittembach, the son of a burgomaster in Bienne. Wittembach had till now occupied himself in teaching at Tübingen, by the side of Reuchlin. He was in the prime of life, sincere and pious in his disposition, and deeply learned in the liberal arts, in mathematics, as well as profound in his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Zwingle, and all the youth of the academies, immediately flocked to hear the lectures of the new professor. A spirit, until then unknown, animated his discourses, and words of prophetic omen were heard to proceed from his mouth. "The time is not far distant," said he, "when scholastic theology shall be banished, and the ancient doctrine of the church shall be restored." . . . "The death of Christ," he added, "is the sole ransom for our souls." The heart of Zwingle received with avidity these seeds of life. The period we now speak of was distinguished as that in which classical studies began to replace everywhere the divinity schools of the middle ages. Zwingle, in compliance with the example of his masters and his friends, turned in the direction of the new-found path.

Among the number of the students who listened with enthusiasm to the lessons delivered by Wittembach, was found a young man, twenty-three years of age, of small stature, with a weak and sickly complexion, but whose countenance beamed at once with the expression of meekness and intrepidity. We allude to Leo Juda, the son of an Alsatian curate, and whose uncle had fallen at Rhodes under the standard of the Teutonic knights, in their defence of christiandom. Leo and Ulric became closely united in their friendship, and Leo was, on his part, also an excellent player upon the dulcimer, besides having the command of a very fine voice. Often in his chamber were heard the lively songs of the young friends of this soft art. Leo Juda, at a later period, likewise joined Zwingle as a colleague in his labours, and death itself had not the power to destroy the attachments of a friendship thus holy.

The situation of the pastor of Glaris became at this time vacant. A young courtier attached to the popes, Henry Goldi, one of the grooms to his Holiness, and already in the enjoyment of several benefices, hurried on to Glaris with a letter of appointment from the pontiff. But the shepherds of this district, proud of the antiquity of their race, and of their battles in the cause of liberty, were not disposed to yield obedience to the dictates of a piece of parchment sent from Rome. Wildhaus was not far distant from Glaris; and Weisen, where the uncle of Zwingle was curate, was the place in which the people of Glaris held their public market days. The reputation obtained by the young master of arts of Basil had reached the knowledge of the inhabitants of these mountains; and it was this individual the Glaronians desired to have as their priest. They sent

him a call to the charge in 1506, and Zwingle, consecrated at Constance by the bishop, delivered his first sermon at Rapperswil, read his first mass at Wildhaus on the day of St Michael, in the presence of all his relations and the friends of his family, and arrived in Glaris about the end of the same year.

CHAPTER III.

Love of War—Schinner—Pension of the Pope—The Labyrinth—Zwingle in Italy—Principle of Reform—Zwingle and Luther—Zwingle and Erasmus—Zwingle and the Elders—Paris and Glaris.

Zwingle immediately applied himself with zeal to the performance of the duties his cure of such an extensive parish imposed. Still he was at this time not more than twenty-two years of age, and he frequently allowed himself to be carried away into a participation of those dissipated habits and loose ideas which marked the constitution of his age. A priest of Rome, he resembled in character the general body of priests with whom he was associated. But even at the time we speak of, when the evangelical doctrine had not as yet penetrated the recesses of his heart, Zwingle was never stained by the commission of those deep scandals which so often disgraced the church, and always recognised the necessity of submitting his passions to the holy laws of the gospel.

The love of war at this period inflamed the public mind of the tranquil valleys of Glaris. There were among the inhabitants certain families distinguished for their bravery, such as the Tschudis, the Walas, and the Æblis, whose blood had often been shed on the field of battle. These old warriors rehearsed in the ears of their younger brethren, who delighted in such stories, the details of deeds done in the wars of Burgundy and Swabia, and the combats of St James and of Ragaz. But it was no longer, alas! against the enemies of their liberty that these warlike shepherds were eager to take up arms. They were seen at the call of the kings of France, of emperors, of the dukes of Milan, or even of the holy father himself, to hurry down from the Alps, like huge masses of melting snow, and to rush with the noise of thunder against the troops drawn out on the plain.

A poor boy, named Matthew Schinner, who attended the school of Sion in Valais, (this was about the middle of the second half of the fifteenth century,) while singing one day in front of the houses, in the same fashion as was practised by the young Martin Luther, at a later date, heard himself called by an old man. This aged person, struck with the freedom in which the child replied to his questions, said to the youth, in a strain of that prophetic skill which, it is said, man often obtains as he approaches the grave, "You shall one day be bishop and prince." This salutation laid hold upon the young mendicant's imagination, and from that moment an ungovernable ambition overspread the desires of his heart. At Zurich and at Coma he made such progress in his studies as to create astonishment in the minds of his masters. He became curate of a small parish of the Valais, and rapidly prosecuted his advancement, in so much that, being sent afterwards to Rome, in order to request from the pope the confirmation of a bishop of Sion, who had recently been chosen to the see, Schinner obtained for himself the benefice of this

bishoprick, and encircled his own brow with the episcopal mitre. This cunning and ambitious man, frequently noble and generous in his actions, never regarded the possession of a dignity in any other light than as a step gained in his elevation to the ownership of a dignity still more exalted.

Having made an offer of his services to Louis XII., on arranging the price of these services, "It is too much for one man," said the king, when the irritated bishop of Sion replied, "but I am a man of more value than several others." In the sequel, he directed his attention towards the interests of Julius II., who received his advances with joy; and Schinner succeeded, in 1510, to bind the Swiss confederation entirely to the political designs of that ambitious pontiff. The bishop having received, as his reward, the hat of a cardinal, smiled when he saw himself thus raised within one degree of the throne of the popes.

The views of Schinner were constantly turned towards the cantons of Switzerland, and from the moment that he discovered, in any part thereof, a man whose influence was active, he hastened to attach the interests of that man to his party. The pastor of Glaris rivetted his attention, and very soon Zwingle was informed that the pope had granted him an annual pension of fifty florins, in order to encourage him in his cultivation of literature. The poverty of Ulric prevented his making purchases of books, and the money, during the short time he received this allowance, was entirely devoted to the acquisition of classical or theological works, which he received from Basil. From this time Zwingle entered into correspondence with the cardinal, and thus became identified with the Roman party. Schinner and Julius II. at last disclosed the purposes of their intrigues, and eight thousand Swiss soldiers, whom the eloquence of the cardinal-bishop had gathered together, crossed the Alps; but scarcity, and the arms and the money of the French, compelled them to return without glory into the fastnesses of their own mountains. They carried back with them, however, the usual consequences of such foreign wars, namely, a spirit of mistrust, of licentiousness, and of party, accompanied by practices of violence and disorder of every description. The citizens began to refuse obedience to the commands of the magistrates, children to the authority of their parents, while the labour of agriculture, or the care of flocks were completely neglected. And thus luxury and mendicity were seen to increase in simultaneous progression, at the same time that the most sacred ties were sacrilegiously broken, and the confederation appeared ready to dissolve, like the baseless fabric of a vision.

It was now the eyes of the young curate of Glaris received a purer sight, and his anger became inflamed. His strong voice was exercised to describe to his people the abyss in which they were about to lose their lives. It was in the year 1510 he published his poem entitled *The Labyrinth*. Behind the windings of this mysterious garden, Minos had hid the Minotaurus, that monster, half man and half bull, which he nourished with the flesh of the young Athenians. The Minotaurus, . . . these are, said Zwingle, the sins, the vices, the irreligion, and the foreign services of the Swiss, which devour the sons of their people.

A courageous individual, Theseus, is determined to save his country, but is encountered by many obstacles. At first a lion, with one

eye, opposes his attempts—this was Spain and Arragon; then a crowned eagle, whose throat stood half opened to swallow him up—this was the empire; and then a cock, with his comb erect, as if inviting the chances of an attack—and this was France. The hero, however, overcomes all these obstacles, and, reaching the den of the monster, he destroys him and saves his country.

“In this manner, now,” exclaimed the poet, “men wander in a labyrinth, but being without a thread, they are unable to regain a sight of the light. Nowhere is the example of Jesus Christ seen imitated. The prize of a little glory tempts us to risk our lives, to torment our neighbours, and to run into disputes, and wars, and combats. . . . One might aver that a number of furies had escaped from the gulphs of hell.”

There was need for the appearance of a Theseus, of a reformer, and Zwingle, perceiving the necessity, from this moment undertook his mission. He composed, shortly afterwards, another allegory, with a meaning yet more clear and significant.

In the month of April 1512, the confederates assembled anew in war-like bands at the call of the cardinal, in order to secure the deliverance of the church. Glaris was in the front of the line. The whole community was looked upon as in the field, ranged around its banners, with its leader and its pastor. Zwingle was appointed to march. The army crossed the Alps, and the cardinal appeared in the middle of the confederates, adorned with the presents of the pontiff, consisting of a ducal coronet, ornamented with pearls and gold, and surmounted with the emblem of the Holy Spirit, represented under the form of a dove. The Swiss scaled the fortresses and the cities, and crossed, in presence of the enemy, the rivers, by swimming without their clothes, but with their halberds in their hands. Thus the French were everywhere put to flight; the bells and trumpets were sounded in triumph; the inhabitants were seen running in every quarter; the nobles caused wine and fruit to be brought in abundance to the army; and the monks and the priests, mounted upon conspicuous elevations, declared that the confederates were the people of God, who avenged upon her enemies the cause of the spouse of the Lord. The pope, moreover, a prophet like Caiaphas on a former occasion, bestowed on the confederates the title of “the defenders of the liberty of the church.”

This sojourn in Italy was not without its effects upon the mind of Zwingle, with reference to his vocation as a reformer. It was upon his return from this campaign that he began to study Greek, “in order,” said he, “to be able to draw from the very source of the truth the doctrine of Jesus Christ.” “I have resolved to apply myself to the study of Greek, so earnestly,” he wrote to Vadian, on the 23d of February 1513, “that no creature shall be able to turn my attention from this work, none indeed but God; for I have engaged in this task, not to obtain glory, but from a love of the contents of holy literature.” At an after period, a worthy priest, who had been his school companion, came to pay him a visit. “Master Ulric,” said this friend, “I have been assured that you have fallen into this new error, and that you have become a Lutheran.” “I am not a Lutheran,” said Zwingle; “for I had learned Greek before I had ever heard of the name of Luther.” To understand Greek and to study the gospel in its original language formed, in the opinion of Zwingle, the basis of the reform.

Zwingle did more than acknowledge, in this happy manner, the grand principle of evangelical Christianity and the infallible authority of the Holy Scriptures. He, moreover, comprehended in what manner the sense of the divine word must be determined. "They have a very mean idea of the gospel," said he, "who consider as frivolous, vain, and unjust, those statements which they think are not consistent with their reason.* It is not permitted to men to twist, as they may choose, the words of the gospel, according to their own meaning and interpretation."† "Zwingle raised his eyes to heaven," said one of his best friends, "not wishing to consult any other interpreter than the Holy Spirit himself."‡ Such was, from the commencement of his career, the man whom some have not feared to represent as having been willing to subject the Bible to the judgment of human reason.

"Philosophy and theology," said he, "never ceased to create, in my mind, a host of objections; therefore I was at last forced to say to myself concerning them, It is absolutely necessary to leave all such things in their own place, and to seek for the mind of God solely in the revelation of his own word. I set myself" (continued he) "earnestly to beseech the Lord to grant me the aid of his light; and although I should read nothing else but the Scriptures, they shall become much more clear to me than if I should read the works of many commentators." He compared the Scriptures with the Scriptures, and explained the most obscure passages by a reference to those which were more distinct.§ He very soon acquired a knowledge of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament.|| When Zwingle directed his attention, in this manner, to the truths of the Holy Scriptures, Switzerland may be said to have made her first step towards the Reformation." Moreover, when he explained these Scriptures, every one felt convinced that his teaching proceeded from God, and that it was not the work of a man.¶ "A work wholly divine," exclaimed, on the occasion, Oswald Myconius, "it is in this manner we receive a knowledge of celestial truth."

Zwingle, however, did not disdain the explanations of the most celebrated doctors, and he, at an after period, studied the writings of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom, but not in the character of so many authorities.** "I have studied these doctors," said he, "with the same purpose with which one person asks of his friend, How do you understand this passage?" The Holy Scriptures were, in his opinion, the stone on which must be tried the qualities of the most pious doctors themselves.

The progress of Zwingle was slow but progressive. He did not approach the truth like Luther, through the impulse of those tempests which forced the soul to seek in urgent haste a harbour of refuge. He reached this goal by the calm influences of the Scriptures, whose power increased by degrees within the recesses of his heart. Luther arrived at the desired haven by stemming the storms of the vast

* Nihil sublimius de evangelio sentiunt, quam quod, quidquid eorum rationi non est consentaneum, hoc inquam, vanum et frivolum existimant. (Zw. Op. i. p. 202.)

† Nec posse evangelium ad sensum et interpretationem hominum redigi. (Ibid.)

‡ In cœlum suspexit, doctorem querens spiritum. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

§ Scripta contulit et obscura claris elucidavit. (Ibid.)

|| In summa, er macht im, die H. Schrift, Insonders dass N. T. gantz gemein. (Bullinger's MS.)

¶ Ut nemo non videret Spiritum doctorem, non hominem. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

** Scriptura canonica, seu Lydio lapide probandos. (Ibid.)

ocean, while Zwingle allowed himself to be carried down the smooth current of the river. These are the two chief courses by which God is pleased to conduct men. Zwingle was not thoroughly converted to God and to his gospel until the first time of his sojourn at Zurich; still the moment wherein, in 1514 or 1515, that strong man bowed down on his knees before God, in order to entreat from on high a power to comprehend aright the revealed word of God, was in reality the moment in which were kindled the first beams of that glorious day whose light at an after period illuminated his soul.

It was at this epoch that a poem, written by Erasmus, in which he introduced Jesus Christ addressing himself to the man who perished by his own fault, made upon the mind of Zwingle a profound impression. Alone in his closet, he repeated that stanza wherein Jesus complains that all grace is not sought directly from himself, although he was the sole source of all that is good. "All!" said Zwingle, "all;" and this word dwelt constantly upon his mind. "Are there then certain creatures or saints from whom we ought to ask some assistance? No, Christ is our only treasure."*

Zwingle did not restrict himself to the perusal of Christian writings. One of the peculiar traits which distinguish the reformers of the sixteenth century was their ardent study of the Greek and Roman authors. The poems of Hesiod, of Homer, and of Pindarus charmed the imagination of Zwingle, and he has bequeathed to us some commentaries or characteristic explanations on the productions of these two latter poets. It appears to him that Pindarus spoke of his gods in a style so sublime that he must have enjoyed some presentiment of the true God. Zwingle studied with great care the writings of Cicero and Demosthenes, who instructed him in the accomplishments of the orator and the duties of the citizen. He denominated Seneca a holy man. The child of the mountains of Switzerland also delighted in searching into the mysteries of nature through the works of Pliny; while Thucydides, Sallust, Titus Livy, Cesar, Suetonius, Plutarch, and Tacitus, afforded him ample knowledge of the world. He has been blamed for the great enthusiasm he entertained respecting these great men of antiquity, and it is true that some of his expressions on that subject cannot well be justified. But if he conferred such honour on their memories, it was because he believed that he witnessed in them, not the powers of human virtue, but the influences of the Holy Spirit. The action of God, far from being confined, in ancient times, within the confines of Palestine, had extended its operation, in the opinion of Zwingle, throughout the universal world.† "Plato," said he, "has likewise quenched his thirst at the Divine spring. And if the two Catos, or Camillus, or Scipio had not been truly religious, would they have been so magnanimous?"‡

Zwingle diffused around him a love of letters. Several young men of distinction were reared at his school. "You have offered me not only your books, but also yourself," were the words of Valentine Tschudi, son of one of the heroes in the wars of Burgundy.

*Dass Christus unser armen seelen ein einziger Schatz sey. (Zw. Op. I. p. 398.) Zwingle said in 1523 that he had read this poem composed by Erasmus eight or nine years previous to that date. † Spiritus ille celestis non solum Palestinam vel creaverat vel fovebat, sed mundum universum. (Ecol. et Zw. Ep. p. 9.) ‡ Nisi religiosi nunquam fuissent magnanimi. (Ibid.)

while this young man, who had previously prosecuted his studies in Vienna and Basil, under the most celebrated teachers, added, "I have not found any person who explains the classic authors with so much justice and penetration as yourself." Tschudi went afterwards to Paris. He was thus enabled to compare the spirit which ruled in that university with the temper which he had found in the narrow valley of the Alps, where reigned the gigantic summits and eternal snows of Dodi, of Glarnisch, of Viggis, and of Freyberg. "In what fooleries the youth of France are reared," said he. "No venom equals the art of sophistry which is here taught. This art weakens the senses, takes away the judgment, and makes one similar to a brute. Man is nothing more then, like the echo, than a vain sound. Ten women would not know how to cope with one of these professors of rhetoric. In their prayers, I am certain they present to God their sophisms, and expect by their syllogisms to constrain the Holy Spirit to listen to their solicitations." Behold the description given of Paris and Glaris at the time we speak of; of the intellectual capital of christendom, and a borough of herdsmen among the deserts of the Alps. One glimpse of the word of God affords a surer light than all the splendour of human wisdom.

CHAPTER IV.

Zwingle in the Presence of Erasmus—Oswald Myconius—The Brigands—Ecolampade—Zwingle at Marignani—Zwingle and Italy—Method of Zwingle—Commencement of the Reform—Discovery.

One great man of the age, Erasmus, exercised a powerful influence over the mind of Zwingle. Not one of the works of this man appeared which Zwingle did not hasten to procure. In 1514, Erasmus paid a visit to Basil, where the bishop had been pleased to bestow upon him tokens of profound esteem. All the lovers of literature were immediately gathered round the person of this distinguished scholar. But the said king of the schools was quick in discerning the features of the man who was destined to become the glory of Switzerland. "I wish the Helvetic nation joy," he wrote to Zwingle, "of the labours you have undertaken, and of your exertions alike in your studies and in your equally excellent manners, to embellish and ennoble this happy nation." Zwingle ardently longed to look upon the face of Erasmus. "Many Spaniards and Gauls were known to visit Rome that they might see Titus Livy," said he. He therefore set out on his journey, and arrived safely at Basil. He was there introduced to a man of about forty years of age, of a small stature, of a weak body, and delicate complexion, but with an expression full of amiability and grace. This was the famed Erasmus. The agreeable appearance of his person dissipated the timidity of Zwingle, but the powers of his mind subdued his spirit. "Poor," said Ulric to Erasmus, "like Eschine," when each one of the pupils of Socrates offered a present to their master, "I give you what Eschine gave—I give myself!"

Among the men of learning who formed the court of Erasmus, the Amerbachs, the Rhenans, the Frobenens, the Nessens, and the Glareans, Zwingle observed a young Lucernean of twenty-seven years of age, named Oswald Geissshusler. Erasmus had hellenized this latter name, and called it Myconius. We will, therefore, often

designate him by his Christian name of Oswald, to distinguish this friend of Zwingle from Frederick Myconius the disciple of Luther. Oswald, then, after having studied at Rothwyl in company with a young man of his own age, called Berthold Haller, and afterwards at Berne and Basil, had become in this latter city rector of the school of St Theodore, and in the sequel held the same office in the school of St Peter. The humble schoolmaster was only possessed of a limited income, but he had, nevertheless, united himself in marriage to a young woman, whose simplicity and purity of soul gained for her the affectionate esteem of all her friends. We have already observed that the present were, in Switzerland, times of trouble, in which foreign wars had created a scene of violent disorder, and wherein the soldiers, in returning from these wars, had imparted to the inhabitants of this country a spirit of licentiousness and brutality. One dark and cloudy winter day, some of these barbarous men attacked, in the absence of Oswald, his peaceful abode. They knocked at the door; and threw stones at the windows, calling upon the modest wife in terms of shameless vice. At last they broke through the windows, and having entered the school-house and destroyed the furniture thereof, these vagabonds withdrew from the premises. Shortly afterwards Oswald returned home. His son, the little Felix, ran to meet his father, while yet screaming at the recollection of the robbery; at the same time that the mother, unable to speak, exhibited signs of the deepest alarm. The husband now understood what had happened, and at the very moment a loud noise was heard in the street. Excited beyond reason, the schoolmaster laid hold upon some weapon; and pursued the miscreants as far as the church yard. They withdrew therefrom, ready to defend themselves, and three of their number made an attack upon Myconius, whom they seriously wounded; and while these wounds were being dressed, the same wretched men again entered the house of the schoolmaster, uttering furious denunciations. But Oswald has given no farther particulars of this heartless outrage. Still we have here a picture of the horrors which were practised in the cities of Switzerland at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and before the effects of the Reformation had succeeded in improving and softening the national manners. The upright manners of Oswald Myconius, and his thirst after knowledge and virtue, brought him into close union with Zwingle. The rector at the school of Basil readily recognised all the distinguishing traits in the talents of the curate of Glaris. Full of humility, he never trusted in the praises bestowed upon himself both by Zwingle and Erasmus. "As for you, the master of the school," frequently exclaimed the latter learned personage, "I look upon you as the equal of kings." But the modest Myconius did not join in such an opinion of his own merits. "I do nothing but creep along the ground," said he. "There has been in me since my childhood an inexplicable degree of the humble and little."

A preacher, who arrived at Basil much about the same time with Zwingle, also attracted at this period a large share of public attention. Of a mild and tranquil disposition, this priest was attached to the habits of a quiet life; slow and circumspect in his dealings with the world, he chiefly devoted his time to study and to anxious endeavours in promoting the exercise of concord among Christians.

His name was John Hausschein, or, translated into Greek, Ecolampade, which signifies "the light of the house," and he was born in Franconia, of rich parents, a year before the birth of Zwingle. His pious mother felt eager to consecrate to literature, and even to God, the only child God had preserved to her. The father at first proposed to rear him a merchant and afterwards a lawyer. But as Ecolampade was on his return from Bologna, where he had commenced his study of the law, the Lord, who designed to convert him into a lamp of the church, called him to the study of theology. He was preaching in his native town, when Capito, who had known him at Heidelberg, promoted him to his present cure in Basil. He in this situation proclaimed salvation through Christ with an eloquence which captivated the admiration of his hearers. Erasmus received Ecolampade into an alliance of close friendship, and the latter was in the highest degree gratified during the hours he passed in the society of the former eminent genius. "There is but one thing to be looked for," said the prince of letters to his new friend, "in the Holy Scriptures, and that is Jesus Christ." Erasmus presented to the young preacher, in token of his friendship, the commencement of the gospel according to St John. Ecolampade often kissed this pledge of affection so sincerely attested, and carried it about suspended to his crucifix, "in order," said he, "that I might always remember Erasmus in my prayers."

Zwingle returned to his mountain home, with his mind and heart filled with a recollection of all that he had heard and seen in Basil. "I could not have enjoyed the repose of sleep," he wrote to Erasmus soon after his return, "had I not been favoured with some moments' conversation with you: I glory in nothing so much as in that I have seen Erasmus." Zwingle had, indeed, received a fresh motive of action. Journeys like the one he had just accomplished have often been known to exercise a great influence over the character of the Christian. The pupils of Zwingle—Valentin Jost, Louis, Pierre, and Egidius Tschudi, as well as his friends, the magistrate Æbli, the curate Binzli of Wesen, Fridolin Brunnen, and the celebrated professor Glarean, beheld with admiration the increase of wisdom and knowledge obtained by Ulric. The old men beheld in him a courageous servant of their country, while faithful pastors recognised in his character that of a zealous minister of the Lord. In all transactions carried on in the country, his advice was courted, and the people of property entertained a lively hope that the ancient virtues of the Swiss nation would one day be re-established by his exertions.

Francis I., having mounted the throne, and displayed an eager wish to avenge in Italy the dishonour done to the French name, the affrightened pope sought to gain favour among the Swiss cantons. In consequence of this state of affairs, Ulric revisited, in 1515, the fields of Italy in the middle of the ranks of his compatriots. But the divisions which the intrigues of Francis created in the confederate army oppressed his heart. He was often seen in the middle of the camp haranguing, equally with energy and with distinguished wisdom, his hearers, armed from head to foot, and ready to engage in battle. On the 8th of September, five days before the Battle of Marignan, he preached in the market place of Monza, whereon the Swiss soldiers, who remained faithful to their colours, were assembled. "If the

counsels of Zwingle had at that time and afterwards been followed," said Werner Steiner of Zug, "how many evils would have been escaped by our country." But the ears of the crowd were shut to the persuasions of concord, prudence, and submission. The vehement address of cardinal Schinner electrified the confederates, and caused them to rush with impetuosity upon the fatal fields of Marignan. The flower of the Helvetic youth was there crushed to the earth. Zwingle, who had been unable to stay the current of these disasters, hurried himself, in the cause of Rome, into the thickest pressure of the raging fray. His hand grasped the deadly sword. A sad error in the life of Zwingle! The minister of Christ, he forgot more than once that he was only called upon to fight with the weapons of the Spirit, and he was doomed to see accomplished in his own person, in a striking manner, these prophetic words of our Lord—*He who uses the sword shall perish by the sword.*

Zwingle and his Swiss soldiers were unequal to the task of saving Rome. The ambassador from Venice was the first who, in the city of the pontiffs, received information of the defeat at Marignan. With exulting feelings he hurried, early in the morning, to the Vatican. The pope came forth from his apartments to meet him in a half-dressed condition. Leo X., indeed, when he heard these news, did not strive to hide the appearance of his alarm. At this moment of anxious terror, the pontiff remembered no one but Francis. In this prince all his hopes were placed. "My lord ambassador," said he, with trembling accents, to Zorsi, "we must throw ourselves into the arms of the king and beseech him to have mercy." Luther and Zwingle, in their extremities, recognised another arm and invoked another power of mercy.*

This second sojourn in Italy was not, however, unproductive of good to Zwingle. He then had an opportunity of observing the differences which existed between the Ambrosian ritual at the time in use at Milan, and that of Rome. He consulted and compared, with reference to these rituals the most ancient canons of the mass. Thus the spirit of research and examination was evinced in his disposition even amidst the turmoils of a camp. Moreover, the sight of his countrymen, dragged beyond the confines of the Alps, and delivered over to a death of butchery, like so many cattle, filled his heart with indignation. "The carcasses of the confederates," it was said, "were at a lower price than those of their oxen and sheep." The treachery and ambition of the pope, the avarice and ignorance of the priests, the licentiousness and dissipation of the monks, and the corruption and venality which from every quarter the Swiss obtained; all these evils, exposing themselves more than ever before his view, caused him to feel more poignantly than formerly the necessity of a reform in the affairs of the church.

Zwingle henceforth preached more clearly the doctrine of the word of God. He explained the fragments of the gospel, and the epistles selected for the performance of worship, always by comparing the Scriptures with the Scriptures.† He spoke with animation and power, and followed the same course with his hearers which God had followed with

* Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re Christmo semetteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. (Zorsi Relatione MS.) † Non hominum commentis, sed sola scripturarum biblicarum collatione. (Zw. Op. i. p. 273.) ‡ Sonderm auch mit predigen, dorrinen er heftig wass. (Bullenger's MS.)

him. He did not proclaim, like Luther, the plagues of the church ; but in proportion as the study of the Bible manifested to his own view some useful lessons, he communicated them to his flock. He strove to persuade them to receive the truth into their hearts, and then he grounded upon the truth the works which it was necessary to perform.* "If they can be taught to comprehend what is true," thought he, "they shall be able to comprehend that which is false." This maxim is good, as touching the commencement of a Reformation ; but there must arrive a time when, with a courageous voice, error needs to be signalized. Of this fact Zwingle was well aware. "The spring-time," said he, "is the season for sowing." He was then engaged in the work of the spring.

Zwingle has pointed out this time (1516) as the commencement of the Swiss Reformation. In truth, if four years previous to this date he had inclined his head upon the book of God, he had also then raised his head from its posture and turned it to his people, in order to bestow upon them the light which he had therein found. This was, no doubt, a new and important epoch in the history of the development of the religious revolution in these countries ; but it is wrongfully that some have concluded, with a reference to these dates, that the reform of Zwingle preceded the reform of Luther.

It is possible that Zwingle preached the gospel one year before the appearance of the theses composed by Luther, but Luther had himself preached the gospel four years previous to the publication of these famous propositions. If Luther and Zwingle had confined themselves solely to the duty of preaching, the Reformation would not have been found to invade so promptly the strongholds of the church. Luther and Zwingle were neither the first monk nor the first priest who preached a more pure doctrine than the principles taught in the divinity schools. But Luther was the first to raise openly, and with invincible courage, the standard of truth against the empire of error—to call the general attention to the fundamental doctrine of the gospel, salvation by grace ; to introduce his age into that new career of knowledge, of faith, and of life, whence has arisen a new order of things ; and, in a word, to commence a true and salutary revolution. The grand struggle, of which the theses constituted the signal, in reality brought forth the reform into the world, and imparted to it at once the form of a body and a soul. Luther was the *first* reformer.

A spirit of research and examination had begun to breathe over the mountains of Switzerland. One day the curate of Glaris, finding himself in the smiling country of Mollio, in the house of Adam, the curate of the place, along with Bunzli, curate of Wesen, and Varachon, curate of Kerensen, these friends discovered an old liturgy, in which they read the following passage :—"Baptism—Let the sacrament of the eucharist and the cup of blood be given to the child."† "Then," said Zwingle, "the Lord's supper was at that time given in our churches in both kinds." This liturgy was nearly two hundred years old, and was a great discovery for these priests who inhabited the Alps.

The defeat suffered at Marignan was productive of decided consequences in the interior of the Swiss cantons. Francis I., the

* *Volebat veritatem cognitam, in cordibus auditorum, agere suum officium.* (Zw. Op. ii.) † *Detur Eucharistiæ sacramentum, imiliter poculum sanguinis.* (Zw. Op. i., p. 266.)

conqueror, therein dispensed abroad money and flattery with the view of regaining the favour of the confederates, while the emperor implored them by the remembrance of their honour, of the tears of their widows and orphans, and of the blood of their brothers, not to sell their services for the benefit of the murderers. The French party however obtained the ascendancy in Glaris, and from that time this habitation was placed under the care of Ulric.

Zwingle, at Glaris, had perhaps continued a man of the world. The intrigues of party, political pre-occupations, the empire, France, and the Duke of Milan, had well nigh succeeded in absorbing the cares of his life. But God never leaves in the midst of the tumults of this world those whom he designs to make useful to the people. He leads them aside, and places them in a situation of solitude, wherein they are brought into a more exclusive communion with God, from whom they receive inexhaustible stores of knowledge. The Son of God himself, a prototype in this of the necessities he imposes upon his servants, passed forty days and forty nights in the desert. It was time to carry away Zwingle from the influences of that political emotion, which, by being continually presented to his view, might have extinguished the force of the Spirit of God in his soul. It was time to prepare him for another scene than that in which the men belonging to courts, cabinets, and parties were accustomed to display their talents, and wherein Zwingle was called to waste his faculties of mind suited to purposes of much higher import. His people stood in need of a very different training to what they now experienced. And the want of a new life, descended from the heavens, was most apparent, at the same time that it was equally evident the organ of this new spirit must be schooled to forget the things of the present age, in order to qualify him for receiving the wisdom which comes from above. We here contemplate two spheres entirely distinct: a great space separates these two worlds, and, before passing over from the one to the other, it was incumbent upon Zwingle to remain for some time upon a neutral position, an intermediate and preparatory state, in which he was destined to receive instruction from God. God, therefore, removed him away from the midst of eager parties in Glaris, and conducted him to the work of his noviciate into the solitude of a hermitage. He shut up within the narrow walls of an abbey this generous seed of the Reformation, which soon afterwards, transplanted into a more congenial soil, was destined to cover these mountains with its shadow.

CHAPTER V.

Passage from One World to the Other—Notre-Dame at Einsiedlen—Vocation of Zwingle—The Abbey—Geroldseck—Society of Study—The Bible Copied—Zwingle and Superstition—First Opposition to Error—Sensation—Hedion—Zwingle and the Legates—The Honours of Rome—The Bishop of Constance—Samson and Indulgences—Stapfer—Charity of Zwingle—His Friends.

A German monk, Meinrad of Hohenzollern, having advanced, about the middle of the ninth century to a position between the lakes of Zurich and Wallstetten, had there stopped upon a small hill enclosed with an amphitheatre of fir trees, and had built in this locality a hermit's cell. A band of robbers steeped their hands in the blood of the saint, and the blood-stained hut was long left without an inmate.

Towards the close of the tenth century, there was, however, erected

upon this sacred spot a convent and church in honour of the Virgin. On the evening of the day of consecration, at midnight, the bishop of Constance and his priests were at prayers in the church, when a celestial song, proceeding from invisible beings, was heard to resound through the chapel. Those present listened with admiration, and prostrated themselves on the ground. The next day, as the bishop was about to consecrate the same chapel, a voice repeated three different times the words, "Stop, stop! God has consecrated this place himself." Christ, it was said, had blessed the chapel during the night, and that the songs we have referred to were the performances of angels, of apostles, and of saints, while the Virgin, in an upright posture upon the altar, had shone like a flash of lightning. A bull issued by pope Leo the VII. had forbidden the faithful to call in question the truth of this legend. From that time, therefore, an immense concourse of pilgrims never ceased to visit Nortre-Dame of the Hermits for the "consecration of the angels." Delphi and Ephesus, in ancient, and Loretto in modern times, have alone equalled the glory of Einsidlen. It was to this singular place Ulric Zwingle was called in the year 1516 to act as a priest and a preacher.

Zwingle did not hesitate to comply. "It is neither ambition nor cupidity that carries me there," said he, "but the intrigues of the French." Reasons of a more elevated nature conduced to fix his determination. On the one hand, having greater solitude, more rest, and a smaller parish, he would be able to devote a larger portion of his time to study and meditation; while, on the other hand, this resort of pilgrims afforded him the opportunity of extending even to countries the most distant the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

The friends of evangelical preaching at Glaris manifested lively tokens of their sorrow. "What more sad occurrence could befall Glaris," said Peter Tschudi, one of the most distinguished citizens of this canton, "than to be deprived of the services of so great a man?"* His parishioners, seeing him firm in his resolutions, determined to allow him to hold the title of pastor of Glaris, along with a share of the benefice and the liberty of returning to his present cure whenever he should be pleased to do so.†

A gentleman, descended from an ancient family, sedate, open, intrepid, and sometimes a little rude, Conrad of Rechberg, was one of the most celebrated hunters in the districts to which Zwingle was about to remove. He had established on one of his properties, called Silthal, a stud, where he reared a race of horses which became celebrated in Italy. This was, in truth, the abbot of the Notre-Dame of the Hermits. Rechberg entertained an equal horror for the pretensions of Rome and for the discussions of theologians. One day, during a visit of the order, some remarks were addressed to him, when he replied to the speaker, "I am master here and not you, so go you on your way." On another occasion, too, as Leo Judas was holding a discussion at table with the administrator of the convent, concerning certain difficult questions, the hunting abbot exclaimed, "Have done with your disputes! I exclaim with David, *'Have pity on me, O God, according to thy*

* Quid enim Glareanæ nostræ tristius accidere poterat, tanto videlicet privari viro. (Zw. Ep. p. 16.) † Zwingle signed, still two years later, Pastor Glaronæ, Minister Eremi. (Ibid.)

mercy, and enter not into judgment with thy servant, and I have no need of any other wisdom."

The baron Theobald of Geroldsek was administrator of the monastery, and was possessed of a mild disposition, a sincere piety, and a great love of learning. His favourite purpose was to establish in his convent a society of well-instructed men, and it was under this impression he had presented the vacant charge to Zwingle. Eager to receive information and to apply himself to reading, he begged his new friend to direct him in his course of study. "Read the Holy Scriptures," replied Zwingle, "and, in order better to understand their contents, study St Jerome." "Nevertheless," added he, "the time shall come (and that very soon, with the help of the Lord) that Christians shall not estimate at a high price the works of either St Jerome or any other teacher, but only the spirit of the word of God." The conduct of Geroldsek was affected by his progress in the faith. He permitted the religious members of a convent of women attached to Einsidlen to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue; and some years later Geroldsek came to dwell in Zurich, in the near neighbourhood of Zwingle, and died with him on the field of Cappel. The same charm very speedily united in affection to Zwingle, not only Geroldsek, but also the chaplain Zink, the excellent Cælin, Lucas, and other inhabitants of the abbey. These studious men removed to a distance from the turmoils of party, read together the Scriptures, the fathers of the church, the leading works of antiquity, and the writings of the restorers of lost literature. Often stranger friends came to join in the pleasures of this interesting circle. One day, among the rest, Capito arrived at Einsidlen. The two former friends of Basil wandered about in each other's company through the convent and its wild environs, absorbed in their own conversation, or in searching into the contents of the Scriptures, with a view to ascertain the true will of God. There was one point upon which they disagreed in opinion, namely, the following, "The pope of Rome must fall." Capito was at the time we speak of more courageous than he appeared at a later period.

Repose, leisure, books, and friends, were all at the disposal of Zwingle during his stay in this tranquil retreat, and he increased in intelligence and in faith. It was at this juncture (May 1517) that he began a work which proved of great service to him. As in days of old, the kings of Israel had written out with their own hands the law of God, Zwingle in the same manner copied over the Epistles of St Paul. There only existed at this date some voluminous editions of the New Testament, and Zwingle was anxious to have the power of carrying these writings everywhere along with him.* He learned by heart these epistles, and afterwards the other books of the New Testament, crowning such exertions by a similar acquaintance with a part of the Old Testament. In this manner his heart became always more firmly knit to the sovereign authority of the word of God. He was not content with gaining a knowledge of the word, he equally desired to submit the actions of his life to its requirements. He, by degrees, advanced in a course always increasing in its Christian character. The task for which he had been drawn into this desert was there

* The manuscript is to be seen in the City Library of Zurich.

accomplished. No doubt it was only at Zurich where the Christian life penetrated with all its power into his soul ; but even at Einsidlen he made a decided progress in the work of sanctification. At Glaris, he was seen to share in the entertainments of the world ; at Einsidlen he followed a life more pure and free from all defilement and worldly passion ; he began to understand better the great spiritual interests of the people, and he learned by degrees to appreciate the lessons God was wishful to impart to his soul.

Providence had, indeed, still other motives in bringing Zwingle to dwell within the seclusion of Einsidlen. He must be brought into closer connexion with the abuses which had invaded the church. The image of the Virgin, kept with great care in the monastery, enjoyed, it was said, the power of working miracles. Above the gate of the abbey might also be read this vain-glorious inscription, "In this place is to be found a full remission of all sins." A multitude of pilgrims hastened towards Einsidlen from every country in christendom to secure this grace as the reward of their pilgrimage. The church, the abbey, and the whole valley were filled during the Feast of the Virgin with these devout worshippers. But it was especially at the grand feast of the "consecration of the angels" that the crowd deluged the hermitage. Vast columns, composed of several millions of individuals, belonging to both sexes, overspread the declivity of the mountain, at whose base the oratory was placed, singing hymns, ~~or~~ counting with their fingers the number of their beads. These devoted pilgrims pressed forward to gain admittance within the church, under a belief that they were there nearer to God than in any other situation whatever.

Zwingle's sojourn in Einsidlen, with reference to a knowledge of the abuses encouraged by Popery, resembled in its effects the visit of Luther to Rome. Zwingle completed his education as a reformer in Einsidlen—God alone is the source of salvation, and he is so in every quarter of the globe. This was the substance of what he learned at Einsidlen, and these two truths afterwards formed the fundamental articles of Zwingle's theological doctrines. The seriousness which he had impressed upon his soul, very soon began to evince its fruits in outward action. Astounded at the existence of so many evils, he determined to wage against them an eternal war. He entertained no hesitations between the dictates of his conscience and the questions of self-interest, he came boldly to his post, and his energetic words assailed with vehemence the superstitions of the crowds which crashed around him. "Do not think," said he, from the elevation of the pulpit, "that God can be found in this temple more than in any other district of his vast creation. Whatever may be the situation of the country, wherein you dwell, God encompasses your habitation and hears your prayers as well as in the church of Notre-Dame at Einsidlen. Can it be by useless works, in the performance of long pilgrimages, the laying down of offerings and images, or by the invocation of the Virgin and many other saints, that you shall obtain the grace of God ? . . . What signifies the multitude of the words which compose our prayers. Wherein consists the worth of a gay cowl, a head well shaved, or a long and ample skirted gown, or even of mules laden with gold ? . . . It is to the heart that God looks, and yet our heart is far from him."

But Zwingle was anxious to do more than offer a formidable

resistance to these superstitions ; he longed to satisfy the ardent desire of reconciliation with God which was experienced by many of the pilgrims who resorted to the chapel of Notre-Dame at Einsidlen. "Christ," cried he, like John the Baptist, in this new desert of the mountains of Judea, "Christ, who has once offered himself up to the death of the cross, is the sacrifice and the victim which secures satisfaction, even throughout the ages of eternity, for the sins of all the faithful." In this manner Zwingle advanced in his course. From the moment that a style of preaching so courageous was heard in the most venerated sanctuary of Switzerland, the standard raised in opposition to Rome began to appear more distinctly on the tops of these mountains, and there was felt as it were a tremulous motion of Reformation which shook these hills to their very centre.

* In reality, a universal feeling of astonishment laid hold on the hearts of the crowd while they listened to the discourses of the eloquent priest. Some hurried away from the spot under impressions of horror, others hesitated between the adoption of the faith of their fathers and that of this doctrine which was fitted to ensure their peace ; whilst many went to Jesus, who was represented to them as full of compassion, and carried back the wax-tapers which they had brought to present to the Virgin. A multitude of pilgrims, returning to their various habitations, reported everywhere the substance of the truths which they had heard at Einsidlen :—"Christ *alone* saves, and he saves in *every place*." In many instances troops of wanderers, amazed at the accounts repeated in their hearing, turned back on the road without completing the purpose of their pilgrimage. The worshippers of Mary diminished in numbers daily. It was the riches of their offerings which composed almost entirely the revenues of Zwingle and Geroldsek. But this bold witness to the truth was willing to become poor, so that he might spiritually enrich the souls of believers.

At the time of the Feasts of Pentecost, in the year 1518, in the middle of the numerous auditors attending the ministrations of Zwingle, there was seen a learned individual, of a mild disposition, but of active charity, named Guspard Hedio, a doctor in theology at Basil. Zwingle was discoursing upon the history of the man struck with palsy, (Luke v.) in which is found the following declaration of our Lord, *The Son of man has power upon earth to pardon sins*—a sentence well fitted to arouse the attention of the crowd congregated within the temple of the Virgin. The sermon of the preacher affected, changed, and inflamed the minds of the assembly, and especially that of the doctor from Basil.* A long time subsequent to this date Hedio still expressed his ardent admiration of that sermon. "How beautiful," said he, "was that discourse, profound, grave, complete, penetrating, and evangelical, and how did it not convert the *gyena* (the force) of the ancient teachers!" † From the moment of its first delivery, Hedio admired and loved the author of this production. ‡ He experienced a fond wish to meet with Zwingle, and to disclose in his presence the sentiments of his heart ; he walked round and round the abbey, but dared not seek for admission, restrained, said he, by

* Is sermo ita me inflammavit (Zw. Ep. p. 90.) † Elegans ille, doctus, gravis, copiosus, penetrans, et evangelicus. (Ibid., p. 89.) ‡ Ut inciperem Zwinglium arctissime complecti, suscipere ad admirari. (Ibid., p. 96.)

hell are subject to my power, and I dispose of the merits of Jesus Christ to whosoever desires to purchase for ready money the protection of an indulgence."

Zwingle heard of these discourses, and his zeal was inflamed. He preached with demonstration and with power. "Jesus Christ," said he, "the Son of God, has said—*Come to me, all ye who are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Is it not, therefore, nothing short of audacious folly and mad temerity to urge words to the contrary? such as—Purchase letters of indulgence—run to Rome!—give to the monks, or sacrifice to the priests! If you do these things I will absolve you from your sins. Jesus Christ is the only offering—Jesus Christ is the only sacrifice—and Jesus Christ is the only way."

Everywhere throughout the boundaries of Schwitz, Samson was very soon branded with the name of a seducer and a scoundrel. He took his departure for Zug, and, for the moment, the two champions were separated from each other.

Scarcely had Samson taken leave of Schwitz before an inhabitant of that canton, of a distinguished mind, and who afterwards became secretary of state, Stapfer, fell with his family into a condition of great distress. "Alas," said he, in speaking to Zwingle in the fulness of his agony, "I do not know how to provide for the cravings of my hunger or for that of my poor children." . . . Zwingle knew how to give at the moment when Rome had shewn its willingness to take away, and he was as ready to practise good works as he was obstinate in his opposition to those who dared to teach that, by the fulfilment of such works we were enabled to acquire salvation. Every day he carried to Stapfer abundant supplies. "It is God," said he, anxious to strip himself of all glory, "it is God who creates within the bosoms of the faithful the feelings of charity, and bestows on them at once the thought, the resolution, and the work itself. All the good done by the just is accomplished by God; by the workings of his own power." Stapfer remained attached to Zwingle during the whole course of his future life, and four years after the period we have now referred to, he became secretary of state at Schwitz, at which date, feeling himself oppressed by cares of a higher nature, he accosted Zwingle, and said, with noble candour—"Seeing that you have provided for my temporal wants, how much more do I now expect that you shall appease the hunger of my soul."

The friends of Zwingle were multiplied. It was not now only at Glaris, Basil, or Schwitz, that he found souls united to the cause his own had espoused. In Uri he was joined by the secretary of state, Schmidt; at Zug, by Colin, Muller, and Werner Steiner, his former companions in arms at Marignan; at Lucerne, by Xylotect and Kilchmeyer; by Wittembach at Berne, and by many others in many other different places. Still the curate of Einsidlen had not a friend more devoted than Oswald Myconius. Oswald had quitted Basil in 1516, in order to take charge of the cathedral school at Zurich. There were not at this time in the said city either any company of learned men or yet any proper schools of learning. Oswald laboured earnestly in this place, along with certain other individuals well disposed in their views, and among the rest with Utinger, the notary of the pope, in order to ameliorate the ignorance of the people of Zurich, and to initiate them into a knowledge of literature and of antiquity.

At the same time Oswald upheld the unchangeable truths of the Holy Scriptures, and declared that if the pope or the emperor commanded things to be done contrary to the spirit of the gospel, man was bound to obey God alone, who was decidedly superior to both the emperor and the pope.

CHAPTER VI.

Zurich—College of the Canons—Election at the Cathedral—Fable—Accusations—Confession of Zwingle—The Designs of God are developed—Adieu to Einsidlen—Arrival at Zurich—Courageous Declaration of Zwingle—First Preaching—Effects—Opposition—Character of Zwingle—Taste for Music—Order of the Day—Hawking about.

Seven centuries had now passed away since Charlemagne had attached a college of canons to the same cathedral over whose school Oswald Myconius at this time presided. These canons, having declined from their first position, and eager to enjoy their benefices amidst the pleasures of a slothful life, had elected a priest to whom they intrusted the duty of preaching and the cure of souls. This charge became vacant sometime after the arrival of Oswald, and the schoolmaster immediately remembered his friend, by whose election Zurich must profit greatly. The outward appearance of Zwingle was much in his favour. He was a very handsome good-looking man,* with pleasing manners and agreeable address, whilst his eloquence as a public speaker had already gained him celebrity, and he shone by the excellent temperament of his mind amidst the multitude of his confederates. Myconius spoke of Zwingle to the provost of the chapter, Felix Frey, who had been captivated by the exterior elegance and superior talents of the schoolmaster's friend,† also to Utinger, an old man who was highly respected, and to the canon Hoffman, an individual of a frank and upright character, who, having himself for a long time preached against the foreign service, was well disposed in favour of Ulric. Other inhabitants of Zurich had, on several occasions, listened to the discourses of Zwingle in Einsidlen, and had returned home in a state of excited admiration. The election of a preacher for the cathedral very soon roused into agitation the spirits of the citizens in Zurich. This excitement displayed itself in various forms. A number of persons laboured night and day to secure the election of the eloquent preacher of Notre-Dame of the Hermits.‡ Myconius informed his friend of these proceedings. "Next Wednesday," replied Zwingle, "I will dine in Zurich, and we will speak then of all these matters." He arrived conformably with this promise, and, visiting the house of a canon, "Could you," said this dignitary to Zwingle, "come among us with the purpose of preaching in this place the word of God?" "I could," replied he, "but I will not come unless I am called." He then returned to his abode in the abbey. This visit created alarm in the camp of his enemies, and a number of priests were urged to stand as candidates for the vacant charge. A Swabian, named Laurent Fable, in fact, delivered a trial sermon, and the report was spread abroad that he was elected. "It is, therefore, very true," said Zwingle, on hearing this news, "that a prophet has no honour in his own country, seeing that they have preferred a Swabian to a Swiss. I know how to value the applause of

* Dan Zwingli vom lyb ein hubscher man wass. (Bullinger M.S.) † Und als Imme seine gestalt und geschicklichkeit wol gefiel, gab er Im syn stimm. (Ibid.) ‡ Qui dies et noctes laborarent ut vir ille subrogaretur. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

the people." Zwingle immediately afterwards received a letter from the secretary of cardinal Schinner, informing him that the election had not taken place. But the false rumour which had first reached his ears served, nevertheless, to spur the desires of the curate of Einsidlen. The knowledge that a man so unworthy as this Fable had aspired to the possession of the place, incited Zwingle with keener wishes to obtain the appointment for himself, and in this spirit he wrote a letter to Myconius. Oswald replied to this communication the following day—"Fable shall for ever remain Fable; these gentlemen have learned that he is the father of six boys, and already provided with I do not know how many benefices."

The enemies of Zwingle, however, did not look upon themselves as conquered. Every one, it is true, agreed in praising to the skies the extent of his acquisitions, but certain individuals averred "that he was too fond of music!" whilst others asserted "that he loved the world and its pleasures;" some even going the length to declare "that he was formerly too closely connected with persons of indifferent conduct." One man had indeed the audacity to charge him with a case of seduction. Zwingle was not without faults, and although superior to the ecclesiastics of his own time, he had allowed himself to be drawn more than once, during the first years of his ministry, into the indulgences of youthful inclinations. It is not easy to comprehend the influence which can be exercised over a soul by the corrupted atmosphere in which it may be doomed to live. There were throughout popedom, and among the priests, a host of established disorders admitted and authorized, as in conformity with the laws of nature. A sentence uttered by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope under the title of Pius II., gives us an idea of the miserable condition of the public manners at the period we treat of: we quote this sentence as a note.* Disorder had become the generally admitted rule of order.

Oswald displayed an incredible degree of activity in the cause of his friend, and exerted all his powers to justify his conduct, in which attempt he happily succeeded. He went to the burgomaster Roust, to Hoffman, to Frey, to Utinger, to all of whom he severally commended the probity, the civility, and the purity of Zwingle's behaviour, and obtained his object by confirming these citizens of Zurich in their good opinion of the curate of Einsidlen. Little faith was placed in the statements of his adversaries; insomuch that the most influential men in the city declared that Zwingle would become evangelist at Zurich. The canons said so too, although in a subdued tone. "Hope," wrote Oswald, in the flutter of his heart, "because I also hope." Nevertheless he made his friend acquainted with the accusations of his enemies. Although Zwingle had not yet become altogether a renewed man, he was of the number of those souls whose consciences were awakened, who might fall into evil, but who never fell therein without making resistance and suffering remorse. Often had he formed the resolution of living a holy life, alone of his kind in the world. But when he found himself accused he did not wish to boast of himself as being free from sins. "Having no person," wrote he to the canon Utinger, "to accompany me in the resolutions I had adopted, many even of my companions making a mock of my settled thoughts, alas! I have fallen, and like the dog spoken of by St Peter (2 Ep. ii. 22,) I have returned to my vomit again. Ah, God knows

* Non esse qui vigesimum annum excessit, nec virginem tetigerit. (Zw. Ep. p. 53.)

with what shame and with what agony I have dragged these errors from the depths of my heart, and have exposed them in the face of that great God, to whom I confess my misery, however, with greater willingness than to mortal man." But if Zwingle acknowledged himself a sinner, he at same time exculpated himself from the most odious criminations, with which he had been stigmatized. He declared that he had constantly abjured the very thought of occupying at any time the bed of an adulterer or of the betrayer of female innocence, a mournful excess at that time too prevalent. "I call to witness this assertion," said he, "all those with whom I have ever lived."

On the 11th December the election took place. Zwingle was chosen by a majority of seventeen voices, out of a suffrage composed of twenty-four individuals. It was now time for the Reformation to begin in Switzerland. The instrument of choice which Divine Providence had prepared in the course of three years' training within the solitudes of Einsidlen was now ready, and it must be removed into some other quarter. God, who had selected the new university of Wittemberg, situated in the centre of Germany, under the protection of the wisest of princes, as the place to which Luther should be called, had also chosen in Helvetia the city of Zurich, regarded as the head of the confederation, wherein to settle Zwingle. In this position he was ordained to come in contact not only with a race of people the most intelligent, the most simple, the most active, and the most strong among the inhabitants of Switzerland, but also with all the cantons which are gathered round this ancient and powerful state. The hand which had led a young shepherd from the mountain of Sentis, in order to conduct him to the schools of Wesen, now established the same individual, powerful in works and in words, in the face of the whole confederation, with the purpose of regenerating, by this means, his numerous people. Zurich was about to become a focus of light for the people of Helvetia.

The day on which the nomination of Zwingle was ascertained proved in Einsidlen a day of both joy and sorrow. The society which had been there constituted was about to be destroyed by the separation of one of its most precious members; and who could tell whether superstition might not again be fated to enter within the precincts of that ancient place of pilgrimage? . . . The council of state in Schwitz caused the expression of their sentiments to be conveyed to Zwingle, addressing him in the following style:—"Reverend, learned, very gracious lord and good friend, give us at least from yourself a successor worthy of you," said the affected Geroldsek to Zwingle. "I have for you," replied he, "a little lion, simple and prudent, a man initiated into the mysteries of the holy science." "I would like to see him immediately," exclaimed the administrator. It was Leo Juda of whom mention was here made, that man at once mild and intrepid, with whom Zwingle had lived on intimate terms at Basil. Leo accepted of this vocation, which brought him nearer to the residence of his dear Ulric. Zwingle now found time to embrace his friend and to leave the solitudes of Einsidlen. He soon arrived in the midst of these delightful scenes wherein is erected, with a noble and lively aspect, the city of Zurich, with its accompaniment of little hills, either covered with vineyards or ornamented with orchards

and meadows, or crowned with forests, and over and beyond which is seen the higher summits of the Albis.

Zurich, the centre of the political interests of Switzerland, and wherein were often congregated the most influential men belonging to the nation, was the most suitable situation for engaging in transactions with Helvetia, or for spreading over the different cantons the seeds of the truth. The friends of literature and the Bible equally congratulated themselves upon the nomination obtained by Zwingle. At Paris, in particular, the Swiss students, who were numerous in that splendid capital, were over-joyed immensely at the receipt of these glad tidings. But if Zwingle had gained in Zurich the prospect of a decided victory, he was also destined to encounter therein a hardy fight. Glarean wrote to him from Paris—"I foresee that your knowledge shall create an ardent hatred, but be of good courage, and, like Hercules, you shall overcome the monsters."

It was upon the 27th of December 1518 Zwingle arrived in Zurich, and he first entered the hotel of Einsidlen. He met with a very cordial and honourable reception. The chapter was forthwith summoned together to receive him, and sent an invitation for him to join their meeting. Felix Frey presided, and the canons, whether the friends or foes of Zwingle, sat indiscriminately around the chair of their provost. There was visible, in the assembly, an air of agitation, for every one was inwardly convinced, perhaps without distinctly knowing how, that the commencement of this ministry was indeed a very serious matter. It was agreed to explain to the new priest, whose spirit of renovation was dreaded, the nature of the most important duties connected with his charge. "You shall devote your earnest care," it was said to him gravely, "to the collection of the revenues of the chapter, without neglecting its most minute items. You shall exhort the faithful, whether it be from the elevation of the pulpit or in the secret place of the confessional, to pay regularly their quit-rents and tithes, and to shew, by their offerings, that they respect the church. You shall apply yourself to the increase of the revenue, which proceeds from cases of sickness, sacrifices, and, in general, from all ecclesiastical actions." The chapter added:—"With regard to the administration of the sacraments, to preaching, and to your attendance in the middle of the flock, these, too, are duties incumbent upon the priest to fulfil. Nevertheless you have it in your power to act through the agency of a vicar in the discharge of these different cares, and especially as refers to the work of preaching. You must not administer the sacraments to any but to people of consequence, and after having received sufficient recompense; and you are interdicted from administering these sacraments without distinction of persons."

What a rule for Zwingle to follow! Money, money, money, still! Was it then in this manner Christ had established the ministry? Nevertheless, prudence moderated his zeal; for he knew that it was impossible at the same moment to dispose the seed within the bosom of the earth, to see the tree grow, and to gather the fruits thereof. Without, therefore, entering into any explanations of the duties required at his hands, Zwingle, after having humbly acknowledged his grateful sense of the honourable choice of which he had been the object, declared the nature of the paramount work he had

to perform. "The life of Jesus Christ," said he, "has been too long concealed from the eyes of the people. I will preach especially upon the gospel according to St Matthew, chapter after chapter, in following the sense of the Holy Spirit; in searching solely from the sources of the Scriptures; in probing them to the very bottom; in comparing them with themselves; and in seeking a perfect understanding thereof by constant and ardent prayers. It is to the glory of God, to the praise of his only Son, to the true salvation of souls, and to their instruction in the true faith that I will consecrate my ministry." Sentiments so uncommon made a deep impression upon the assembled chapter. Some of the members expressed their joy; but the greater number manifested their regret. "This manner of preaching," exclaimed they, "is altogether an innovation; this innovation shall very soon introduce others, and where are such novelties to end?" The canon Hoffman, in particular, believing it his duty to prevent the evil effects of a choice which he had himself solicited, said, "This explanation of Scriptures shall prove more injurious than useful to the people." "It is not a new method," replied Zwingle, "it is the old rule of expounding. Be pleased to call to remembrance the homilies of St Chrysostome upon St Matthew, and of St Augustine upon St John. In other respects I will speak with modesty, and will give to no person any just cause of complaint."

Thus Zwingle abandoned the exclusive use of the fragments of the gospel acknowledged since the days of Charlemagne, and reinstating the Holy Scriptures in their ancient rights, he connected the work of the Reformation, from the commencement of his ministry, with the primitive ages of Christianity, and prepared for the future a more profound study of the word of God. But, moreover, this firm and independent position which he adopted in the presence of the church gave indications of a new work; his character as a reformer stood boldly forth before the view of his people, and the reform advanced.

Hoffman, having failed in the attempts he made within the chapter, addressed a written request to the provost, urging him to forbid Zwingle to use any means whereby the people might be shaken in their belief. The provost summoned the new preacher into his presence, and conversed with him in terms of great affection. But no human power was sufficiently strong to stop his speech. On the 31st of December, he wrote a letter to the council of Glaris, wherein he entirely renounced the cure of souls, which, until now, had been reserved for him, and attached himself exclusively to Zurich, and to the work which God had prepared for him in that city.

On Saturday, the 1st of January 1519, Zwingle, having on that day entered upon the 36th year of his life, ascended to the pulpit of the cathedral. An immense crowd, desirous alike of seeing the man who had already attained to such a high degree of celebrity, and to listen to these new additions of the gospel, concerning which every one had become eager in their remarks, filled the temple. "It is to Christ," said Zwingle, "that I am anxious to lead you; to Christ the true source of salvation. His divine word is the sole nourishment which I desire to bestow upon your life or your heart." Then he declared that, from and after the day following, the first Sunday of the year, he would begin to explain the gospel according to St

Matthew. The next day, consequently, the preacher and an audience more numerous still were found in their respective places in the church. Zwingli opened the gospel, that book so long a sealed book to the multitude, and from it he read the first page. Commenting upon the history of the patriarchs and the prophets, (first chapter of St Matthew,) he expounded the meaning in such a manner, that all present, astonished and entranced, exclaimed, "The equal of this has never been heard before."*

He continued in this manner to explain the book of St Matthew, following the Greek text. He demonstrated how the whole Bible found at once its explanation and its application in the very nature of man. Exposing, in an easy style, the most sublime truths of the gospel, his preaching reached the comprehension of every class, and was alike intelligible to the wise and the learned, to the simple and the ignorant.† He extolled the infinite mercies of God the Father, and beseeched all his hearers to place their confidence alone in Jesus Christ, as in their only Saviour. At the same time he urged them to repentance in fervid language; he attacked energetically the errors predominant among his people, and sketched in glowing colours the evils of luxury, intemperance, love of dress, oppression of the poor, idleness, the foreign worship, and the pensions of princes. "In the pulpit," said one of his contemporaries, "he shews respect to no person, neither to the popes, nor emperor, nor kings, nor dukes, nor princes, nor lords, nor even to the confederates. The whole strength and joy of his heart was settled in God, in whom he likewise exhorted the whole city of Zurich to place their trust alone. "Never has a man been heard to speak with so much authority," said Oswald Myconius, who followed with joy and great hope the labours of his friend.

It was impossible that the gospel could be proclaimed in vain within the city of Zurich. A multitude, constantly increasing, and drawn from every class of men, but especially from the lower ranks, hastened to hear its admonitions. Many of the inhabitants of Zurich had discontinued their attendance upon the services of the public worship. "I derive no benefit from the discourses of these priests," frequently exclaimed Fusslin, the poet, historian, and counsellor of state; "for they do not preach the truths of salvation, which they do not in fact comprehend. I see in them no more than the pictures of lust and voluptuousness." Henry Rauschlin, the treasurer of state, a man who assiduously read the Scriptures, expressed himself of the same opinion. "The priests" said he, "had assembled together in thousands at the council of Constance, . . . in order there to burn the best man among them." These distinguished individuals, attracted by curiosity, had come to hear the first discourse delivered by Zwingli. It was very easy to discern in the working of their features the emotions with which they heard the new doctrines of the orator. "Glory be to God!" said they, as they left the temple, "that man is a preacher of the truth. He shall become our Moses, to lead us out of the dark-

* Dessgleichen wie jederman redt, nie gehört worden war. (B. Weise, the contemporary of Zwingli, Fusslin Beytrage, iv. 36.)
 † Nam ita simplices equaliter cum prudentissimis et acutissimis quibusque, proficiebant. (Osw. Myc. Beytr. iv. 36.)
 ‡ All sein Trost stuhnd allein mit frolichem Gemuth zu Gott. (B. Weise, Fussl. in Beytr. iv. 36.)

nesses of Egypt." From that moment they entered into relations of intimate friendship with the Reformer. "Ye powerful of this earth," said Fusslin, "cease to proscribe the doctrine of Christ! Christ, the Son of God, having been put to death, many sinners have arisen. And now, if you cause the preachers of the truth to perish, you shall see appear in their places a host of glaziers, joiners, potters, founders, shoemakers, and tailors who shall teach with power."

At first there was nothing heard in Zurich but a cry of admiration; still, the first moment of enthusiasm over, the adversaries of Zwingle resumed their former courage. Many honest men, whom the dread of a Reformation alarmed, withdrew themselves by degrees from the cause of the reformers. The violence of the monks, for an instant concealed, reappeared, and the college of the canons resounded with clamorous complaints. Zwingle shewed himself possessed of an immovable spirit. His friends, in contemplating his courage, believed that they saw before them one brought back from the apostolic ages.

Among his enemies, some were seen to laugh and make jokes, whilst others made use of the most outrageous threats; but Zwingle endured all their taunts and menaces with the patience of a Christian. "If one is anxious to gain the wicked to Christ," he was in the habit of saying, "it is necessary to shut your eyes upon many things." Admirable words, which ought never to be forgotten.

His character and his manner of intercourse with all men, contributed, as much as his discourses, to gain the hearts of the people. He was at once a true Christian and a true republican. The equality of all men was not with him a common phrase; but, written in his heart, its spirit was manifested in his life. He displayed none of that pharisaical pride, nor of that monastic coarseness, which equally disgust the simple and the wise of this world. On the contrary, one felt himself attracted into his presence, and at perfect ease during the moments of familiar conversation. Strong and uncompromising in the pulpit, he was affable in his demeanour towards every one whom he met upon the streets, or in the public places of the city. Often was he seen in the districts where the different classes met for the trades corporations, explaining to the burghesses of the town the principal points of the Christian doctrine, or holding some private communication with them on matters of minor importance. He received with the same cordiality the peasant and the patrician. "He invited the country people to dinner," said one of his most violent enemies, "walked about in their company, speaking with them of God, and making the devil to enter into their hearts, and his own writings into their pockets. He shewed, indeed, so good an example, that the nobility of Zurich visited also these same peasants, gave them beer to drink, went through the town with them, and bestowed upon them all sorts of attention."

He unceasingly prosecuted his study of music "with modesty," says Bullinger; but still the adversaries of the gospel took the advantage of this propensity, and denominated him "the evangelical player of the flute and lute." Faber having one day reproached him with this over-ardent taste, "My dear Faber," replied Zwingle, with a noble candour, "you do not seem to know what music is. I have, it is true, learned to play upon the lute, the violin, and other instruments, and they enable me to stop the tongues of little children; but

you are too holy to require music! . . . Do you know that David was a great player on the harp, and that in this manner he chased away from Saul the malignant spirit? Ah! if you knew the sound of the celestial lute, the evil spirit of ambition and the love of riches which possesses you would also come out of your heart." Perhaps this passion might have been a weakness on the part of Zwingle. Nevertheless, it was in a spirit of meekness and evangelical liberty that he cultivated this art, which religion has constantly associated with her most sublime ejaculations. He composed the music to which was set several pieces of his Christian poetry, and he was not afraid at times to amuse, with the sounds of his lute, the smallest members of the flock. He behaved in the same meek manner towards the poor. "He ate and drank along with all those who invited him to partake of their repast," says one of his contemporaries, "he despised no one; he was full of compassion for the poor, always firm and always cheerful in good as well as in bad fortune. No sort of evil was sufficiently great to cause him alarm, and his word was at all times full of force, and his heart full of consolations." Such was the fashion in which the popularity of Zwingle increased, seated by turns at the table of the people and the feasts of the great, like his Master of old, and everywhere performing the work to which God had called him.

He was, likewise, indefatigable in the prosecution of his studies. From early morning until ten o'clock, he read, and wrote, and made translations, the Hebrew language being, at the time we speak of, the chief object to which he applied the use of his talents. After dinner he attended to those who had any communications to make to him, or were anxious to receive advice from him; he then took a walk with his friends, and visited some of the members of his congregation. At two o'clock he again began his studies. He once more walked a short distance after supper, and afterwards wrote letters, which occupation often engaged his attention till after midnight. He always laboured in an upright position, and would not permit himself to be interrupted but in circumstances of serious interest.

But there was need for more than the work of one single man. A certain Lucian arrived one day at the house of Zwingle with some writings composed by the German reformer. Rhenan, a learned man at the time settled in Basil, and an unwearied propagator of the works of Luther in Switzerland, had sent this messenger to Zwingle. Rhenan had understood that the hawking of books was a powerful means whereby to spread abroad the doctrine of the gospel. And Lucian had travelled over almost the entire surface of Switzerland, and was acquainted with everybody. "Behold," said Rhenan to Zwingle, "if this Lucian is possessed of sufficient prudence and talents; if it be so, I say, let him carry from city to city, from borough to borough, from village to village, and even from house to house, among the Swiss, the writings of Luther, and in particular the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, written for the use of the laity. The more it is made known, the more purchasers will be found. But care must be taken that he thus distributes no other books; for, if he has none else but the works of Luther, he shall be the better prepared to sell them to advantage." Many families in Switzerland beheld, in this

manner, certain rays of light to penetrate within the confines of their humble dwellings. There is a book, however; which Zwingle ought to have eagerly distributed in preference to those of Luther, namely, the gospel of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VII.

The Indulgences—Samson at Brene—Samson at Baden—The Dean of Biemgarten—The young Henry Dulliger—Samson and the Dean—Internal Fighting of Zwingle—Zwingle against Indulgences—Samson sent back.

The opportunity of displaying his zeal in a new vocation was not long delayed. Samson, the famous disposer of indulgences, approached now, at a slow pace, the vicinity of Zurich. That miserable dealer had arrived at Zug from Schwitz on the 20th of September 1518; and had there continued for the space of three days. An immense crowd had gathered round his stall, whilst the poorer inhabitants were most ardent in their applications, and prevented the rich from advancing into the presence of this singular merchant. Such a state of affairs did not suit the purposes of the monk, and, therefore, one of his servants began to address the populace in the following strain—"Good people, do not press together in such haste. Allow those to come forward who have money to give. We will afterwards endeavour to satisfy those who have no money." From Zug, Samson and his band proceeded to Lucerne; from Lucerne they went to Unterwald; then crossing the fertile districts of the Alps, passing through rich valleys, wending their way at the foot of the eternal ices of the Oberland, and exposing in their cities (the most beautiful in Switzerland) their Roman merchandise, they reached at last the neighbourhood of Berne. The monk was at first forbidden to enter within the walls of this city; but he finally succeeded in gaining admission, and in establishing his bazar in the church of St Vincent. In this situation he began to exclaim more loudly than ever—"Look here," said he to the rich, "we offer you indulgences written on parchment for a crown." "Behold," said he to the poor, "we have absolutions at our disposal on common paper for two batz!" One day, a celebrated knight, James de Stein, rode up to the station of the monk, at a lively pace, upon a horse of dapple grey, which animal was much admired by the vender of indulgences. "Give me," said the knight, "an indulgence for myself, for my troop of five hundred men, for all my vassals at Belp, and for all my ancestors; I offer you in exchange my horse of dapple grey." It was indeed an exorbitant price to put upon a horse: nevertheless the charger charmed the eye of the Franciscan. The bargain was completed; the brute was led into the stable of the monk, and all the souls enumerated were declared by him exempted for ever from the pains of hell. Another day a citizen obtained from him, for thirteen florins, an indulgence, in virtue of which his confessor was authorized to absolve this citizen, among other things, from all sorts of perjury. The respect entertained for Samson was so peculiar, that the counsellor May, an elderly man of enlightened understanding, having used some disparaging words respecting his character, was obliged to ask pardon of the proud monk, and to throw himself on his knees before him.

The last day of his stay arrived. A clamorous sound of the bells announced at Berne the approaching departure of the monk. Samson

was still in the church, standing upright on the steps of the grand altar. The canon, Henry Lupulus, the former master of Zwingle, acted as interpreter. "When the wolf and the fox join company together," said the canon Anselm, turning towards the Schulthess of Watteville, "the best thing for you to do, gracious lord, is to put quickly into a place of safety your sheep and geese." But the monk gave himself little concern about such angry expressions, which, moreover, were seldom repeated in his hearing. "Fall down on your knees," said he, to the superstitious multitude, "recite three *Paters*, three *Ave Marias*, and your souls shall forthwith become as pure as at the moment of your baptism." Then all the people knelt down; and afterwards, wishing to excel himself, Samson exclaimed—"I deliver from the torments of purgatory and of hell all the spirits of the dead citizens of Berne, whatever may have been the place or description of their death!" These buffoons reserved, like their brethren in the fairs, their most attractive exhibitions to the last.

Samson began his journey, laden with money, towards Zurich, directing his steps by way of Argovia and Baden. In proportion as he advanced, the monk, whose appearance was so pitiful at the time he crossed the Alps, assumed an air of greater pride and importance. The bishop of Constance, enraged at not having been requested to grant his legal sanction to his bulls, had forbidden all the curates of his diocese to open their churches on his behalf. At Baden, however, the curate did not long dare to oppose the transactions of his traffic. The monk now redoubled his effrontery. Making, at the head of a procession, a circuit round the church-yard, he seemed to fix his ardent gaze upon some object in the air, whilst his acolytes chanted the hymn for the dead, and, pretending to discover the flight of the souls in their ascent from the church-yard towards heaven, he exclaimed—"Ecce volant!"—See how they fly! One day a man belonging to the place made his way into the tower of the church, and mounting to the belfry, a cloud of white feathers were soon seen to float over the heads of the astonished procession. "See how they fly," cried the wit of Baden, "as he shook a cushion from the height of the tower." A number of people burst into a fit of laughter; and Samson's rage was not appeased when he learned that this man was subject to occasional derangements of intellect. He left Baden overwhelmed with feelings of shame.

Continuing his route, Samson arrived about the end of February 1519 at Bremgarten, where the primate and the second curate of the city, whom he had seen at Baden, had requested him to come. No person enjoyed, in this district of country, a higher reputation than the dean Bullinger of Bremgarten. This individual, although little enlightened with reference to the errors of the church or the word of God, was of a frank disposition, full of zeal, eloquent in his delivery, kind to the poor, and ready to render any service to those of small consequence in the world, and was regarded with affection by the whole neighbourhood. He had, in his youth, contracted a union of conscience with the daughter of a counsellor of the place, in conformity with the practice of such priests as were unwilling to live in a state of impudent dissoluteness. Anna had presented him with five sons, but this numerous family had in no way diminished the consideration with which the dean was regarded. There was not, in all

Switzerland a house more famed for hospitality than the dwelling of the dean. A great lover of the chase, he was seen surrounded by ten or a dozen dogs, and accompanied by the lords of Hallwyll, the abbot of Mury, and the nobles of Zurich, beating the covers in the country and in the forests of the surrounding districts. He kept an open table, and not one of the guests ever appeared more gay than this host. When deputies to the diet proceeded to Baden, they did not fail, in passing through Bremgarten, to visit the house of the dean. "Bullinger," said they, "holds a court equal to that of the most powerful lord."

The strangers remarked in this house a child possessed of a most intelligent countenance. Henry, one of the sons of the dean, had, from his earliest years, encountered a number of dangers. At one time attacked by the plague, he was about to be consigned to the earth, when some signs of life restored him to the bosom of his parents. On another occasion, a scoundrel having attracted him by his caresses, carried him off from his home, when some friends who met them on the road recognised the child and rescued him from the hands of his betrayer. When three years old he was able to repeat the Lord's prayer and the creed, and, creeping into the church, he reached his father's pulpit, where, assuming an air of gravity, he said with all the strength of his voice, "I believe in God the Father," and so on to the end. At twelve years of age his parents sent him to the Latin school at Emmeric, with hearts full of care; for these times were hazardous for a young boy without experience. Students were frequently seen, when the rules of the university appeared too severe in their estimation, to quit their schools in bands, taking along with them so many children, and to secret themselves within the woods, whence they sent their young attendants to beg in the neighbourhood, or even at times to throw themselves, with weapons in their hands, upon the passing peasants, and afterwards to consume in riot the fruits of their rapine. Henry was happily preserved from evil in these distant districts. Like Luther, he gained a livelihood by singing songs in front of the houses in the streets; for his father was anxious that he should learn to provide for himself. He had attained his sixteenth year when he first opened the New Testament: "I therein found," said he, "all that was necessary to secure the salvation of man, and from that moment I adopted this principle—namely, that it is imperative to follow singly the Holy Scriptures, and to reject all human traditions. I neither believe the fathers, in their expositions, nor myself, but I explain the Scriptures by a reference to the Scriptures, without adding or taking away anything from their contents." God, in this manner, prepared the soul of the young man of whom we speak, and who was one day destined to follow in the steps of Zwingle. He was the author of the manuscript reports we so often quote from.

It was about this time that Samson arrived at Bremgarten with all his retinue. The courageous dean, who was not frightened by the appearance of this little Italian army, forbade the monk to dispose of his merchandise within his jurisdiction. The primate, the council of the city, and the second pastor, the friends of Samson, were assembled together in a room of the inn in which the monk proposed to reside, and whom, in an impatient condition, they now

surrounded. "Behold the bulls of the pope," said he; "open for me the doors of your church."

The Dean.—"I will not permit that by means of unauthenticated letters (for the bishop has not legalized them) the purses of my parishioners shall be emptied."

The Monk, (with a solemn tone.)—"The pope is above the bishop. I forbid you from depriving your flock of a grace so wonderful."

The Dean.—"Although it should cost me my life I will not open my church."

The Monk, (with indignation.)—"Rebel priest! in the name of our very holy lord, the pope, I pronounce against thee the penalty of the grand excommunication, and I will not absolve thee unless you redeem, at the price of three hundred ducats, the fault of such unheard-of boldness."

The Dean, (turning his back and retiring.)—"I will know how to give an answer to my legitimate judges; as for you and your excommunication, I have nothing to do with either."

The Monk, (in a rage.)—"Impudent beast! I am on my way to Zurich, and there I shall lay my complaint before the deputies of the confederation."

The Dean.—"I can appear in Zurich as well as you, and from this place I will immediately go thither."

Whilst the things we have recounted above were in progress at Brämgarten, Zwingle, who heard of the enemy's gradual approach, began to preach with decision against the system of indulgences. The vicar, Faber, from Constance, encouraged this conduct, and promised him the support of the bishop. "I know," said Samson, as he journeyed towards Zurich, "that Zwingle will speak against me, but I will be able to shut his mouth." Zwingle felt, in truth, too keenly the sweets of the pardon of Christ not to attack these paper indulgences distributed by those foolhardy men. Often he trembled, like Luther, on account of sin, but he found in the Saviour a deliverance from all his fears. This modest but strong man advanced in the knowledge of God. "When Satan," said he, "frightens me by crying out, You do not do this, or you do not do that, and yet God commands that these things must be done! immediately the sweet voice of the gospel consoles me by this declaration, What you are unable to do, (and assuredly you can do nothing,) Christ can and does accomplish." "Yes," continued the pious evangelist, "when my heart is agonized on account of my want of strength and of the weakness of my flesh, my spirit is re-animated at the sound of this joyful news. Christ is your innocence, Christ is your righteousness, Christ is your salvation. ~~You are nothing, and you can do nothing.~~ Christ is the Alpha and Omega. Christ is the prow and the stern; Christ is all; he can do all. Every created thing will forsake and will deceive you; but Christ, the innocent and the just, will receive and justify you. . . . Yes, it is he," cried Zwingle, "who is our righteousness, and that of all those who shall ever appear as just before the throne of God."

Before the force of such truths, indulgences must fall of themselves; but Zwingle was not afraid to commence an attack upon their fallacy. "No one man," said he, "is able to remit sins. Christ alone, who is perfect God and perfect man, has the power to do so. Go, purchase

indulgences, but rest assured you are not thereby absolved. Those who for money sell the remission of sins, are the companions of Simon the magician, the friends of Balaam, and the ambassadors of Satan."

The dean Bullinger, still agitated in consequence of the conversation he had held with the monk, arrived before him in the city of Zurich. He came to prefer a complaint in presence of the diet against that dishonest dealer and against his infamous traffic. Envoys from the bishop had also arrived on a similar errand. The dean made common cause with them, and every one promised their support. The spirit which animated Zwingle breathed everywhere in the bosom of this city. The council of state resolved to oppose the entrance of the monk within the walls of Zurich.

Samson, meanwhile, had arrived in the suburbs, and had there approached the door of an inn. Already he was on the eve of entering this house, when the deputies of the council accosted him, offering him the present of wine due to the envoy of the pope, but making him to understand that his visit within the city of Zurich might be dispensed with. "I have some things to communicate to the diet in the name of his Holiness," replied the monk. This was a pretence. Nevertheless it was resolved to admit him; but as he spoke of nothing save the bulls in his own possession, he was again dismissed, after having been obliged to withdraw the excommunication pronounced against the dean of Bremgarten. Samson went away from Zurich in anger, and was soon afterwards commanded by the pope to return into Italy. A cart, drawn by three horses, and laden with the coin which his falsehoods had extracted from the pockets of the poor, preceded him in his ascent across the steep roads of St Gothard, which he had traversed eight months before, poor, without equipage, and burdened only with a few papers.

The Helvetic diet shewed at this time more resolution than the diet assembled in Germany. This arose from there being no bishops or cardinals seated in the former tribunal. Besides, the pope, deprived of his supports, conducted himself with more mildness towards Switzerland than with Germany. And it is farther worthy of remark, that the affair of indulgences, which held so prominent a part in the Reformation of Germany, formed no more than an episode in the history of the Reformation in Switzerland.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fatigues of Zwingle—The Baths of Pfeffers—The moment of God—The Great Death—Zwingle attacked by the Plague—His Adversaries—His Friends—Convalescence—General Joy—Effect of the Plague—Myconius at Lucerne—Oswald encourages Zwingle—Zwingle at Basil—Capito called to Mentz—Hedio at Basil—An Unnatural Son—Preparations are made for the Combat.

Zwingle did not spare himself, and his excess of labour required a little rest. He was recommended to visit the baths at Pfeffers. "Ah," in separating from him, said Herus, one of the pupils who lodged in his house, and who in this manner expressed the thoughts of all who knew Zwingle, "although I was possessed of a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron, as Virgil says, or rather with the eloquence of Cicero, I could not declare all that I

owe you, nor all that this separation costs me." Zwingle nevertheless went from home, and arrived at Pfeffers. He reached the said place through that deep glen wherein rises the impetuous torrent of the Jamina. He descended into this infernal abyss, as Daniel the hermit has expressed it, and approached these baths, perpetually boiling from the fall of the torrent, and watered by the spray of broken waves. Flambeaux were required to give light at mid-day in the house wherein Zwingle lodged. It was even asserted by those around him that hideous spectres appeared at times there during the darkness of the night.

And yet in this place he still found occasion for serving his Master. His affability won the hearts of several invalids. One of this number was a celebrated poet, Philip Ingentinus, a professor at Friburg in Brisgau, who from this time displayed an ardent zeal in the cause of the Reformation.

God watched over his work and desired to forward its progress. The deficiency of Zwingle lay in his strength—strong in body, strong in character, and strong in talents, he was doomed to behold all these strong points broken, in order to become an instrument such as God might love. There was still a baptism he required to receive, that of adversity, of infirmity, of weakness, and of sorrow. Luther had incurred this ceremony at that time of agony, when his piercing cries were heard to penetrate the cell and the long corridors of the convent at Erfurt. Zwingle had, however, to undergo the rite by finding himself brought down to the bed of sickness and the gates of death. There is for the heroes of this world—for Charles the Twelfth and Napoleons—a moment which decides the fate of their career and their glory; it is that in which their peculiar force suddenly flashes as it were upon their minds. A moment analogous to this occurs in the life of heroes in the cause of God, but it is displayed in a contrary sense; for it is the moment when these latter heroes become convinced of their impotence and nothingness, when they receive from on high assistance from the strength of God. A work such as that to which Zwingle was ordained the organ can never be accomplished by the natural strength of man; that strength would fade immediately, like a tree which is transplanted in the full developement of its branches and vigour. A sprig must be weak in order that it may again take root in the ground, and the grain must die in the earth before it can produce an ample crop. God conducted Zwingle, and with him the work of which he was the hope, to the brink of the grave. It is among dead men's bones, darkness, and the dust of death, that God is pleased to rear the organs by means of which he desires to spread over the face of the earth, light, regeneration, and life.

Zwingle was hidden between the immense rocks which encompass the furious torrent of La Jamina, when, on a sudden, he was informed that the pest, or, as it was called, the *great death*, had made its appearance in Zurich. Most terrible to say, it broke out in August, on the day of St Laurence, continued raging till Candlemas, and destroyed the lives of 2,500 persons. The young people who dwelt in the house of Zwingle had immediately departed, in conformity with the instructions he had given them. His dwelling was empty; but this was the moment he chose for his return. He hastily quitted Pfeffers and reappeared in the midst of his flock, decimated by the

horrid malady. He immediately sent back to Wildhaus his younger brother, Andrew, who wished to remain with him, and from that moment consecrated his labours entirely in behalf of the victims to this fearful plague. Every day he spoke to the sick of Christ and his consolations.* His friends, happy to see him in health and peace in the middle of so many instances of death, experienced, nevertheless, a secret fear. "Do good," wrote Conrad Brunner, who himself died of the pest some months later, "but at same time remember to take care of your own life." The warning came too late, Zwingle had been infected by the pest. The great preacher of Switzerland was laid on a bed out of which he might perhaps never again rise to see the light of day. He communed with himself, and directed his thoughts towards Heaven. He knew that Christ had secured for him a certain inheritance, and pouring out the sentiments of his heart in a song full of unction and simplicity, of which, it being impossible to retain the original and pure language, we will attempt at least to reproduce the rhyme and the meaning.

My door is opened,
And 'tis by death,
By thee I'm defended,
My God! my strength!
Oh, Jesus my Lord,
Thy pierced arm
Breaks through the sword
That would me harm.
But if my soul,
In its full cry,
Thy true voice control, †
To Christ I fly.
Ah! let me die,
I am thine own,
And to the sky
My faith hath flown.

Nevertheless the malady increased, and his friends contemplated with despondency that man who was the hope of Switzerland and of the church ready to become a tenant of the grave. His recollection and his strength forsook him, and his heart was like to faint, but he still found sufficient strength to turn towards God and to cry—

My sores like coal
Do burn; oh, hear.
My body and soul
Are crushed with fear.
Death's at his post,
I lose my reason,
My voice is lost
Christ . . . now's the season. ‡

* Ut in majori periculo sis, quod in dies te novo exponas, dum invisis ægrotos. (Bullinger, MS. 87.) M. de Chateaubriand had forgotten this fact, and thousands of others of a similar nature, when he wrote "that the Protestant pastors abandoned the necessitous on the bed of death, and did not hasten into the midst of the plague. (Essay on English Literature.)

† Willit du dann glych
Tod haben mich
In mitts der Tagen min
So soll's willing sin. (Zw. Op. ii p. 270.)

‡ Nun ist est um
Min Zung ist stumm.

Darum ist Zyt
Dass du min stryt. (Ibid.)

Satan I distinctly see ;
 His thirst is dire
 To swallow me—
 Must I here expire ?

To me his frown
 Shall cause no loss,
 For I'll fall down
 Before thy cross.

The canon, Hoffman, sincere in his own faith, could not brook the idea of seeing Zwingle die in the conviction of the errors he had preached. Hoffman, therefore, called upon the provost of the chapter, and said to him, "Only think of the danger his soul is placed in! Has he not called fantastical innovators all the doctors who have been teaching for more than three hundred and eighty years, such as Alexander Hales, St Bonaventura, Albert the Great, Thomas d'Aquinas, and all the canonists? Does he not presume to say that their doctrines are dreams which they had in their monk hoods, within the walls of their cloisters? . . . Ah! it would have been better for the city of Zurich that Zwingle had destroyed for many years the fruits of our vineyards and our harvests! Now, however, he is at the point of death. . . . I beseech you to save his poor soul." It would appear that the provost, better instructed than the canon, did not consider it necessary to convert Zwingle to the belief of St Bonaventura or of the great Albert. He was, therefore, left at peace on these matters.

Sorrow, however, was prevalent among the inhabitants of the town. All true believers cried to God day and night, and implored him to restore the health of their faithful pastor. The general alarm had passed from Zurich over to the mountains of Tockenburg. The pest had also reached to the summit of these hills. Seven or eight persons had become its victims in the village, among whom was a servant to Nicholas, the brother of Zwingle. No letters were received at home from the reformer. "Let me know," wrote the young Andrew Zwingle, "in what state of health you are, my well-beloved brother. The abbot and all our brethren send their kind wishes to you." It would appear that the father and mother of Zwingle were by this time dead, as no mention is made of them in this letter.

The news of Zwingle's illness, and even the report of his death, were spread abroad in Switzerland and Germany. "Ah," exclaimed Hedio, while sobbing in tears, "the salvation of the country, the trumpet of the gospel, the magnanimous herald of the truth, is silenced by death in the flower, and as we may say, the spring time of his age." When the news that Zwingle had caught the infection reached Basil, the whole town was affected with lamentations and sorrow.

Nevertheless the spark of life which still remained in the body of Zwingle was kindled anew. And although all his limbs were, so to speak, paralyzed, his soul retained the unshaken conviction that God had destined him to replace on the empty candlestick of the church the burning torch of his word. The pest abandoned its apparent victim, and Zwingle sang aloud with tremulous voice the following words:—

My God! my strength!
 By thee I'm cured,
 Upon this firm earth
 I'm still secured.

No more can injure
Me th' unclean thing,
While in accents pure
Of thee I'll sing.

The uncertain hour
May come to be.
A dark'ning lower
Of dread for me.*

What needs I care—
With joyful cry
My yoke I'll bear†
Up to the sky.

So soon as Zwingle could hold the pen in his hand, (this happened at the beginning of November,) he wrote a letter to his family, which letter caused unspeakable joy, especially to his younger brother Andrew. This young man, however, died himself, one year later, of the plague, and, on receiving account of his death, Ulric shed a greater quantity of tears, and lamented more bitterly than a woman would have done, as he himself has said. At Basil, Conrad Brunner, the friend of Zwingle, and Bruno Amerbach, the famous printer, both young men, were, after three days' illness, carried to the grave. It was believed, in that city, that Zwingle had also perished, and great grief was manifested among the students of the university. "He whom God loved," it was said, "had paid the debt of nature in the flower of his life." But what joy was felt, when Collinus, a Lucernian student, and afterwards a merchant in Zurich, brought the intelligence of Zwingle's escape from the precincts of the tomb. The vicar to the bishop of Constance himself, John Faber, the former friend of Zwingle, but who afterwards became his bitter foe, wrote to him in these words—"O my well-beloved Ulric! how much is the joy I experience in learning that you have escaped from the jaws of cruel death. If you are in danger, the Christian republic is threatened with ruin. The Lord has desired by severe trials to force you to seek more earnestly the blessings of eternal life."

This was, in truth, the end purposed by God in the trials visited upon Zwingle, and this end was accomplished, although in another manner than what was anticipated by Faber. This attack of the plague in 1519, whose ravages were so fearful in the north of Switzerland, was rendered, in the hand of God, a powerful instrument for converting to the true faith a number of souls. But its most decided influence was visible in the case of Zwingle himself.

The gospel, which until then had been regarded by him too much in the light of a simple doctrine, now became, at this period, in his mind a grand reality. He rose as it were from the grave with a heart wholly renewed. His zeal became more active, his life more

* Words which were fulfilled in a striking manner twelve years afterwards, on the bloody field of Cappel.

† So will Ich doch
Den trutz und poeh,
In diser welt
Tragen frolich
Um widergelt.

Although these three scraps of poetry are dated "at the beginning, middle, and end of the malady," and express the sentiments which Zwingle really experienced at these different moments, it is probable that they were not arranged in the way we have given them till after his recovery. (MS. Bullinger.)

holy, his preaching more free, more Christian, and more powerful. This epoch signalized the entire emancipation of Zwingle's spirit. From that moment he consecrated his talents to the services of God. But at the same time with the reformer, the reform also received in Switzerland a new life. The scourge of God, in shape of the *great death*, in passing over these mountains and sweeping along these valleys, imparted to the agitation vibrating throughout their length and breadth a character more decided and holy. The reform was plunged, like Zwingle, into the waters of sorrow and of grace, and came up out of these waters in a more pure and lively condition. It was a great day in the work of God for the regeneration of this people.

Zwingle imbibed a new courage, of which he felt an urgent need, in his communion with his friends. An ardent affection united him in feeling especially to Myconius. They proceeded together leaning on each others arm, like Luther and Melancthon. Oswald's lot at Zurich was a happy one. His situation there might, no doubt, be called irksome, but the virtues of his amiable wife gladdened his heart. It was of her Glarean declared, "If I were to meet with a young woman like her, I would prefer her to the daughter of a king." Nevertheless a faithful voice came at times to disturb the tranquil friendship of Zwingle and Myconius; this voice proceeded from Xylotect, who, calling Oswald from Lucerne, summoned him to return back into his own country. Zurich is not your native place," said he, "but Lucerne. You say that the inhabitants of Zurich are your friends, I grant that such may be the fact, but do you not know what the evening star shall bring you? Serve your country; I advise, I conjure you, and, if I were able, I would command you." Xylotect, suiting the action to the word, had Myconius appointed master of the collegiate school at Lucerne. Oswald did not longer hesitate; he recognised the finger of God in this election, and however great the sacrifice might be he resolved to endure the suffering. Who knew but he might be destined to become the instrument of the Lord for propagating the doctrine of peace among the warlike inhabitants of Lucerne? But how afflicting must the separation between Zwingle and Myconius have been; they parted from each other bathed in tears. "Your departure," wrote, a short time afterwards, Ulric to Oswald, "has carried away from the cause I defend a strong support, similar to that of which an army ranged in battle is deprived when one of its wings is destroyed. Ah! I now perceive how much could have been done by my Myconius, and how often, without my being aware of it, he has maintained the cause of Christ."

Zwingle experienced more sensibly the privation of his friend on account of the weak state to which the plague had reduced his strength. "This pest has weakened my memory," he wrote on the 30th of November 1519, "and exhausted my spirits." Scarcely had he become convalescent when he resumed the labour of all his duties. "But," said he, "often in preaching I lose the thread of my discourse. All my members are oppressed with languor, and I am almost like one already dead." Moreover, the opposition adopted by Zwingle against the sale of indulgences had excited the rage of their defenders. Oswald encouraged his friend by the letters he wrote to him from Lucerne. And did not the Lord also at this moment afford him evidence of his succour in the protection with which he surrounded

in Saxony the powerful champion who had gained over the powers in Rome such splendid victories? "What do you think," said Myconius to Zwingle, "of the cause of Luther? For myself, I entertain no fear either for the gospel or for him. If God do not protect the truth, by whom shall it be defended? All that I request from the Lord is, that he will not withdraw his hand from those who cherish nothing so dearly as his gospel. Continue as you have begun, and a rich reward shall be given you in the heavens."

A former friend came to console Zwingle for the loss he had sustained in the departure of Myconius. Bunzli, who had been, in Basil, the master of Ulric, and who had succeeded as dean of Wesen to the uncle of the reformer, arrived in Zurich in the course of the first week of the year 1520, and Zwingle formed a project with Bunzli to visit together the society of their mutual friends in Basil. This sojourn of Zwingle at Basil was, moreover, productive of happy consequences. "Oh, my dear Zwingle," wrote, at a later period, John Glother, "I will never forget you. The cause of my attachment to you is to be found in the goodness with which, during your stay in Basil, you were pleased to visit me, a mere master of a little school, an obscure man, unpossessed of knowledge or of merit, and in a low condition! That which gained my affections was the elegance of manners, the indescribable mildness with which you ingratiated yourself into every heart, and even softened, so to speak, the rudeness of stones." But the ancient friends of Zwingle profited still more by the accident of his sojourn in Basil. Capito, Hedio, and many others, were electrified by the stirring spirit of his words, and the first-mentioned individual, commencing in this town the work which Zwingle prosecuted in Zurich, began to expound the gospel according to Matthew in the presence of an audience whose numbers were found constantly to increase. The doctrine of Christ penetrated and enlightened their hearts. The people received that doctrine with joy, and welcomed with acclamations the revival of Christianity. Here was descried the aurora of the Reformation. But there was also quickly seen to gather around Capito an angry host of priests and monks. It was at this juncture the young archbishop-cardinal of Mentz, Albert, desirous of attaching to his person a man of such distinguished talents, called Capito to become a member of his court; and Capito, observing the difficulties to which he was at home exposed, accepted of the proffered vocation. The people became excited in their passions—their indignation against the priests being excessive—and disturbances were raised in the streets of the city. Hedio was proposed as the successor of Capito; but some objected to his youth, while others said, "He is his disciple!" "Truth bites," said Hedio, "there is no advantage in grating, by telling it, the ears of the too sensitive. It is of no consequence, nothing shall draw me away from the right path." The monks redoubled their efforts. "Do not believe," exclaimed they, from the elevation of the pulpit, "those who assert that the summary of the Christian doctrine is to be found in the gospel and in the writings of St Paul. Scotus has been more useful to the cause of Christianity than even St Paul himself. All that has ever been said or printed worthy of wisdom has been stolen from Scotus. Anything that has been done beyond

this, by persons greedy of glory, has been to add a few Greek and Hebrew words, with the view of darkening the whole matter."

The tumult in the city increased, there were fears entertained that when Capito should have departed the opposition would become more powerful. "I shall be almost alone," thought Hedio, "myself a weak and miserable creature, left to struggle with these formidable monsters." He, moreover invoked the assistance of God, and wrote in the following terms to Zwingle:—"Inflame my courage by frequent letters. Science and Christianity are at present placed between the anvil and the hammer. Luther has just been condemned by the universities of Louvain and Cologne. If the church ever was exposed to imminent danger, it is at this hour." . . .

Capito quitted Basil on his route for Mentz on the 28th of April, and Hedio succeeded him in his charge. Not satisfied with the public meetings held in the temple, and wherein he continued the explanations of St Matthew's gospel, Hedio proposed, after the month of June, according to the manner he described to Luther in a letter, to assemble private parties in his own house, to afford a more minute description of evangelical instruction to those who experienced a desire to receive such peculiar information. This effective method of conveying a knowledge of the truth, and of augmenting the interest and the zeal of the faithful in divine things, could not fail then, as at all times, to create opposition, whether it were among the people of the world or among dominant priests, who, both the one and the other, although from different motives, were equally anxious that God should only be worshipped within the confines of certain walls. But Hedio was invincible. *

At the same period in which Hedio formed in Basil this excellent resolution, there arrived at Zurich one of those characters which the boiling spirit of revolution commonly throws up to the top like filthy scum.

The senator Grebel, a man held in great esteem at Zurich, had a son named Conrad, a young man of remarkable talents, the unmerciful enemy of ignorance and superstition, which he attacked with outrageous satire. He was at same time blustering, biting, and bitter in his discourses, devoid of natural affection, addicted to intemperance; always making loud protestations of his own innocence, while he beheld nothing but guilt in the conduct of others. We take notice of him in this place, because at an after period he was destined to achieve a mournful part. At the period we now speak of, Vadian had married one of Conrad's sisters. This brother, who carried, on his studies in Paris, where his misconduct rendered him incapable of exertion, experienced a desire to be present at the marriage, and about the beginning of June he unexpectedly appeared at the family mansion in Zurich. His poor father received his prodigal son with a complaisant smile, while his tender mother was forced to weep. The kindness of his parents, however, did not suffice to change the imperious nature of his heart. His worthy but unhappy mother having afterwards fallen into a state of dangerous sickness, Conrad wrote to his brother-in-law, Vadian—"My mother has recovered; she once more superintends the affairs of the house—having slept, she rises, scolds, takes breakfast, quarrels, dines, creates a disturbance, sups, and is constantly an incumbrance to us. She runs about, cooks and

re-cooks, sweeps and gathers together, labours away, kills herself with fatigue, and shall very soon bring upon herself a severe relapse." Such was the character of the man who, at a later date, pretended to convince Zwingle, and who distinguished himself by becoming the leader of a band of fanatical anabaptists. Divine providence perhaps permitted the appearance of similar characters at the period of the Reformation, in order to extract by their disordered opposition, even the wise spirit, well regulated and Christian, which animated the reformers.

Everything gave evidence that the combat between the gospel and Popery was about to commence. "Let us excite the minds of temporizers," wrote Hedio at Zurich: "the peace is broken. Let us fortify our hearts; for we shall have to fight against coarse enemies." Myconius wrote in the same strain to Ulric; but Zwingle replied to these warlike admonitions with an admirable display of meekness. "I should wish," said he, "to gain over these stubborn men by kindness and good offices, rather than to overthrow them by violence and disputations. What although they denominate our doctrine (which, however, is not ours) a doctrine of the devil, there is nothing but what is natural in this, and in answer to it, I know that we are indeed the ambassadors of God. The demons were unable to hold their tongue in the presence of Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER IX.

The Two Reformers—Fall of Man—Expiation of the God-Man—No Merit of Works—Objections Refuted—Power of Love for Christ—Election—Christ alone the Master—Effects of this Preaching—Weakness and Courage—First Act of the Magistrate—The Church and State—Attacks—Galster.

Whilst anxious to follow in the paths of peace, Zwingle did not remain idle. Since his recovery from the plague his preaching had become more profound and more animated. Above two thousand persons had received the word of God in their hearts, and confessed the evangelical doctrine in Zurich, who were themselves able to explain the terms of their new religion.

Zwingle embraced the same faith with Luther, but still a faith more rational. With Luther the transport of feeling governed his mind; while with Zwingle the clearness of exposition directed his thoughts. There is visible in the writings of Luther an intimate and personal persuasion of the price the cross of Jesus Christ maintained with reference to himself; and that sentiment, full of life and vigour, forms the soul of all he utters. The same conviction is, no doubt, perceptible in the works of Zwingle, but in a more moderate degree. He regarded particularly the combination of the Christian system, and admired its perfections especially on account of the beauty he therein discovered—of the light they conveyed into the human mind—and of the certainty of eternal life which they declared to the world. The one was more the man of the heart, the other was more the man of intellect, and in this fact we behold the reason why those who do not know from their own experience the influences of that faith which animated these two grand disciples of the Lord, falling into the most absurd errors, have described the one as a Mystic and the other as a Rationalist. It may be that the one is more pathetic, the other more philosophical, in the exposition of their faith; but they both

believed and maintained the same truths. They did not perhaps look at all secondary questions in the same point of view; but that faith which is one and indivisible—that faith which enlivens and justifies whoever attains its possession—that faith which no one confession and no one doctrine is able to express, is equally recognised in the writings of both. The doctrine of Zwingli has been often so evilly misrepresented, that it becomes us to call to remembrance the substance of what he then preached to the people, whose crowds, always increasing, filled the cathedral of Zurich.

Zwingli recognised in the fall of the first man the key to the history of human life. "Before the fall," said he one day, "man was created with the possession of a free will, in so much that if he had chosen, he could have observed the whole law; his nature was pure; the malady of sin had not as yet infected it, he held his life in his own hand. But, desiring to become like God, he died, . . . and not only he himself, but also all that might be born of him. All mankind, therefore, being dead in Adam, no one could recall them to life, until the Spirit, which is God himself, should raise them from this state of death."*

The people of Zurich, who listened with eagerness to the declarations of this powerful orator, were struck with dismay on receiving this account of the state of sin into which human nature had fallen, but the same people were very soon afterwards lightened in their hearts, by being assured of the remedy which could recover the lost life of man. "Christ, true man and true God," exclaimed the eloquent voice of the son of the shepherd of Tockenburgh, "has acquired for us a redemption which shall never end. It is the Eternal God who has died for us: his passion is therefore eternal; and it ensures for ever salvation; it also appeases for ever Divine justice in favour of all those who rest upon this sacrifice with a firm and unshaken faith." "Wherever sin exists," cried the reformer, "it is necessary that death should follow. Christ had no sin, nor was guile found in his mouth; nevertheless he died! . . . Ah! how has he died? He has died for us! He was willing to perish in order to bring us back again to life; and as he had no sins of his own, the Father, full of mercy and compassion, has transferred to him the penalty of our sins." "Seeing that the will of man," continued the Christian orator, "had set itself in rebellion against the supreme God, it was necessary, in order that the eternal command should be re-established, and that man might be saved, that the human will should submit itself in Christ to the Divine will." He often repeated that it was for the faithful, for the people of God, that the expiatory death of Jesus Christ had taken place.

The souls panting for salvation in the city of Zurich found rest whilst listening to the rehearsal of these glad tidings; but there still remained in their minds ancient errors which it was necessary to destroy. Passing on from this grand truth of a salvation which is

* *Quoniam ergo omnes homines in Adamo mortui sunt . . . donec per Spiritum et gratiam Dei ad vitam quæ Deus est excitentur.* (Zw. Op. i., p. 203.) These words, and others which we have quoted, and will still quote, are extracted from a work published in 1523, and in which he collects, in a body of doctrine, what he preached during a course of several years.—*Hic recensere cœpi, et recensere, quæ ex verbo Dei prædicavi.* (Ibid. p. 228.)

the gift of God, Zwingle exerted his talents with fervour to overthrow the pretended merit of human works. "Since eternal salvation," said he, "proceeds singly from the merit and the death of Jesus Christ, the merit of our works is nothing less than madness, not to say impious temerity. Had we been able to save ourselves by means of our works, it would not have been necessary for Jesus Christ to have died. Whoever has at any time come to God, has come to him through the death of Jesus Christ."

Zwingle perceived the objections which this doctrine created in the minds of some of his hearers. These objections were in reality represented to him in private meetings with some of his people. He consequently from the pulpit addressed to them the following words:—"Some persons," perhaps more curious than pious, "object to this doctrine, inasmuch as that it is calculated to render man thoughtless and dissolute. But it is of little moment what the curiosity of man may be induced either to object or to fear. Whoever believes in Jesus Christ is certain that everything which proceeds from God must necessarily be good. And what other power shall be found able to restore to men the possession of innocence, truth, and love? . . . O God, long-suffering, most just, the father of mercy," exclaimed he, in the effusions of his piety, "with what charity hast thou regarded us thine enemies! . . . With what grand and certain hopes hast thou filled our hearts, we who were doomed to know nothing but despair, and to what glory hast thou called, in thy Son, our meanness and nothingness. . . . Thou desirest, by such ineffable love, to constrain us to return love for love!" . . .

Then, seizing hold of this idea, he demonstrates that love for the Redeemer is a more powerful law than the commandments. "The Christian," said he, "freed from the law, depends entirely upon Christ. Christ is his reason, his counsel, his justice, and all his salvation. Christ lives and moves in him. Christ alone leads him, and he has no need of any other guide." And availing himself of a comparison level to the understanding of his hearers, he added—"If a government were to forbid its subjects to receive from the hands of foreigners either pensions or rewards, how sweet and easy would this law be to those who, from a love of their country and liberty, should entirely abstain from an action so culpable; while, on the contrary, how would this law not torment and overwhelm those who regard nothing but their own interests? Thus, the just live happy in the love of justice, at the same time that the unjust proceed on in their way, trembling under the heavy weight of the law which oppresses them."

There were within the walls of the cathedral at Zurich a great number of old soldiers who easily perceived the application of these truths. Is not love the most powerful of legislators? Is not whatever it commands immediately obeyed. Does not he whom we love dwell in our hearts, and does he not himself therein accomplish whatever he commands? In this manner Zwingle, rising in his boldness, affirms, in the hearing of the people of Zurich, that love for the Redeemer was alone capable of making man perform works agreeable to God. "Works done without a reference to Jesus Christ are useless," said this Christian orator. "Since then all is done for him, in him, and through him, how do we pretend to arrogate anything to ourselves? In every place where God is believed in, there God is to

be found ; and wherever God is present, there is also near a zeal which urges and compels to the performance of good works. Only take care that Christ may be in you and you in Christ, and do not doubt that then he shall be found to work in you. The life of the Christian is nothing more than a continual operation, whereby God begins, continues, and ends good purposes in man."

Impelled by the grandeur of this love of God, which has existed from all eternity, the herald of grace increased the ardour of his words, to gain the approbation of irresolute or fearful souls. "Shall you be afraid," said he, "to draw near to this tender Father who has chosen you? Wherefore has he in his grace elected us? wherefore has he called us? wherefore has he constrained us? is it that we should not dare to approach him?"

Such was the doctrine taught by Zwingle. It was that of Jesus Christ himself. "If Luther preaches Jesus Christ, he does what I do," said the preacher at Zurich. "Those who have been led by him to think of Christ exceed in number those who have been directed by me into the same path ; but this does not signify, I do not wish to bear any other name than that of Jesus Christ of whom I am the soldier, and who alone is my chief. Never has a single word of a letter been written by me to Luther, nor by Luther to me. And for what reason, but in order to shew to every one how the Spirit of God is in accordance with itself, seeing that without any understanding on our part we teach with so much harmony the doctrine of Jesus Christ?"

It was thus Zwingle preached with courage and with acceptance. The vast enclosures of the cathedral were unable to contain the crowds which flocked to listen to his words. All gave thanks to God that a new life had come to reanimate the extinguished light of the church. A number of Swiss from every canton visited Zurich, either to attend the diet or from other motives, and, struck by the spirit of this unusual method of preaching, they conveyed the precious seeds of the word into all the valleys of their land. A shout of joy was heard to proceed alike from the tops of the mountains and the bosoms of the cities. "Switzerland," wrote Nicolas Hageus from Lucerne to Zurich, "Switzerland has before this time given birth to many Scipios, Cæsars, and Brutuses ; but scarcely has she produced one or two men who knew Jesus Christ, and who nourished their hearts, not with vain disputes, but with the word of God. Now, however, that Divine providence has bestowed on Switzerland Zwingle as an orator and Oswald Myconius as a teacher, the virtues and the holy writings have received a new life among us. Oh, happy Helvetia, would you at last consent to rest from the labour of so many wars, and, already celebrated for deeds of arms, you would become still more celebrated for your love of justice and peace." "It has been said," wrote Myconius to Zwingle, "that your voice could not be heard at the distance of three steps. But I now see that such an assertion was a falsehood ; for the whole of Switzerland rings with the sound of your words." "You are indeed clothed with intrepid courage," wrote Hedio from Basil ; "I will follow you as closely as I can." "I have heard you," were the expressions of Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, at Constance. "Ah, would to God that Zurich, which is the head of our happy confedera-

tion, may be cleansed from this malady, and that health may thus be communicated to the whole body."

But Zwingle had to encounter adversaries as well as to listen to admirers. "For what purpose," said some, "does he occupy himself with the affairs of Switzerland?" "Wherefore, in his religious instructions," said others, "does he constantly repeat the same things?" Often in the heat of all these combats sadness seized upon the soul of Zwingle. Everything appeared to him as in a state of confusion, and the frame of society seemed as if it were turned upside down. He believed it impossible to farther the progress of new improvements without witnessing the appearance at the same time of some hideous opposition. If hope animated his heart for a moment, there immediately succeeded to such happy presentiments feelings of fear. Nevertheless he soon acquired sufficient resolution to raise his head again with courage. "The life of man here below," said he, "is a warfare, and he who desires to obtain glory must attack the world in front, and, like David, force that superb Goliath to lick the dust." "The church," said he, like Luther, "has been established by blood, and must also be recovered by blood. The more she has been defiled, the more is it necessary for us to take up the arms of Hercules, in order to clean out these Augean stables. I fear little for Luther," added he; "even should he be pierced by the arrows of this Jupiter."

Zwingle had much need of rest, and he retired to the wells of Baden. The curate of this place, an ancient guardsman to the pope, a man of good character, but of consummate ignorance, had obtained this benefice during the time he carried the musket. Whilst that, constant to his habits as a soldier, he passed the day and part of the night in haunts of pleasure, Staheli, his vicar, was indefatigable in the discharge of all the duties belonging to the sacred office. Zwingle invited the young minister to his house. "I have need of Swiss helps," said he to him, and from that moment Staheli became his fellow-labourer. Zwingle, Staheli, and Luti, afterwards pastor in Winterthur, dwelt under the same roof.

The devotion of Zwingle to his labours was not destined to remain unrewarded. The word of Christ preached with so much energy could not prove unfruitful. Several magistrates were gained over to the cause of the truth, and found, in the word of God, their consolation and their strength. Distressed to find the priests, and especially the monks, declaring from their stations in the pulpits, boldly, whatever occurred to their imaginations, the council passed a resolution by which it was ordained that these officials should not advance in their discourses other matter "than what they might extract from the sacred sources of the Old and New Testament." It was in the year 1520 the civil power thus, for the first time, interfered in the work of the Reformation, acting the part of Christian magistrates, according to the opinion of many, seeing that the first duty of a magistrate is to maintain the Divine word and to protect the most precious interests of the citizens; depriving the church, said others, of its liberty, and subjecting it to the secular power, whereby the signal was given to that series of evils which has since been created by the union of the church and state. We will not here pretend to decide upon this grand question of controversy, which in our own day is still the subject of ardent contest in more countries than one. It is

sufficient for us to have distinguished its origin at the epoch of the Reformation. But there is another circumstance which merits observation, namely, that the act of these magistrates was itself an effect produced by the preaching of the word of God. The Reformation in Switzerland, at that time, left the confines of simple individualities and entered into the wide domain of the nation. Born within the heart of a few priests and learned men, it (the Reformation) increased in strength, and gained a position in superior places. Like the waters of the sea, it rose by degrees, until it once more covered an immense expanse.

The monks were placed under an interdict—they were commanded to preach the word of God alone, while the greater number of them had never read that word. Opposition provokes opposition. The resolution we have alluded to became also the signal of more violent attacks against the Reformation. Plots were now entered into, detrimental to the safety of the curate of Zurich. His life was in danger. One evening when Zwingli and his vicars were peaceably conversing together in his house, some citizens arrived there in haste, and said to them—"Have you strong bolts upon your doors? Be this night upon your guard." "We had frequent warnings of similar import," adds Staheli; "but we were well armed, and a guard was kept over us in the streets."

Recourse, however, was had elsewhere to more violent measures than these. An old man from Schaffhausen, named Galster, a just man, and of rare energy at his advanced age, felt happy in the light he had derived from a study of the gospel, and endeavoured to communicate the same blessing to his wife and children. In his zeal, (it might be somewhat indiscrete,) he openly attacked the subject of relics, the superstitions, and the priests with which this canton was filled, and thus immediately became an object of hatred and of alarm even to his own family. This old man, anticipating some direful design, quitted, with a broken-heart, the comforts of his own house, and took refuge in the neighbouring forests. He lived in this seclusion for some days, supporting life by whatever means he could obtain, when, all at once, on the last night of the year 1520, the light of many flambeaux illuminated the depths of the forest, while the shouts of men and the barking of dogs rang through the stillness of its darkened shades. The council had ordered this chase in the wood for the purpose of discovering the old man's retreat, and the dogs were successful in finding their game. The unhappy victim was dragged before the magistrate, and summoned to abjure his faith; but as he continued unshaken in his doctrine, he was beheaded.

CHAPTER X.

A New Combatant—The Reformer of Berne—Zwingli Encourages Haller—The Gospel at Lucerne—Oswald Persecuted—Preachings of Zwingli—Henry Bullinger and Gerold of Knobenau—Rubi at Basil—The Chaplain of the Hospital—War in Italy—Zwingli against Capitulations.

The year whose first day was marked by the execution of this bloody deed had scarcely begun its course when Zwingli received within his house at Zurich the visit of a young man about twenty-eight years of age, of handsome stature, and whose features bespoke the feelings of candour, simplicity, and bashfulness. He introduced

himself as Berthold Haller, and Zwingle, on hearing his name announced, embraced the celebrated preacher of Berne with that cordial affability which imparted to his manners their peculiar fascination. Haller, born at Aldingen in Wurtemberg, had commenced his studies at Rotweil under Rubellus, and afterwards prosecuted his learning at Pforzheim, where he had Simler for a master and Melancthon for a school-fellow. The inhabitants of Berne had at this time determined to introduce a knowledge of letters within the bosom of their republic, already rendered so powerful by their feats of arms. Rubellus and Berthold, twenty-one years of age, consequently proceeded to Berne; and a short time afterwards Haller was named canon, and, in the sequel, preacher in the cathedral. The gospel which Zwingle preached had come to be known in Berne, and Haller had adopted its precepts, desiring ardently from that moment to look upon that powerful man whom he henceforth regarded as a father. He, therefore, went to Zurich, whereat Myconius had announced his arrival. In this manner Zwingle and Haller were introduced to each other. Haller, a man imbued with a temperate spirit, imparted confidence to Zwingle in the midst of his troubles, and Zwingle, a bold man, inspired Haller with the needful courage. "My mind," said Berthold, one day to Zwingle, "is overwhelmed with sorrow. . . . I am unable to bear so much injustice. I am anxious to abandon the pulpit, and to retire to Basil to the society of Wittenbach, so that I may no more occupy myself with the cares of sacred learning." "Ah!" replied Zwingle, "I, too, experience discouragement taking hold of me when I see myself unjustly reviled, but Christ awakens my conscience by the sharp spur of his terrors and his promises. He alarms me by declaring *He who shall be ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my Father*, and he brings peace to my soul by adding—*He who shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father*. O my dear Berthold! do ye rejoice, for our names are written in indelible letters in the record of the citizens on high. I am ready to die for Christ. Let your savage bears," added he, "be taught the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and you shall behold their natures changed. But it is needful to undertake such a task with great calmness, for fear that in turning themselves about they should fly upon you with unceasing fury." Courage was anew communicated to the mind of Haller. "My soul," said he to Zwingle, "has been awakened out of a deep sleep. I must continue the labours of an evangelist. There is a necessity for re-establishing within these walls the cause of Jesus Christ, who has been so long exiled from this place." In this manner the flambeau of Berthold was rekindled at the torch of Ulric, and the timid Haller advanced among a multitude of wild bears, who, grinding their teeth, said Zwingle, shewed a wish to devour him.

It was, however, in another quarter persecution was fated to commence in Switzerland. The warlike Lucerne presented itself in the character of an adversary armed from head to foot, and with his spear in rest. The military spirit was very prevalent in this canton, and the mighty in the city frowned when they heard the utterance of a word of peace fitted to put a check upon their hostile humour. Moreover, some of Luther's writings having gained admission within this city, some of its inhabitants had glanced over their contents,

which had struck their minds with horror. It appeared to them that an infernal hand had traced these lines, and their imaginations were inflamed, in so much that their eyes rolled in their heads, and they believed that they beheld their chambers filled with demons, whose wild looks were fastened on them with a sarcastic smile. They hastily closed the book and threw it from them in affright. Oswald, who had received accounts of these singular visions, did not speak of Luther but to some of his most intimate friends, and contented himself with simply announcing the gospel of Christ. Nevertheless cries were heard in every district of the town, exclaiming—"We must burn Luther, and the schoolmaster." (Myconius.) "I am assailed by mine enemies like a ship buffeted by the waves of the sea," said Oswald to one of his friends. One day, at the commencement of the year 1520, he was on a sudden summoned to appear before the council. "It is commanded you," they said to him, "not to read the writings of Luther in the presence of your pupils, not to name him in their hearing, and even not at any time to think of him." The lords of Lucerne pretended, as it is here seen, to extend their jurisdiction to a great length. A short time afterwards, a preacher attacked in the pulpit this evil heresy. The whole audience was agitated, and their looks were turned towards Oswald; for to what other person could the preacher allude in his accusations? Oswald remained quiet in his seat, as if the charge did not concern him. But on leaving the church in company with his friend Xyloteet, one of the counsellors passed near them in their progress, and, still under the influence of passion, exclaimed—"Ah, well," you disciples of Luther, "how comes it that you do not defend your master?" They made no reply to this attack. "I live," said Myconius, however, to his friend, "among savage wolves; but I have this consolation, that the most of them have lost their teeth. They would bite if they could, but not being able to do so, they continue to bark."

The senate was forthwith called together; for the tumult increased among the people. "He is a Lutheran," said some one of the counsellors. "He is a propagator of new doctrines," said another. "He is a seducer of our youth," said a third. "Let him be brought before us, let him be brought before us." The poor schoolmaster obeyed the summons, and was loaded with new prohibitions and threats. His simple soul was terrified and chastened. His amiable wife could only console him by shedding a quantity of tears. "Every one has conspired against me," exclaimed Oswald in his agony. "Driven about by so many tempests, whither shall I go and how shall I escape? . . . Were it not for the help of Christ I must long ere now have fallen under the pressure of so many blows." "What does it signify," wrote Doctor Sebastian Hofmeister of Constance to Oswald, "whether Lucerne is pleased or not to keep you? The earth belongs to the Lord. Every country is the native place of the courageous man. Although we were the most wicked among men, our enterprise is just, because we teach the word of Christ."

At the same time that the truth encountered so many obstacles in Lucerne, it continued victorious in the city of Zurich. Zwingli therein laboured without abatement. Desirous of consulting the Holy Scriptures entirely in their original language, he began with

zeal to study Hebrew, under the direction of John Boschenstein, the pupil of Reuchlin. But if he studied the Scriptures it was with the special purpose of preaching them. On Fridays, the peasants, who came in crowds to dispose of their provisions in the market-place of the city, evinced a strong desire to listen to the word of God. In order to satisfy these eager wishes, Zwingle had commenced, since the month of December 1520, to explain the Psalms each Friday, preparing himself from the original text. The reformers were found to unite always the labours of learned study with their practical exertions in the cause of the gospel. These latter works formed the end, the former studies composed the means. They were at once men of the closet and of the people. This union of knowledge and charity constituted a peculiar feature of the history of this period. With regard to his preachings upon Sunday, Zwingle, after having explained according to St Matthew the life of our Lord, described afterwards, in expounding the Acts of the Apostles, in what manner the doctrine of Christ had been spread abroad. Then he illustrated the rules of the Christian life as contained in the epistles to Timothy; and his next step was to make use of the epistle to the Galatians, in order to combat the errors of doctrine, taking them consecutively with the two epistles of St Peter, with a view to demonstrate to the despisers of St Paul that the self-same spirit animated the works of these two apostles. He terminated with the epistle to the Hebrews, in order to explain, in all their extent, the benefits which flowed from the gift of Jesus Christ, the sovereign sacrifice for Christians.

But Zwingle did not interest himself only in the cases of full-grown men; he endeavoured at same time to communicate to the young the spirit of that faith which animated his own bosom. One day, in the course of the year 1521, as he was engaged in his closet studying the writings of the fathers of the church, selecting therefrom the most remarkable passages, and carefully arranging such for the pages of a large volume, his attention was attracted by the entrance of a young man whose countenance conciliated his affections. This was Henry Bullinger, who, on his return from Germany, came to visit Zwingle, impatient to become acquainted with that doctor of his country whose name had already obtained such celebrity in the various districts of christendom. This fine young man successively fixed his regards upon the reformer and upon the books which lay open before him, and he longed to enter upon a vocation similar to the one in which he now found Zwingle employed. Zwingle received his unexpected visitor with that cordiality which won the hearts of all who came in contact with him; and this introductory visit was destined to exercise a powerful influence over the mind of the amiable student even to his latest day, after his return to the mansion of his fathers. Another young man had also acquired the esteem of Zwingle, namely Gerold Meyer of Knonau. His mother, Anna Reinhardt, who occupied at an after period an important position with reference to the life of the reformer, had been distinguished alike by the possession of great beauty and eminent virtue. A young man connected with a noble family, John Meyer of Knonau, reared at the court of the bishop of Constance, to whom he was related, had conceived an ardent passion for Anna; but she was merely the daughter of a humble citizen. The old Meyer of Knonau had refused

his consent to the proposed union, and had, after the marriage was solemnized, disinherited his son. In the year 1513, Anna was left a widow, with one son and two daughters, whose education formed the sole care of her solitary life. The grandfather of these poor orphans continued inexorable. One day, however, the servant of the widow having taken from the house along with her the young Gerold, an infant conspicuous for his lively manner and engaging appearance, at the time only three years old, and having stopped with him in front of the fish market, the old Meyer, who happened to be looking out from his window, observed the child, watched with interest his various movements, and finally inquired to whom belonged that sprightly and beautiful boy. "He is the offspring of your own son," was the answer returned. The heart of the old man was moved, its icy feelings were melted into love, and, forgetting the past, he hastened to press to his bosom the wife and children of his departed son. Zwingle was himself attached, as to his own child, to this young, noble, and courageous Gerold, who was doomed to die, in the flower of his age, at the side of the reformer, with the sword in his hand, and surrounded, alas, by the dead bodies of his enemies. Considering that Gerold would not meet in Zurich sufficient opportunity for the prosecution of his studies, Zwingle sent him, in 1521, to the schools of Basil.

The young De Knonau did not meet in this last-mentioned town with Hedio, the intimate friend of Zwingle. Capito, obliged to accompany the archbishop Albert to the coronation of Charles V., had intrusted the performance of his duties in Mentz to the care of Hedio. Basil was in this manner deprived, one after another, of its most faithful preachers. This church seemed as if it were abandoned, but other men appeared on the stage. Four thousand hearers were crowded into the church of William Roubli, the curate of St Alban. He vehemently attacked the abuses of the mass, purgatory, and the invocation of saints. Still this turbulent person, anxious to attract the notice of the public towards himself, directed the exertion of his talents rather against errors than in favour of truth. On the day of the Feast of Ascension he joined the grand procession, and, instead of the relics which it was usual to exhibit on the occasion, he caused the Scriptures, magnificently bound, to be carried before him, having this label affixed, printed in large letters, "*The Bible*; this is the only true relic, the rest are nothing more than dead men's bones." Courage adorns the servant of God, but affectation disfigures his appearance. The work of an evangelist is to preach the Bible, and not to exhibit it as a spectacle in a vain shew. The enraged priests brought an accusation against Roubli before the council. A busy throng immediately covered the square of the Franciscans. "Protect our preacher," said the citizens to the council, whilst fifty ladies of distinction at same time interceded in his favour; but Roubli was compelled to leave Basil. He stumbled afterwards, like Grebel, into the meshes of the anabaptists. The Reformation, in its developement, everywhere rejected the chaff which was found mixed among the solid grain.

Soon, however, from the meanest chapel of the place, a modest voice was heard to announce, with firmness and precision, the evangelical doctrine. This voice proceeded from the mouth of the young Wolf-

gang Wissemberger, son of a counsellor of state and chaplain of the hospital. All those who in Basil experienced new cares attached themselves to the ministry of the gentle chaplain rather than to that of the proud Roubli. Wolfgang began to read the mass in German. The monks renewed their clamorous complaints, but on this occasion they were unsuccessful, and Wissemberger was allowed to continue to preach the gospel; "for," said an old contemporary writer, "he was a citizen, and his father was a counsellor." These early and happy symptoms of the Reformation in Basil formed the prelude of still greater success. They were at the same time of the highest importance to the progress of that work throughout every quarter of the confederation. Zurich no longer stood alone. The well-instructed Basil began to listen with admiration to the contents of the new doctrine. The foundations of the new temple were enlarged, and the Reformation in Switzerland attained a more advanced development.

It was, nevertheless, at Zurich the centre of the movement was fixed. But important political events, and which harassed the soul of Zwingle, intervened, during the course of the year 1521, to distract in some manner the minds of men from the preaching of the gospel. Leo X., who had offered simultaneously his alliance to Charles V. and to Francis I., had finally decided upon adopting the cause of the emperor. The war between these two rival monarchs was just about to break forth in Italy. "Nothing shall be left of the pope but his ears," had been the declaration made by the French general Lautrec, which ill-timed wit served to increase the anger of the pontiff. The king of France claimed assistance from the Swiss cantons with which, with the exception of Zurich, he had formed an alliance, and received a favourable reply. The pope cherished the hope of enlisting on his side the inhabitants of Zurich, and the cardinal of Sion, always intriguing, and confident in his own talents and eloquence, hurried to the city of that name in order to raise soldiers for the cause of his master. But he experienced on the part of his former friend, Zwingle, a vigorous opposition. The reformer was indignant at the idea of allowing the Swiss to sell their blood for the benefit of foreigners. His imagination pictured in anticipation the swords of the sons of Zurich crossed under the standard of the pope and the emperor, in the plains of Italy, against the swords of their confederates ranged under the flags of the king of France, and at the vision of these scenes of fratricide his patriotic and Christian soul shuddered with horror. He spoke his sentiments from the pulpit. "Do you wish," cried he, "to overthrow and destroy the confederation? . . . You throw yourselves upon the wolves which devour the cattle of our flocks, and yet you make no resistance against those who encompass our homes for the purpose of devouring men! . . . Ah, it is with good reason the cloaks and hats they wear are dyed red: shake these garments, and there shall fall from under them a quantity of crowns and ducats, but wring them hard and you shall see dripping from their texture the blood of your brothers, your fathers, your sons, and your dearest friends." . . . Zwingle in vain exerted at this time the efforts of his eloquence; and two thousand seven hundred men from the districts of Zurich left their country under the command of George Berger. Zwingle's heart was broken at the sight of their departure. His influence was

not, however, entirely lost. For long after this the banners of Zurich were no more seen to be unfurled and carried beyond the gates of the city at the call of foreign princes.

CHAPTER XI.

Zwingle against the Precepts of Man—Fermentation during the Season of Lent—The Truth increases amidst the Combats—The Deputies of the Bush—Accusation before the Clergy and the Council—Appeal to the Grand Council—The Coadjutor and Zwingle—Reply of Zwingle—Resolution of the Grand Council—Situation—Attack of Hoffman.

Wounded in his spirit as a citizen, Zwingle more earnestly devoted his energies to proclaim the truths of the gospel. He preached with a zeal constantly increasing. "I will never cease," he exclaimed, "in my labours to restore the ancient unity of the church of Christ." He began the year 1522 by discourses calculated to enforce the difference that exists between the precepts of the gospel and the precepts of men. The season of lent having arrived, he redoubled his efforts in the good cause. After having laid the foundations of the new edifice, he was anxious to clear away the rubbish of the old building. "During the last four years," said he, to the crowd assembled in the cathedral, "you have received with ardent desire the holy doctrine of the gospel. Encircled by the flames of charity, and satisfied with the sweet taste of the heavenly manna, it will be impossible for you to enjoy any further relish for the tasteless aliments of human traditions."

Then attacking the forced abstinence from food at certain times. "There are those," said he, in his unpolished eloquence, "who pretend that to eat meat is an evil, and even a great sin, although God has never forbidden the practice, and who do not look upon it as a crime to sell human flesh to foreigners, and to carry it away to be butchered!" At the utterance of these bold words, the friends of military capitulations who were mixed in the congregation, shook with passion, and swore that they would never forget the insult.

While preaching in a manner thus forcible, Zwingle still continued to read the mass; he observed the customs ordained by the church, and even abstained from the use of meat on the days set apart for that purpose. He was persuaded that the first step must be to enlighten the people, but certain turbulent spirits did not act with similar precaution. Roubli, a refugee at Zurich, allowed himself to be carried into the extremes of a too fervent zeal. The former curate of St Alban, a captain from Berne, and a member of the grand council, Conrod Huber, often assembled in the house of this latter individual, in order to partake of dressed meat on Fridays and Saturdays, and they reaped a reward of glory from the practice they had established. The question of abstaining from flesh now occupied the minds of the public. A Lucernian having arrived at Zurich! "You, dear confederates of Zurich," said he to one of his friends belonging to this city, "do wrong in eating meat during the season of lent." The citizen of Zurich replied—"You take, however, also the liberty to eat meat at Lucerne on the forbidden days." The Lucernian added—"We have purchased that liberty from the pope!" The citizens of Zurich rejoined, "And we have bought it of the butcher." . . . If money

as to settle the matter in this business, the one purchase is assuredly as good as the other." The council having received complaints against the transgressors of the ecclesiastical ordinances, requested the advice of the curates upon the question. Zwingle replied that the mere act of eating meat every day of the week was not in itself a crime; but that it was proper to abstain from its use so long as the competent authorities had not come to any other decision on the subject. The other members of the ecclesiastical body adhered to this opinion.

The enemies of the truth took advantage of this lucky circumstance. Their influence was on the wane, while the victory was turned in favour of Zwingle, and there was need for them to inflict on him speedily a decisive blow. They, therefore, assailed the bishop of Constance. "Zwingle," exclaimed they, "is the destroyer of the flock, and not its pastor."

The ambitious Faber, the former friend of Zwingle, had just returned full of zeal for the cause of Popery, from a journey he had made to Rome. It was from the inspirations of that superb city the first troubles of Switzerland were destined to proceed. A decided struggle must be engaged in between evangelical truth and the representatives of the Roman pontiff. It is from the attacks made upon her truth receives all her strength. It was, in fact, from the dark threats of opposition and persecution that new-born Christianity acquired the power with which she overwhelmed all her enemies. God was pleased in this manner to conduct his truth, at the period of the revival whose history we have engaged to trace through the difficult paths to which we have alluded. The priests set themselves, then, as in the times of the apostle, to oppose the progress of the new doctrine. Without the attacks made upon it, that new doctrine might perhaps have remained hidden in obscurity within the souls of a few faithful believers. But God uncovered it in order to make it manifest in the face of the world. The opposition threw open for its entrance new gates, introduced it into new and far more open courses, and drew upon it the eyes of the nation. It was like the gust of wind dispersing to a distance the grains of seed, which, without such extraordinary impulse, might have remained unproductive in some secret cavity. The tree which was destined to shelter the Helvetic populations was safely planted at the bottom of their valleys, but storms were necessary to cause its roots to sink deeper into the ground, and thus to secure a more robust exuberance in its branches. The partisans of Popery, seeing the fire that sparkled in Zurich, hurried to extinguish its light with their own hands; but their exertions only served to increase its strength, and to extend its flames to a distance.

In the afternoon of the 7th of April, there were seen to enter within the walls of Zurich three ecclesiastics, deputies of the bishop of Constance. Two of these personages were distinguished by an air of much gravity and sternness, while the third appeared of a more complacent humour. They were the coadjutors of the bishop, Melchior Battli, Doctor Brendi, and John Vanner, the preacher in the cathedral, a pious man, and who never opened his mouth in the course of the coming communications. The shades of night had fallen, when Luti, hastening to the house of Zwingle, accosted him in these

words—"Some officers belonging to the retinue of the bishop have arrived; a great blow is meditated, for all the partisans of the ancient customs are in a state of agitation. A notary has issued summonses to all the priests to assemble to-morrow morning at an early hour within the hall of the chapter."*

The assembly of clergy having in reality met the following day, the coadjutor rose and delivered a speech, which his adversaries characterised as filled with violence and pride, while he, at same time, refrained from mentioning the name of Zwingle. A few priests, who had recently professed their adherence to the gospel, and still weak in their faith, were utterly overwhelmed: their change of colour, their silence, and their sighs, demonstrated the decided failure of their courage. Zwingle, however, stood up and pronounced an oration which shut the mouths of his adversaries. At Zurich, as in the other cantons, the most violent enemies of the new doctrine were found among the members of the inferior courts. The deputation, worsted in the presence of the clergy, preferred its complaints before the magistrates; and, as Zwingle was not present, no reply was made to increase their discomfiture. The affair seemed decided. The condemnation of the gospel and its defender was about to be completed without a hearing. The Reformation in Switzerland was never exposed to more imminent danger. It appeared on the eve of being strangled in its cradle. The counsellors who espoused the cause of Zwingle now referred the question to the jurisdiction of the grand council, as the only means left to ensure their safety, and God made use of the same means to secure the preservation of the gospel. The two hundred were thus regularly convoked, and the partisans of Popery used all their efforts to prevent the admission of Zwingle, whilst Zwingle was equally active in his exertions to obtain permission to appear. "They knocked at every door," said he, "and left not a stone unturned in their canvass; but all in vain!" "Such a thing were impossible," said the burgomasters; "the council has come to a contrary resolution."—"Then," repeats Zwingle, "I remained at peace, and I laid my cause with heavy sighs before him who hears the groanings of the captive, imploring him to defend himself the interests of his gospel." The patient and submissive expectations of the servants of God have never been known to deceive them.

On the 9th of April, the two hundred appeared in council. "We wish to have the presence of our pastors at this board," declared immediately the members of the body who were also friends of the Reformation. The inferior council resisted the proposal; but the grand council resolved that the pastors should be invited to attend their meeting, and should even enjoy the privilege of making a reply should they deem such a proceeding convenient. The deputies from Constance were thereafter admitted, and then followed the entrance of three curates belonging to Zurich, namely, Zwingle, Engelhard, and the old Roschli.

After these adversaries, thus brought into connexion with each

* Zw. Op. iii. p. 8.—J. J. Hottinger, (iii. 77.) Ruchat, (i. 134. 2d. ed.) and others assert that Faber was at the head of the deputation. Zwingle names the three deputies, but does not speak of Faber. The above authors have, no doubt, confounded two different charges of the Roman hierarchy, that of the coadjutor and that of the vicar-general.

other, had measured for some time their individual features with their eyes, the coadjutor arose. "If his heart and his head had been on a par with his voice," said Zwingle, "he would have been found to surpass Apollo and Orpheus in meekness, and the Gracchi and Demosthenes in strength." "The civil constitution," said the champion of Popery, "and even the Christian faith itself, are menaced. Certain men have appeared who teach new doctrines, which are revolting and seditious." Then, after a long harangue, fixing his eager look upon the assembled senate before him—"Continue you with the church," said he, "continue you in the church. Beyond her connexion no one can be saved. Ceremonies alone are able to lead the simple to a knowledge of salvation; and the pastors of flocks have no other duty to perform than to explain their signification to the people."

The moment after the coadjutor had finished his speech, he made preparations along with his attendants to leave the council hall, but Zwingle equally promptly and with animation said aloud—"My lord coadjutor, and you gentlemen who are in his train, remain, I pray you, until I shall have justified my conduct."

The Coadjutor.—"We have not been commanded to dispute with any one whatever."

Zwingle.—"I desire, not to dispute, but to explain to you without fear the things which I have taught even until this hour."

The Coadjutor.—"I know too well what sort of man I should have to deal with. Ulric Zwingle is too violent to admit of any terms of discussion with him."

Zwingle.—"When was it heard of that an innocent man should be attacked with so much virulence, and afterwards denied a hearing? In the name of that faith which is common to us, in the name of that baptism which we have both received, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the author of life and of salvation, listen to me. If you are excluded from doing so in your character of deputies, do so at least as Christians."

After having fired off their muskets in the air, Rome quitted with hasty steps the field of battle. The reformer only requested permission to speak, but the agents of Popery were only anxious to commence their flight. A cause pleaded after such a fashion was already gained on one side and lost on the other. The two hundred could no longer contain their expressions of indignation, and a murmuring sound was heard to ring through the hall of the assembly, whilst the burgomasters anew solicited the stay of the deputies. Ashamed and disconcerted, they returned to their places. Zwingle then spoke as follows:—

"My lord, the coadjutor, has spoken of seditious doctrines, and which overturn the civil laws. Let him, therefore, understand that Zurich is more tranquil and more submissive to the laws than any other city within the boundaries of Helvetia—a fact which every good citizen attributes to the gospel. Is not Christianity the most formidable bulwark for preserving justice among the multitudes of the people? What do all these ceremonies accomplish, but shamefully to disfigure the face of Christ and of Christians? Yes, there is another way beside these vain practices to lead the simple people to a knowledge of the truth. It is the way which Christ and the apostles have followed; it is, in short, the gospel itself! Let us not fear lest the people should be unable to comprehend its contents! Whoever

believes is able to comprehend. The people are capable of believing, and, therefore, they were capable of comprehending. We here contemplate a work of the Divine Spirit, and not an exercise of human reason. As to the rest, let him who finds forty days insufficient, fast, if he pleases, for a whole year, I care little about that matter. All that I require is, that no one shall be constrained to fast, and that, on account of a useless observance, the citizens of Zurich shall not be condemned to separate themselves from the communion of Christians." . . . "I have not said so," exclaimed the coadjutor. "No," said his colleague, Doctor Brendi, "he has not made such assertions." But the whole senate confirmed the averments of Zwingle, "Worthy citizens," continued Zwingle, "let not this accusation disturb your minds! The foundation of the church is that rock, that Christ, who has given his name to Peter, because he confessed his Master with faithfulness. In every nation, whoever believes from the heart in the Lord Jesus Christ is saved. It is out of that real church no person can receive the blessings of life. To explain the gospel and to follow its precepts, behold, for us, the ministers of Christ, the sum and substance of our duty. Let those who live by ceremonies take upon themselves the charge of explaining their signification." These words pointed to the positive plague of the church.

The coadjutor blushed and held his tongue. The two hundred then dissolved their meeting. The same day they had come to a resolution that the pope and the cardinals should be requested to explain the question of controversy, and that meanwhile abstinence from meat should be observed during the season of lent. This determination left the affair much in its former position, and offered a reply to the bishop by an endeavour to gain time.

The combat we speak of, however, served to advance the work of the Reformation. The champions of Rome, and those who supported the new doctrine, had been brought into the presence of each other, as under the eyes of the whole people, and the advantage gained was not on the side of the pope.

The first engagement had taken place in a campaign destined to be of long continuance, of hardy enterprise, and to be subjected to many alternatives of sorrow and joy. But the first victory at the opening of a struggle imparts courage to an army, and invests their enemies with fear. The Reformation had obtained a footing it was not doomed to lose again; for if the council considered itself bound still to engage in negotiations, the people with a loud voice proclaimed the defeat suffered by Rome. "Never," it was said, in the exultation of the moment, "shall they be able to rally their dispersed and disconcerted troops." "You have," said men to Zwingle, "attacked with the spirit of St Paul these false apostles and their Ananias; these whitened partition walls." . . . "The satellites of Antichrist shall no longer be able to do more than grind their teeth against you."

. . . Many voices, which proceeded from the ends of Germany, designated him, with joy, "The glory of the new-born theology."

But, at the same time, the enemies of the gospel gathered once more together their ready forces. There was indeed no time to lose, if they wished to hold Zwingle in their power; for he must very soon escape beyond the reach of their authority. Hoffman laid before the chapter a long accusation against the proceedings of the reformer.

"Although," said he, "the curate should be able to prove by witnesses the commission of certain sins and certain irregularities by members of the ecclesiastical body, in such a convent, or such a street, or such a public house, he could not, nevertheless, be entitled to name any particular person. Wherefore does he pretend to assert (it is true I have scarcely ever heard him myself) that he alone draws his doctrine from the fountain head, and that others seek for their principles nowhere else save in the gutter or the common sewer? It is not possible, on account of the diversity of minds, that every preacher should be found to preach the same thing?"

Zwingle justified his own conduct before a full meeting of the chapter, scattering the accusations of his adversary, "like a bull tossing with his horns a quantity of straw into the air." The affair which seemed so grave was terminated by a burst of laughter at the expense of the canon. But Zwingle did not stop at this point: on the 16th of April he published a work upon the *free usage of food*.

CHAPTER XII.

Sorrow and Joy in Germany—Snares against Zwingle—The Bishop's Mandatory Letter—Archbishops—The Bishop Addresses himself to the Diet—Prohibition to Attack the Monks—Declaration of Zwingle—The Nuns of Aachen—Address of Zwingle to Schwitz.

The unshaken firmness exhibited by the reformer gladdened the hearts of the friends of the truth, and particularly of the evangelical Christians in Germany, so long bereaved, on account of the captivity in Wartbourg, of the powerful apostle who had first raised his head against the errors of the church. Already several pastors and fugitives from among the faithful, who had left home in consequence of the unmerciful decree obtained by Popery at Worms from Charles V., had found an asylum in Zurich. "Oh, how I do rejoice!" wrote to Zwingle, Nesse, the professor at Frankfort, whom Luther visited on his journey to Worms, "to learn with what authority you announce the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Strengthen by your words those whom the cruelty of bad bishops has obliged to flee to a distance from our churches now clothed in sorrow."

But it was not in Germany alone the adversaries of the truth contrived terrible plots against the friends of the Reformation. Not an hour passed in Zurich wherein schemes were not hatched to secure the downfall of Zwingle. One day he received an anonymous letter, whose contents he immediately made known to his two vicars. "On every side snares are laid to entrap you," it was said; "a mortal poison has been prepared to take away your life. Do not eat anywhere else but in your own house, or of bread made by other hands than those of your own cook. The walls of Zurich enclose men who plot your ruin. The oracle who has disclosed this secret to me is more truthful than that of Delphi. I am your friend; you shall know who I am hereafter."

On the day after the one in which Zwingle received this mysterious communication, at the moment when Staheli was about to enter the church de l'Eau, a chaplain stopped him and said—"Leave in all haste the house of Zwingle: a catastrophe awaits the inhabitants of that mansion." Certain seditious persons, despairing of their attempts made to arrest the course of the Reformation by words, had armed

themselves with poignards. When active revolutions are in progress within the bosom of society, assassins usually spring up out of the impure hordes of the excited population. But God protected the life of Zwingli.

While these murderous men were doomed to see their schemes miscarry, the legitimate organs of Popery renewed their exertions. The bishop and his counsellors determined to begin the war; and from every quarter Zwingli was apprised of their designs. The reformer, however, placing his trust upon the word of God, exclaimed with a noble self-possession, "I am afraid of them . . . in the same manner as the steep shore dreads the threatening of the roaring waves." . . . "σὺν τῷ Θεῷ with God," added he. On the 2d of May, the bishop of Constance issued a mandate, wherein, without making mention of either Zurich or Zwingli, he complained that certain artful persons had brought again to light a number of condemned doctrines, and also that learned men, as well as ignorant people, were engaged in discussing, in every quarter, the merits of formidable mysteries. The preacher in the cathedral of Constance, John Winner, was the first individual attacked. "I prefer," said he, "to be a Christian, with the hatred of a few others, than to abandon Christ for the friendship of the world."

But it was more especially at Zurich there was felt a need to crush the new-born heresy. Faber and the bishop were well aware that Zwingli had many enemies among the number of canons; and they were anxious to turn this feeling of hatred to their own advantage. About the end of May there was received in Zurich a letter from the bishop, addressed to the provost and his chapter. "Sons of the church," said the prelate, "let those who will it so, perish! but do not allow any one to seduce you from your allegiance to the church." At the same time the bishop entreated the canons to prevent the culpable doctrines, which were promulgated by pernicious sects, from being either preached or discussed in their presence, whether in public or in private. This letter having been openly read in the chapter, all eyes were immediately turned upon Zwingli, and the reformer comprehended thoroughly the meaning conveyed by these stern looks. "You conclude, I see," said he, "that the letter refers to me; be so good, therefore, as to place it in my hands, and, with the assistance of God, I will thereto compose a reply."

Zwingli replied in the form of his *Archeteles*, a word which signifies "beginning and end;" "for," said he, "I hope this first reply shall also be the last." In this production he spoke of the bishop in a most respectful manner, and he attributed to certain intriguing individuals the attacks made by his enemies. "What is it then that I have done," said he, "I have called all men to a knowledge of their own plague. I have endeavoured to lead them to the only true God and to Jesus Christ his Son, and I have for this purpose made use, not of captious exhortations, but of simple and true words, such as the sons of Switzerland might be able fully to comprehend." Then passing from the prohibition to the attack, he added, with artfulness, "Julius Cesar, finding himself mortally wounded, strove to draw together the skirts of his mantle, so that he might fall in a becoming manner. The overthrow of your ceremonies is at hand! arrange it so that at least they too may roll to the ground

agreeably, and that light may everywhere be promptly substituted for the tyranny of darkness."

Such was the extent of the success obtained by the letter of the bishop to the chapter at Zurich; and seeing that all amicable remonstrances were vain, a necessity was created for the infliction of more decisive blows. Faber and Landenberg consequently directed their views elsewhere. It was towards the diet, towards the council of the Helvetic nation they pointed, at last, their expectations. Deputies from the bishop presented themselves before the assembly we have alluded to, and therein sought to explain how their master had, by means of a mandatory letter, forbidden all the priests in his diocese from introducing new customs in the affairs of doctrine; and to invoke (his authority having been despised) the assistance of the chiefs of the confederation, with the purpose of aiding him in his attempts to restrain the rebellious within the rules of obedience and to uphold the ancient and true faith. The enemies of the Reformation were strong in numbers among the members of this first assembly of the nation. Already, a short time previous to the date we speak of, they had passed a resolution which interdicted the preaching of all those priests whose discourses were calculated, as it was affirmed, to create discord in the ranks of the people. That resolution of the diet which, for the first time, had taken cognisance of the Reformation, had been followed by no results; but now, anxious to act effectively, the same assembly had summoned to appear in its presence Urbain Weiss, the pastor of Feilispach, near to Baden, whom public report accused of preaching in conformity with the new faith and of rejecting the old. Weiss was released for some time from any penalty, on account of the intercession made in his favour by a number of friends, and backed by a caution of one hundred names presented to him by his parishioners.

But the diet had chosen a side, of which fact it had just afforded proof, and everywhere the courage of the monks and the priests was thereby re-established. At Zurich, indeed, immediately after the passing of the first resolution by the national assembly, these officials exhibited a more imperious demeanour. Several members of the council were in the practice of visiting, morning and evening, the three convents, and even frequently partook of refreshments within their halls. The monks availed themselves of this opportunity to instruct the minds of their benevolent guests, and implored them to present before the government a resolution in their favour. "If Zwingle be unwilling to remain silent," said they, "we will exercise our voices in a yet more determined manner." The diet having adopted the cause of the oppressors, the council of Zurich were at a loss how to proceed. On the 7th of June this inferior court passed an act whereby it forbade the monks to preach; but scarcely had this decree received the sanction of the court before "there was heard in the council-chamber a sudden noise," says the reporter Bullinger, "which caused every one of the members to stare in the face of his neighbour." Peace was not in any way secured, and the combat, which had commenced in the high precincts of the pulpit, waxed yet more formidable. The council appointed a deputation which were authorized to meet, in the mansion of the provost, the pastors of Zurich and the readers and preachers of the convents, and, at the

close of a long discussion, the burgomaster commanded the two parties to refrain from preaching on any subject which might encourage discord. "I cannot submit to such an injunction," said Zwingle. "I desire to preach the gospel freely and unrestricted by any condition, in conformity with the resolution which has been previously issued. I am the bishop and pastor of Zurich, and it is to me the care of souls has been intrusted. I have taken this oath, and not the monks. It is, therefore, they who are bound to yield in this matter, and not me. If they preach that which is false, I will contradict them, and that, too, in the very pulpits of their own convents. If I myself am found to preach a doctrine in opposition to the holy gospel, then I request that I may be reprov'd, not only by the chapter, but also by any citizen, whatever may be his condition in life, and even that I may be punished by the council." "We," said the monks, "we demand that it shall be permitted us to preach the doctrines of St Thomas." The commission of the council, having deliberated on the question, ordained "that Thomas, Scot, and the other teachers, should be laid aside, and that the doctrine of the gospel should alone be preached." In this manner the truth had again accomplished a victory. But the rage of the partisans of Popery was proportionally increased. The ultra montane canons were unable to conceal their anger. They regarded Zwingle in the chapter with contempt, and seem'd by their expressions to long for his death.

These threatening appearances, however, did not restrain the conduct of Zwingle. There was a place in Zurich into which, thanks to the Dominicans, the light of truth had never been allowed to penetrate; we allude to the female convent of Etenbach. The daughters of the first families in Zurich were accustomed to receive the veil within the walls of this convent, and it appeared an act of injustice to permit these poor females to remain within the enclosures of this nunnery, the only persons to whom a knowledge of the word of God was to be denied. The grand council, therefore, appointed Zwingle to visit the convent in question. The reformer obeyed the orders conveyed to him, and mounted into the pulpit, until then solely occupied by the members of the Dominican order, from which he delivered a discourse upon the clearness and the certainty of the word of God. At an after period this remarkable sermon was published, and as it was productive of much good, it equally inflamed the passions of the monks.

A circumstance occurred which tended to augment this hatred, and to extended its influence within the bosoms of many other members of society. The Swiss, having at their head Stein and Winkelfried, had just been doomed to suffer at la Bicoque a mournful defeat. They had charged with impetuosity the ranks of their enemies; but the artillery of Pescaire and the lancers of the same Freundsberg whom Luther had encountered at the door of the hall in Worms had overthrown alike their chief and their colours, and they were thus seen at once to yield and to disappear entirely from the field of battle. Winkelried and Stein, with the Mulinen, the Diesbach, the Bonstetten, the Tschudi, and the Pfyffer, had remained on the field of battle. Schwitz especially, had been cut off. The bloody remains of this fearful battle had returned into Switzerland, scattering, as they went the seeds of sorrow. A cry of mourning and

lamentation was heard to pierce the air from the Alps to Jura, and from the Rhone to the banks of the Rhine.

But no one suffered an affliction equal to the grief experienced by Zwingle. He immediately wrote an address to Schwitz, in order to dissuade the citizens of that canton from entering into the services of foreigners. "Your ancestors," said he, "with all the valour of Swiss hearts, have encountered their enemies in the defence of liberty, but they were never known to put Christians to death for the purpose of gaining money. These foreign wars have entailed upon our country innumerable calamities. The plagues of God chastise our confederated people, and the cause of Helvetic liberty is about to be lost between the interested caresses and the mortal hatred of foreign princes." Zwingle joined hand in hand with Nicolas de Flue, and encouraged the solicitations of that man of peace. This exhortation having been presented to the assembly of the people at Schwitz, produced therein such an effect, that a resolution was passed to abstain provisionally during the space of twenty-five years from all warlike capitulations. But the French party very soon succeeded in obtaining a revocation of that generous resolution, and Schwitz became, from the same moment, the canton most opposed to Zwingle and his work of reform. The very disgraces which the partisans of foreign capitulations drew down upon their country tended to increase the hatred of these men against the courageous minister who endeavoured to drive away from his country such a load of misfortune and shame. There was formed in stronger bands a violent party in the confederation equally in opposition to Zurich and to Zwingle. The customs of the church and the practices of idle kidnappers, simultaneously attacked and mutually supported each other, with the design of checking those vigorous attempts at reform which threatened to overcome both these evils. At the same time the enemies beyond Switzerland were also increased. It was no longer merely the pope, but likewise a host of other foreign princes who were now found to swear an unyielding hatred to the cause of the Reformation. Was not this Reformation calculated to deprive them of the use of those Helvetic halberds to which their ambition and their pride had been indebted for so many triumphs? But there remained on the side of the gospel God and the most excellent of the people, and that support was sufficient. Moreover, from divers countries, Divine providence brought to their aid many men persecuted on account of their steadfast faith.

CHAPTER XIII.

A French Monk—He teaches in Switzerland—Dispute between the Monk and Zwingle—Discourse of the Commander of the Johannites—The Carnival at Bern—Eaters of Dead Persons—The Skull of Saint Anna—Appenzel—The Grisens—Murders and Adulteries—Marriage of Zwingle.

On Saturday, the 12th of July, there was seen to enter the streets of Zurich, a monk, tall, thin, inflexible, and unique in his appearance, dressed in the grey frock of the Franciscan order, and mounted upon an ass, exhibiting the features of a foreign physiognomy, and whose naked feet almost touched the ground. He had in this manner journeyed from Avignon, and did not know a word of German, but he nevertheless, made himself to be understood through his knowledge of the Latin tongue. Francis Lambert, such was his name, inquired

for the dwelling of Zwingle, and presented to him a letter from Berthold Haller. "This Franciscan father," said the curate of Berne in his letter, "who is no less a person than the apostolic preacher of the general convent at Avignon, has been for the last five years in the habit of teaching the truths of Christianity. He has likewise preached in Latin to our priests at Geneva, at Lausanne, in presence of the bishop at Friburg, and lastly in Berne, discoursing to the church upon the subjects of the priesthood, the sacrifice of the mass, the traditions of the Roman bishops, and the superstitions of the many religious orders. It appears to me a very uncommon thing to hear such matters spoken of by a Franciscan and a Frenchman, qualities which both intimate, you know, a wide sea of superstitions." The French stranger related himself to Zwingle the manner in which—the writings of Luther having been discovered in his cell—he had been obliged to quit Avignon in great haste. How, in the first place, he had proclaimed the gospel message in the city of Geneva, and afterwards close to the same lake in Lausanne. Zwingle, in the fulness of his joy, opened to this monk the church of Notre-Dame, and assigned him a seat in the choir in front of the chief altar. Lambert in this church delivered four sermons, in which he attacked with energy the errors of Rome, but in the fourth he defended the invocation of the Saints and of Mary.

"Brother, you deceive yourself," immediately exclaimed an excited voice, which in truth proceeded from Zwingle. The canons and chaplains leapt for joy when they witnessed the commencement of a quarrel between the Frenchman and the heretical curate. "He has attacked us," said they, with one voice, to Lambert; "insist upon having a public dispute with him." The stranger from Avignon followed this advice, and on the 12th of July,* at ten o'clock, the two champions met together in the canons' chambers of conference. Zwingle opened the Old and New Testament in Greek and Latin, he discussed their contents, and continued his illustrations thereof on till the hour of two o'clock. At that time the French monk, clasping his hands together, and lifting them towards heaven, exclaimed, "I give thee thanks, O God, that, by means of an organ so distinguished, thou hast imparted to me a knowledge so distinct of the grand truth; henceforth," added he, as he turned his looks upon the assembly, "in all my distresses I will invoke God alone, and I will leave in his presence all chapellets. To-morrow I will begin my journey, and set out for Basil to visit there Erasmus of Rotterdam, and thence I will proceed to Wittemberg, to look upon the face of the Augustine monk, Martin Luther;" and he, in reality, did take his leave of Zurich. We shall also meet with him again at an after period. This was the first man who, for the cause of the gospel, quitted the territories of France, and entered into those of Switzerland and Germany, the modest forerunner of many thousands of refugees and consistent confessors.

Myconius was not permitted to experience consolations equally delightful. He was doomed, on the contrary, to behold Sebastian Hofmeister, who had come from Constance to Lucerne, and there preached the gospel courageously, forced to abandon the last-named

* It is so in the original, but the date must be wrong, being the same as quoted on the occasion of the Frenchman's entrance into Zurich.—J. B.

city. Under such circumstances the sorrows of Oswald increased. The humid climate of Lucerne was uncongenial to his constitution, and he suffered so much from fever, that the physicians declared he would certainly die unless he changed his place of residence. "I desire to be no other place but close to you," he wrote to Zwingli, "and no place less than in Lucerne. The inhabitants here torment me, and the climate consumes my life. My malady, it is said, is the reward of mine iniquity. Ah, I have done well and spoken well, everything is poison in their sight. . . . There is one in heaven upon whom all my hopes are stayed."

These hopes were not vain. The time was about the end of March, and the day of the Annunciation drew near. On the previous evening a grand feast was celebrated, in memory of a great fire which, in 1340, had reduced to ashes a large portion of the city. Already a vast multitude of people from the neighbouring country had arrived in Lucerne, and several hundreds of priests had also assembled within its precincts. Some distinguished orator generally preached a sermon on this memorable day. The commander of the Johannites, Conrad Schmid de Kunsnacht, had come to town for the purpose of performing this duty. An immense crowd filled the church; and the general astonishment was unbounded when the commander was heard to abandon the Latin oration in which it was usual to address the multitude, and to speak in proper German, so that all might understand the words he uttered; at the same time that he exposed with firmness and with a holy fervour the love of God in the mission of his Son, and proved in eloquent language that outward works were useless as regarded the question of salvation, and that the promises of God alone composed the true essence of the gospel. "God forbid," exclaimed the commander, in the hearing of the astonished people, "that we should receive a head so full of sins as is the case with the bishop of Rome, and that we should reject Jesus Christ! If the bishop of Rome distributes the bread of the gospel, let us recognise him as pastor, but not as head, and if he does not distribute this bread, let us not receive him in any manner whatever." Oswald was excited into transports of exceeding joy. "What a man!" cried he; "what a discourse; how it abounds in majesty and in authority, and how prevalent here is the Spirit of Christ!" The favourable impression was, in fact, general. To the agitation thus awakened in the town there succeeded a solemn silence, but these commotions proved but transitory. If the people are found to shut their ears against the calls of God, these calls are seen to diminish from day to day, and very soon cease to be in operation. Such was the case in the city of Lucerne.

While the truth was thus being declared from the eminence of the pulpit, Popery was simultaneously attacked in Berne, amidst the happy congregations of the people. A distinguished layman, celebrated by his poetical talents, and who had risen to the first office of the state, Nicolas Manuel, indignant at the sight of the pillage practised upon his countrymen, by the unmerciful exactions levied by Samson, composed certain dramas of the carnival, wherein he assailed, with the sharp weapons of satire, the avarice, the pride, and the magnificence of the pope and his clergy. On Shrove-Tuesday "of the lords" (the lords were then the clergy, and the clergy commenced the season of

lent eight days before the people) the only thing spoken of in Berne was a drama, or a mystery, entitled *The Eaters of the Dead*, which a number of young lads were about to perform in the street of the cross, while the populace hurried in crowds to be present at the acting of this spectacle. With reference to the fine arts, these dramatic sketches, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, were productive of considerable interest; but it is under another aspect we call them to remembrance here: for we could undoubtedly have preferred to avoid such quotations on behalf of the Reformation, as it is evident that arms of a different description were successful in the triumphs of the truth. But the labours of history do not create, they simply recount what is patent to their observation.

At last the play was opened at the pleasure of the impatient public assembled together in the street of the cross. The pope was discovered clothed in splendid attire, and seated upon a throne. Around this throne were ranged his courtiers, his body guard, and a confused multitude of priests, of both high and low degree, whilst behind these attendants were clustered a band of nobles, laymen, and mendicants. Very soon a funeral procession is seen to advance. It was the burial of a rich farmer who was about to be committed to the grave. Two relations walked slowly in front of the coffin, with their handkerchiefs in their hands. The procession having arrived before the pope, the bier is deposited at his feet, and then the scene commences.

FIRST RELATION—IN A LAMENTABLE TONE.

Let of saints the noble army
Pity have upon our lot,
As our cousin here hath got
Through load of years into decay.

SECOND RELATION.

Count not the money thou canst crave
To grant a priest, a monk, or nun;
A hundred crowns were deem'd as one
By his family him to save
Out from purgatory's blazing sink,
On whose truth we have relied.

The sexton, detaching himself from the crowd that surrounds the pope, and running in all haste towards the curate Robert Alwaysmore—

My lord curate, give somewhat to drink,
For a big farmer who hath died.

THE CURATE.

One! . . . My thirst is not allayed!
One corpse! . . . But 'tis ten I need.
More that die, better life 's played;
Death gives sport the happier speed.

THE SEXTON.

Could that be done, my eager mirth
Would long ring for the dead,
Rather than work in the earth,
Well he pays, and brings no dread.

THE CURATE.

If the bell of fate of heaven open the gate
I know not . . . but why prate?
It to my house brings fish,
Some trout, or rich salmon dish.

NIECE OF THE CURATE.

'Tis well, still my part control,
 And cause to-day this weary soul
 To give me gown white, red, green, or black,
 With fine shawls to grace my back.

THE CARDINAL OF HIGH-PRIDE, WEARING A RED HAT, NEAR THE POPE.

Loved we not of dead men the bloody heritage,
 Would we leave to perish, in the flower of their age,
 So many men like cattle
 In the field of battle,
 Excited by intrigue, and on much evil bent ?
 By Christian blood 'tis Rome hath become opulent !
 Therefore is the hat I wear of this red colour,
 Dead men alike increase our treasure and our honour.

BISHOP BELLY-WOLF.

Under papal law I'll live until my latest day—
 For now I'm clothed in silk and spend money as I may—
 While I am also seen i' the battle and hunt i' the lurch.
 But had I lived before, in earlier times of the church,
 I had been, like the peasant, clad in very coarse things
 For then we were shepherds, but now we are kings.
 Still in the shepherd's place I desire to be kept.

A VOICE.

When, then ?

THE BISHOP.

. . . . When off the sheep's back the wool it is clipt.
 We, are to the flock both the friend and the foe,
 And should they not feed us, we strike a fell blow.
 The pope to our curates hath forbidden to marry,
 It is well such a load is not easy to carry.
 Moreover, we find in this much greater pleasure ;
 For, spite of the scandal, we heap up our treasure ;
 And I can the better live well like a prince,
 Nor at the smallest profit shall my feelings ere wince.
 A priest who has money may have the wife he desires.
 Four florins a-year, I seem to shut my eyes.
 Has he children to keep ?—Then must he pay more.
 Thus two thousand a-year are brought home to my door.
 Let the priests live in virtue, I'll get not one shilling.
 Honour be to the pope ! To worship him I am willing.
 His church I'll defend and his faith I'll partake,
 And, till death, this god shall my cause ne'er forsake.

THE POPE.

The people now think, when by the priest they are shriven,
 The priest can ensure them a straight way to heaven.
 Preach then to the chosen the decrees of the conclave—
 We remain like a king, and make all men our slave.
 But should of the gospel the standard be raised,
 We are utterly lost, for therein nowhere is praised
 The giving of sacrifices, or large gifts to the priest.
 And should the gospel be followed, we must at least
 Live poor in this world and die in obscurity.
 A mournful exchange for these comparisoned steeds,
 Or cars, shining with gold, which our family now needs.
 A young ass must then carry our sacred majesty.
 No, I shall keep whatever my fathers have left,
 And my vengeance shall strike when of these I'm bereft.
 We have only to wish ; for the world is our own :
 'Tis a god whom the people adore on our throne.
 I mount, while in crushing them down to the earth,
 This high seat, of which none can now equal the wealth.
 I take all to myself, but the laity rob ;
 For they are no more than the ignorant mob.
 Must we fly from our goods, or our tributes, or, more,
 Of holy water three drops shall our lost treasures restore ?

* The German expresses this title more clearly, but not in a manner so polite.

We will not, however, farther pursue this close translation of the drama composed by Manuel. The agony experienced by the clergy, when they were told of the efforts made by the reformers; their rage against all those who threatened to intrude upon their irregularities, were all described in the most lively manner. The dissolute manners of which this mystery presents so striking an image were too common to elude the observation of every one who witnessed the spectacle. The people were thus much excited, and many sallies of wit escaped the crowd as it left the scene of entertainment in the street of the cross. But some of the number were more serious, and spoke of Christian liberty as opposed to the despotism of the pope, whilst they equally contrasted evangelical simplicity with the existence of Roman pomp. Very soon the contempt of the people was exhibited in the streets. On Ash-Wednesday a mock procession of indulgences was paraded through the whole town, accompanied by the singing of satirical songs. A severe blow had indeed been inflicted at Berne and in all Switzerland upon the ancient structure of Popery.

Some time after the representation we have so far detailed, another comedy was performed in Berne; but on this occasion the farce was real. The clergy, the council, and the citizens, had assembled before the upper gate, in expectation of the arrival of the skull of St Anna, which the famous knight, Albert de Stein, had gone to fetch from Lyons. At last Albert appeared, bearing the holy relic wrapped up in a piece of silk, before which the bishop of Lausanne had, on its journey, bent the knee. The precious skull was carried in procession to the church of the Dominicans, and ushered within the building under the salutations of the large bell, being afterwards with great solemnity placed upon the altar which was consecrated to this same skull, as that of the mother of Mary, behind a front of sumptuous lattice work. But in the midst of all this joy, a letter was received from the abbot of the convent at Lyons, wherein rested the remains of the saint, declaring that the monks had sold a profane skull taken out of the burying-place from among the rubbish of the dead. This mystification happening in the illustrious city of Berne, gave great umbrage to her proud citizens.

The Reformation gained ground also in other districts in Switzerland. In 1522, a young Appenzellois, Walter Klarer, returned from the university of Paris into his native canton. The writings of Luther fell into his hands, and in 1522 he preached according to the evangelical doctrine with all the ardour of a young Christian. An innkeeper, a member of the Appenzellois council, called Rausberg, a rich and pious person, opened his house to the meeting of the friends of the truth. A famous captain, Bartholomew Berweger, who had fought on the side of both Julius II. and Leo X., having at this time returned from Rome, closely persecuted these evangelical ministers. One day, however, he remembered that he had witnessed in Rome the commission of many evil deeds, and resolved to study the Bible, as well as listen to the sermons of the new preachers, by which means his understanding was enlightened, and he eagerly embraced the cause of the gospel. Observing that the crowds of people were unable to find accommodation within the walls of the temples, "Let the ministers preach in the fields and in the public places," said Ber-

weger; and, in spite of an active opposition, the hills, the meadows, and even the mountains of Appenzel often rang afterwards with the sound of voices proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation.

The same doctrine, finding its way along the Rhine, at last reached even as far the ancient Rhetia. One day a stranger, coming from Zurich, crossed the river and presented himself in the house of the master saddler in Flasch, the first village belonging to the Grisons. The saddler, Christian Anhorn, listened with astonishment to the discourse of his unexpected guest. "Let us hear you preach," was also the request made by the united inhabitants of the village to the stranger, James Burkli. This person consequently placed himself in front of the altar, surrounded by a company of armed men under the command of Anhorn, to guard against the risk of any unforeseen attack, and there proclaimed the doctrine of the gospel. The report of this sermon was spread abroad in the country, and on the following Sunday an immense concourse of people flocked into the town. Very soon a large proportion of the inhabitants of these districts desired the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be dispensed according to the institution of Jesus Christ. But one day the tocsin was suddenly heard to sound within the confines of Mayenfeld; the alarmed people obeyed the summons, and the priests explained to them the dangers with which the church was threatened, so that this fanatical mob forthwith hastened, with the priests at their heads, towards the village of Flasch. Anhorn, who was at work in the fields, amazed with the ringing of bells at an hour so unusual, hastily returned to his house, and secreted Burkli in the cavity of a deep ditch dug in the bottom of his own cellar. The house was in an instant surrounded, the doors were forced, and the heretical preacher was sought for in every corner, but in vain, and at last the persecutors abandoned the place.

The word of God was spread abroad throughout every district of the ten jurisdictions. The curate of Mayenfeld, on his return from Rome, whither, furious at the success of the gospel, he had fled, exclaimed—"Rome has rendered me an evangelist!" and he, in fact, became a fervent reformer. Very soon the reform was listened to even within the confederation of the "house of God." "Oh, did you but see how the inhabitants of the mountains cast from them the yoke of the Babylonian captivity," wrote Salandronius to Vadian.

Certain revolting disorders hastened the day on which Zurich and the neighbouring country entirely destroyed the shackles of that yoke. A married schoolmaster, wishing to become a priest, obtained for this purpose the consent of his wife, and they separated from each other. The new curate, finding it impossible to respect his vows of celibacy, quitted, through regard for his wife, the place wherein she dwelt, and having established himself within the bishoprick of Constance, he there entered into new and criminal alliances. His wife, on learning this circumstance, hurried off to the place of his residence, and the poor priest, having compassion upon her, dismissed the female who had usurped her rights, and took back to his bed his legitimate spouse. Immediately the procurator-fiscal preferred his complaint, the vicar-general reported the same to the presbytery, who deliberated on the case, and the curate was commanded either to abandon again his wife or to leave his benefice. The poor spouse

quitted, in tears, the house of her husband, while her rival was permitted to return therein in triumph. The church declared herself satisfied, and left at rest, from that time, the household of this adulterous priest.

Shortly after this event, a curate in Lucerne carried off a married woman and openly lived in her society. The husband, returning to Lucerne, took advantage of the absence of the priest to regain his wife. As the married couple were prosecuting their flight, the clerical seducer met them on the way, and, attacking the injured husband, he inflicted upon him a wound so desperate as eventually to cause his death. Every truly pious man now saw the necessity of re-establishing the law of God, which declares that *marriage is honourable in all*. The ministers of the evangelical creed had acknowledged that the law of celibacy originated wholly in human invention, imposed by the Roman pontiffs, and contrary to the word of God, which, in describing the true bishop, represents him as husband and father, (1st Tim. ch. iii. ver. 2, 4.) The same ministers were convinced at the same time that of all the abuses which had penetrated the bosom of the church, not one had caused the commission of so much vice and scandal as the one in question. They, therefore, believed that it was not only a legitimate practice, but also a duty in the sight of God, to escape from such an abuse. Many of them, in this persuasion, then betook themselves to the ancient customs of apostolic times. Xylotect became a married man, and Zwingli likewise at the time we speak of entered into the married state. No woman in Zurich was more esteemed than Anna Reinhard, the widow of Meyer of Knonau, and mother of Gerold. She had been, from the moment of Zwingli's arrival, one of his most devoted hearers; she at same time dwelt in his neighbourhood, and he had had an opportunity of witnessing her pious and most modest demeanour, so greatly enhanced by the tender care she bestowed upon her children. The young Gerold, who might already be looked upon as his adopted son, drew Zwingli into closer intimacy with the mother. The trials which had been previously endured by this Christian woman, who was doomed one day to experience the most cruel afflictions ever suffered by any woman of whom history has recorded the life, had imparted to her manner a degree of gravity which tended to render her evangelical virtues still more conspicuous. She had at this date reached the age of thirty-five years, and possessed a small fortune, amounting only to the sum of four hundred florins. It was upon this widow Zwingli fixed his anticipations of securing a happy companion for the remainder of his life. He fully comprehended the sacred and intimate obligations connected with the conjugal alliance. He described it as "a very holy union." "In the same manner as Christ," said he, "has died for his own, and thus given himself entirely to them, so likewise should all spouses do and suffer everything for each other." But Zwingli, while he took Anna Reinhard for his wife, did not at the same moment acknowledge his marriage. An unpardonable weakness unquestionably in the character of a man in other respects so resolute. The convictions which he and his friends had obtained on the question of celibacy had not yet become general. Weak members of his church might have been thereby scandalized. He felt alarmed lest his usefulness

in the church might be paralyzed by a public proclamation of his marriage. He sacrificed thus a portion of his happiness to these, it may be, delicate fears, but from which he ought to have emancipated himself.

CHAPTER XIV.

Triumph of the Truth—Assembly at Einsidlen—Petition to the Bishop—To the Confederates—The Men of Einsidlen Separate—A Scene in a Convent—A Dinner in the House of Myconius—The Strength of the Reformers—Effect of the Petitions at Lucerne—The Council of the Diet—Haller at the Town-house—Friburg—Destitution of Oswald—Zwingle consoles him—First Rigorous Act of the Diet—Consternation of the Brothers of Zwingle—Resolution of Zwingle—The Future—Prayer of Zwingle.

Nevertheless, interests of a more elevated character pre-occupied at this time the thoughts of the friends of the truth. The diet, as we have seen, urged by the enemies of the Reformation, had enjoined the evangelical preachers to abstain from preaching doctrines which agitated the minds of the people. Zwingle felt that the moment for acting with decision had arrived; and with that energy which distinguished his temper, he called together at Einsidlen an assembly of the ministers of the Lord, the stanch friends of the gospel. The strength of Christians is to be found neither in the power of arms nor in the flames of the funeral pile, nor in the intrigues of party, nor yet in the protection of the powerful of this world. That strength is composed of a simple, but unanimous and courageous, profession of those grand truths to which the world is doomed one day to render obedience. God especially requires those who serve him to hold forth these celestial doctrines conspicuously in the presence of every people, without allowing themselves to be alarmed by the cries of their adversaries. These truths undertake of themselves to secure their own triumph; and at their view, like, of old, before the ark of God, idols were seen to fall prostrate on the ground. The time had come in which God had designed that the doctrine of salvation should be thus openly confessed in the districts of Switzerland, and it was therefore necessary to erect the standard of the gospel upon some eminent height. Divine providence was about to drag forth from unknown retreats many humble but intrepid men, in order to enable them to bear witness in a glorious strain before the face of the nation.

About the end of June or the commencement of July 1522, a multitude of pious ministers, from every quarter, were seen directing their steps towards the celebrated chapel of Einsidlen, on an errand of unusual pilgrimage. From Art, in the canton of Schwitz, came the curate of the place, Balthasar Traschel; from Weiningen, near Baden, the curate Staheli; from Zug, Werner Steiner; from Lucerne the canon Kilchmeyer; from Uster, the curate Pfister; from Hongg, close to Zurich, the curate Stumpf; from Zurich itself, the canon Fabricius; the chaplain Schmid; the preacher of the hospital, Grosman; and Zwingle. Leo Juda, the curate of Einsidlen, received with great joy within the precincts of the antique abbey all these ministers of Jesus Christ. Since the sojourn there of Zwingle, this place had become a citadel of the truth and a resting-place of the just. In a similar manner, two hundred and fifteen years before this date, there had assembled in the solitary plain of the Grutli, thirty-three coura-

geous patriots, determined to free their country from the yoke of Austria. The purpose of Einsidlen was to break the yoke of human authority with reference to the things of God. Zwingle proposed to his friends the adoption of stringent petitions to the cantons and to the bishop, with a view to secure the free preaching of the gospel, and at the same time the abolition of the forced law of celibacy, the source of so many criminal irregularities. The whole assembly joined in the advice, and Ulric had himself prepared a draft of the addresses. The petition to the bishop was first read on the 2d July 1522, and all the evangelists we have above enumerated signed said document. A cordial affection united in Switzerland the hearts of the preachers of the truth. A number of other ministers fully sympathized in the feelings of the men gathered together in Einsidlen, such as Haller, Myconius, Hedio, Capito, Ecolampade, Sebastian, Meyer, Hoffmeister, and Wanner. This obvious harmony formed one of the most beautiful traits of the Swiss Reformation. The excellent individuals alluded to always acted in the spirit of one man, and continued their friendship to the very day of their death.

The brethren now met at Einsidlen clearly perceived that it was alone by means of the influences of faith that the members of the vast confederation, torn asunder by many foreign intrigues, could ever attain the vigour of a united body. But their attention was directed to the highest source. "The celestial doctrine," said they to the ecclesiastical head, in their address of the 2d July, "that truth which God the Creator has manifested by his Son to the human race plunged in sin, has been long veiled from our eyes by ignorance, not to mention by the malice of some men. But the same all-powerful God has resolved to re-establish this truth in its primitive strength. Do you unite with those who desire that the multitude of Christians should return to their head, which is Christ. . . . For ourselves, we have resolved to promulgate his gospel with indefatigable perseverance, and at same time with such wisdom as shall prevent any one from having just cause of complaint. Take this enterprise, astonishing it may be, but not rash, under your protection. Be like Moses, upon the route, at the head of the people, as they left the territories of Egypt, and overthrow yourself every obstacle which hinders the triumphant march of the truth."

In continuation of this warm appeal, the evangelists assembled in Einsidlen next referred to the question of celibacy. Zwingle had personally no claim to make on the subject. He now possessed a wife qualified to be the partner of a minister of Christ in conformity with the description of St Paul, *grave, sober, and faithful in all things*, (1st Tim. iii. 2.) But he thought of his brethren, whose consciences were not as yet, like his own, emancipated from the thralldom of human ordinances. He longed, moreover, to see the day when all the servants of God should be able to live openly and without fear in the bosom of their own family, *training their children*, says the apostle, *in all submission and every kind of honest behaviour*. "You are not ignorant," said these men from Einsidlen, "of the manner in which, up to the present time, chastity has been violated by the generality of the priests. When, in the consecration of the ministers of the Lord, it is asked of him who speaks in the name of all, 'Are those you represent just?' he replies, 'They are just.'"

"Are they learned?" "They are learned." But when the question is put, "Are they chaste?" the reply is made, "As far as human weakness will permit." "Every passage in the New Testament condemns a licentious commerce, while they equally authorize the practice of marriage." Here are quoted a number of such passages. "It is for this reason," continue the petitioners, "we implore you, by the love of Christ, by the liberty which he has acquired for us, by the misery of so many weak and erring souls, by the wounds of so many pierced consciences, by all that is human and divine, . . . permit that which has been done in rashness to be annulled with wisdom, in the fear that the majestic edifice of the church may not fall with a fearful crash to the ground, and ensure the ruin of immense numbers. Behold with what storms the world is threatened. If wisdom does not intervene, it is because of the order of the priests."

The petition to the confederation was still longer. "Excellent men," thus speak to the confederates, at the end of their petition, the allies in Einsidlen, "we are all Swiss, and you are our fathers. There are among our number those who have shewn themselves faithful in battle, and during the ravages of the plague, and amidst other calamities. It is in the name of true chastity we now address you. Who knows not that we shall much better satisfy the desires of the flesh by not submitting to the laws of legitimate union? But there is a strong necessity for putting an end to the scandals which afflict the church of Christ. If the tyranny of the pontiff of Rome desires to oppress us, fear nothing, courageous heroes! the authority of the word of God, the rights of Christian liberty, and the sovereign power of grace keep and surround us. We belong to the same country, we profess the same faith, we are Swiss, and the virtue of our illustrious ancestors has always manifested its power by an invincible defence of those who crushed iniquity."

Thus it was even at Einsidlen, within that ancient bulwark of superstition, and which still in our own day constitutes a famous sanctuary for the practices of Roman abuses, that Zwingle and his friends raised with a bold hand the standard of truth and liberty. They there made a call upon the heads of the church and state. They affixed their theses like Luther, but it was to the gate of the episcopal palace, and to that of the councils of the nation. The friends gathered together in Einsidlen separated from each other in the possession of calm and joyful spirits, full of hope in that God to whom they confided their cause; and departing, some by way of the battle-field of Morgarten, others across the chain of the Albis, and the remainder over other hills or through other valleys, they each returned to their respective posts. "It was indeed a grand spectacle in these days," said Henry Bullinger, "to see these men thus daring to put themselves in the front, and, ranging around the gospel, to expose themselves to every danger. But God has preserved them, so that not one evil should reach their door; for God watches over his own at all times." It was in reality a subject of much grandeur, and formed a memorable step in the march of the Reformation—one of the most illustrious days in the religious regeneration of Switzerland. A holy confederation had been settled in Einsidlen. Certain humble and courageous men had taken hold of the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and the breastplate of faith. The glove had been cast

upon the ground, the challenge was given, not only by one man, but by many men from divers cantons, ready to sacrifice their lives, and thus the battle must be undertaken.

Everything gave proof, moreover, that the struggle would be desperate. Just five days afterwards, that is, on the 7th of July, the chief magistrate of Zurich, wishing to favour the Roman party, caused to be brought before him Conrad Grebel and Claus Hottinger, two of those impatient men who seemed desirous to exceed the limits of a temperate reformation. "We forbid you," said the burgomaster, Roust, "to speak against the monks, and upon these points of controversy." When these words were uttered, an extraordinary noise was heard in the hall, says an ancient report. God manifested himself so conspicuously in this work, that everywhere signs of his intervention were eagerly looked for. Every one present gazed around them with astonishment, without being able to discover the cause of this mysterious circumstance.

But it was more particularly among the convents the spirit of indignation was most ardently inflamed. Every meeting held within their walls, whether for the purposes of discussion or pleasure, was celebrated by some new token of animosity. On the occasion of a grand feast observed in the convent of Fraubrunn, the wine had mounted to the heads of the guests, and they began to indulge in severe invectives against the doctrines of the gospel. The objects most exposed to the indignation of these priests and monks was the evangelical doctrine that, in the Christian church, there should not be therein a priesthood class elevated above the rank of believers. One friend of the Reformation alone was present, a simple layman, Macrin, the master of a school at Soleure. He at first avoided the contest, and passed over from one table to another. But, at last, being no longer able to endure the loud protestations of the party, he boldly rose from his seat, and said in an exalted tone, "Yes, all true Christians are priests and sacrificers, according to the words of Peter, *You are priests and kings*." At the delivery of this sentence one of the most intrepid declaimers, the dean of Burgdorff, a man of great corpulence and strength, with a ringing voice, burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "Thus then, you little Greeks and rats of the school, are you the royal sacrificers? . . . beautiful priest! . . . mendicant king! . . . a priest without either prebends or benefices?" And with one accord the priests and monks attacked the impudent layman.

It was, however, in Lucerne the hardy action of the men at Einsidlen was fated to produce the most astonishing effects. The diet was at the time assembled at that city, and every day brought new complaints from every quarter against those daring priests who prevented the inhabitants of Helvetia from selling tranquilly to foreigners the blood of their sons. On the 22d of July 1522, while Oswald Myconius was sitting at dinner in his own house, in company with the canon Kilchmeyer, and several other men well disposed towards the cause of the gospel, a young lad, sent by Zwingle, arrived at the door. He brought with him the two famous petitions from Einsidlen, and a letter from Zwingle, requesting Oswald to publish these documents in Lucerne. "My opinion," added the reformer, "is, that the matter should be proceeded with by degrees, in a peaceful manner,

rather than completed by a single blow ; because, for the love of Christ, we must be ready to abandon all, and even our wife."

The crisis in this manner approached within the city of Lucerne, the bomb had come to ground, and must immediately burst. The company we have mentioned read the petitions to which we have referred. . . . "May God send a blessing upon this beginning," exclaimed Oswald, as he turned his eyes towards heaven. Then he added, "This prayer ought to be from this instant the constant desire of our hearts." Immediately afterwards these petitions were published abroad, perhaps with more ardour than Zwingli had calculated upon. But the moment was urgent. Eleven men, the elite of the clergy, had placed themselves foremost in the breach, and there was need for the enlightening the mind of men, for deciding those of irresolute character, and for engaging in the cause the most influential members of the diet.

Oswald, in the midst of such labours, did not forget the situation of his friend. The young messenger had given a detailed account of the attacks Zwingli was doomed to endure on the part of the monks of Zurich. "The truth of the Holy Spirit is invincible," wrote Myconius, "even this day. Armed with the buckler of the Holy Scriptures, you have remained a conqueror, not only in one battle, or in two, but in three, and already the fourth has commenced. . . . Seize again these noble arms, more hardy than the diamond ! Christ, in order to protect his own, has need of nothing but his word. Your struggles impart an unconquerable spirit to all those who have consecrated their lives to the cause of Jesus Christ."

The two petitions did not produce at Lucerne the effect expected. Some pious men approved of their contents, but the number of these men was small. Many, fearing to compromise themselves, were unwilling to bestow either censure or praise upon the subject of their documents. "These folks," said others, "would never wish to see this affair brought to a happy conclusion !" The whole body of the priests were heard to murmur and speak under their breaths, or to grumble between their teeth. As for the people, they set themselves in opposition to the gospel. The rage for battle had become strong in Lucerne, after the bloody defeat experienced at Bicoque, and war was the only subject which occupied the thoughts of men. Oswald, who attentively observed the working of these contending impressions, felt his courage at the moment shaken, and the evangelical picture he had fancied to see realized in Lucerne and Switzerland now appeared to vanish from his sight. "Our people are blinded with regard to the things of heaven," said he, "in heaving a deep sigh. Nothing is now to be hoped for in Switzerland with reference to the glory of Christ."

It was indeed especially in the council and the diet that anger was more enthusiastically expressed. The pope, France, England, and the empire, had all turned their views upon Switzerland, after the defeat of la Bicoque and the evacuation of Lombardy by the French, under the command of Lautrec. Were not political interests at this moment sufficiently intricate without the intervention of these eleven men, or the accumulation of their petitions upon religious questions ? The deputies from Zurich alone inclined towards the side of the gospel. The canon Xylotect, afraid of losing his life, as well as that

of his wife, (for he had married a daughter of one of the first families in the country,) had, with eyes filled with tears of sorrow, refused to go to Einsidlen, or to sign the memorable addresses. The canon Kilchmeyer had displayed greater courage, although he also had everything to fear. "I am threatened with a sentence," he wrote to Zwingli on the 13th of August, "but I wait for it with courage." As he wrote these words with his hand, the doorkeeper of the council entered his room, and left with him a summons to appear on the following day. "Should I be put in irons," said he, in continuation of his letter, "I will claim your assistance, but it shall be more easy to remove a rock from the Alps than to drive me one finger's length away from the word of Jesus Christ." The respect supposed due to his family, and the resolution adopted to cause the storm to burst upon the head of Oswald, saved the canon.

Berthold Haller, perhaps because he was not a Swiss, had not signed the petitions; but, full of courage, he expounded, like Zwingli, the gospel according to St Matthew. A great crowd attended within the cathedral walls at Berne. The word of God worked greater wonders in the minds of men than the dramas of Manuel. Haller was cited to appear within the town hall, and the people accompanied this meek person to the door, and remained in numbers upon the square in front of the building. The council were divided in opinion. "It is a matter which concerns the bishop," said the most influential members. "We must hand over the preacher to my lord of Lausanne." The friends of Haller trembled at the utterance of these words, and recommended him to make a hasty retreat. The people surrounded the person of their preacher, and accompanied him to his house, where a considerable number of armed citizens remained on guard, ready to form with their bodies a bulwark around the mansion of their humble pastor. The council and the bishop both recoiled at sight of such an energetic manifestation, and Haller was saved. Haller, however, was not the only one who exhibited a bold spirit in Berne. Sebastian Meyer refuted at same time the pastoral letter of the bishop of Constance, and in particular the vulgar accusation "that the disciples of the gospel taught a new doctrine, and that the ancient doctrine was the true one." "To be in the wrong during the course of thousands of years," said he, "does not constitute one in the right for the space of an hour; otherwise the Pagans would have done well to continue in their faith. If the most ancient doctrines must be found to prevail, fifteen hundred are more than five hundred years, and the gospel is, therefore, more ancient than the ordinances of the pope."

At this period, the magistrates of Friburg intercepted some letters addressed to Haller and Meyer by one of the canons of Friburg, named John Hollard, a native of Orle. They first cast this man into prison, then removed him, and, at last, banished him. A chanter in the cathedral, John Vannius, declared himself very shortly afterwards in favour of the gospel doctrine; for, in this warfare, no sooner did one soldier fall than another stepped forward to take his place. "How shall the muddy waters of the Tiber," said Vannius, "be able to compete with the pure stream which Luther has drawn from the sources of St Paul?" But the chanter was soon silenced in his turn. "There are hardly any men in all Switzerland more evilly disposed:

towards the holy doctrine than are the inhabitants of Friburg," wrote Myconius to Zwingle.

There was, however, an exception to be made with regard to Lucerne, and of this Myconius was made aware. He had not signed the famous petitions; but if not attested by himself, they were confirmed by his friends, and a victim was required. The ancient literature of Greece and Rome had begun, thanks to Myconius, to shed a lustre over the state of society in Lucerne, and many persons hastened from various quarters to attend the lectures of the learned professor. The friends of peace, indeed, listened with delight to a more pleasant sound than that of the clash of swords and bucklers which alone until then had been heard to strike upon the ear within the confines of this warlike city. Oswald had sacrificed everything for the good of this country. He had left both Zurich and Zwingle; he had lost his health; his wife was in a declining state, and his son was still a mere youth. If he were, therefore, driven from Lucerne, he could have no hope of securing an asylum elsewhere. But such considerations had no influence on the mind of the inexorable party, and the themes which ought to have excited their compassion only served to increase their rage. Herbenstein, the burgomaster of Lucerne, an old and valiant warrior, who had acquired a celebrated name in the wars of Swabia and Burgundy, prosecuted the dismissal of the schoolmaster, and desired to drive out from the canton along with him all knowledge of Greek, or Latin, or of the gospel. He succeeded in his attempt. On leaving the meeting of the council wherein the dismissal of Myconius had been resolved upon, Herbenstein encountered the deputy from Zurich, named Berguer. "We have determined to send you back your schoolmaster," said the magistrate ironically; "you must prepare suitable lodgings for him." "We will not allow him to sleep in the streets," instantly replied the courageous deputy. But Berguer promised more than he could perform.

The news communicated by the burgomaster proved to be too true, and were soon reported to the unhappy Myconius himself. He was dismissed and banished, whilst the only crime imputed to him was the fact of his being a disciple in the doctrines of Luther. He looked around him and could nowhere discern the appearance of shelter. He beheld his wife, his son, and himself, alike reduced to a condition of infirmity, and thus driven out from his native place. . . . On every side of him Switzerland was seen agitated with the violence of a hardy storm, which overthrew and destroyed all that dared to brave its waves. "Seenow," said he at this time to Zwingle, "the poor Myconius is chased from home by the council of Lucerne. . . . Whither shall I go? . . . I know not. . . . Assailed yourself by billows equally furious, how could you give me a resting-place? I therefore cry amidst my tribulations to that God in whom I place my first hope. Always rich and good, he will not permit that any one of those who ask his aid shall be cast off without a favourable hearing. Let him provide for my necessities."

Such were the words of Oswald; and the expressions of consolation were not long delayed. There was one man in Switzerland inured to the combats of faith. Zwingle drew near to his friend and relieved his distresses. "The efforts by which attempts are made to overthrow the house of God are so persevering," said Zwingle, "and

the assaults so constant, that it can no longer be called the wind and the rain that fall upon it, as the Lord has predicted, (Matt. vii. 27,) but hailstones and thunderbolts. If I had not discerned the Lord who guards the ship, I should long ago have cast the rudder into the sea; but I see him in the whirlwind, arranging the cordage, setting the yards, and disposing the sails; what do I say! I see him commanding the very winds, and they obey him. . . . Would I not therefore be slack, unworthy of the name of a man, were I to abandon my post in order to find in flight a shameful death? I trust entirely in his sovereign goodness. Let him then govern; transports make haste, or retard, precipitate our course, or stop; let him throw us on or under the waves, or even plunge us into the bottom of the abyss, . . . we will fear nothing. We are vessels which belong to himself. He can make use of us as he pleaseth, either in honour or dishonour." After these sentences, so distinguished by a living faith, Zwingle continued, "With regard to yourself, my advice is as follows:—Present yourself in the presence of the council, and deliver in their hearing a discourse worthy of Christ and of your own cause, that is to say, calculated to touch and not to irritate their feelings. Deny that you are the disciple of Luther, and declare that you are that of Jesus Christ. Let your pupils surround you, and let them too speak; and if this method does not succeed, come to your friend, come to Zwingle, and look upon our city as your actual home."

Oswald, emboldened by these words, followed the excellent counsel of the reformer; but all his efforts were in vain. The witness of the truth was doomed to leave his native place; and the inhabitants of Lucerne covered him with so much opprobrium, that everywhere the magistrates took measures to prevent his receiving either assistance or shelter. "There is nothing left me to do," exclaimed the confessor of Jesus Christ, with a soul vexed at the contemplation of so much enmity, "but to beg from door to door, so that I may procure food to support my miserable existence." Very soon the friend of Zwingle, his most powerful assistant, the first man who had united in Switzerland the knowledge of literature and the love of the gospel, the reformer of Lucerne, and afterwards one of the heads of the Helvetic church, must quit, with his sick wife and infant son, that ungrateful city, where, of all his family, only one sister had adopted the gospel truths. He crossed these ancient bridges, and bid adieu to those mountains which seem to rise out of the bosom of the lake of the Waldstetten, and to reach to the very clouds. The canons Xylotect and Kilchmeyer, the only friends which the Reformation reckoned among his countrymen, followed Myconius at a short distance. And at the moment when this poor man, accompanied by two weak beings, whose existence was dependant on his exertions, with his eyes turned towards the lake, in a flood of tears at the remembrance of his blinded country, said farewell to those sublime scenes, whose majestic nature had surrounded his birth place, the gospel itself went out from Lucerne, and Rome still reigns dominant there, even until this day.

Shortly afterwards the diet itself, then assembled at Baden, excited by the vigorous measures adopted against Myconius, and irritated by the petitions from Einsidlen, which, issued by the press, had produced everywhere a great sensation, solicited, as well by the bishop of Con-

stance, who demanded of it to strike at last these innovators, assumed the character of persecutionists, and ordered the authorities of the common bailiwick to denounce, in its name, all priests and laymen who should be found to speak against the faith. The diet, moreover, in its impatience, caused the evangelist nearest to its present sittings to be seized—namely, Urban Weiss, the pastor of Fislispach, who had been recently released under security, and who was now carried to Constance, and delivered over to the charge of the bishop, by whom he was long retained in prison. “It was in this manner,” says the historian, Bullinger, “that were commenced the persecutions of the confederates against the gospel; and these persecutions were begun at the instigation of the clergy, who, on all occasions, have brought Jesus Christ to justice before Herod and Pilate.”

Zwingle was not destined to be sheltered from trials. The most severe and delicate wounds were at this time inflicted upon his heart. The rumours of his doctrines and his combats had crossed the Santis, penetrated the recesses of Tockenburg, and reached the heights of Wildhaus. The family of shepherds whence the reformer proceeded, had been moved by the purport of these reports. Of the five brothers connected with Zwingle, some had never ceased to prosecute peaceably the occupations of the mountain farm, whilst others, to the great grief of their brother, had, at times, taken up arms and quitted the care of their flock to join in the services of foreign princes. Both the one and the other, however, were alarmed at the news which this common report had brought within their huts. In their fancy they had already beheld their brother captured, dragged, perhaps, to Constance before the bishop, and imagined the erection of the funeral pile on which his body was about to be consumed, at the same place where the death of John Huss was consummated. These proud shepherds could not brook the idea of being called the brothers of a heretic. They consequently addressed a letter to Ulric, and therein described the intensity of their anguish and their fears. Zwingle replied to this epistle in the following terms:—“As long as God shall permit me, I will acquit myself of the duty he has imposed upon me, without entertaining any fear of the world, or of its superb tyrants. I am aware of all that can befall me. There is no danger or misfortune which I have not long considered with care. My forces are less than nothing, while I know the power of my enemies; but I also know that I can do all things in Jesus Christ who strengthens me. Although I should hold my peace, another would be constrained to do those things which God now performs through me, and I would myself be then punished by God. Cast far from you, Oh, my dear brethren! all your vain solicitude. If I harbour a fear, it is that I may become more mild and more compliant than our age requires. What a shame, you say, shall not be cast upon our family, should you be burned or put to death in some other way! Oh, my beloved brethren! the gospel possesses in the blood of Christ that astonishing virtue, that the most violent persecutions, so far from arresting its progress, only serve to hasten its developement. Those only are the true soldiers of Christ, who do not fear to suffer in their own bodies the wounds of their Master. All my labours are directed to no other end but that of communicating to men the treasures of happiness which Christ has acquired for us, in order that all may have recourse to

the Father through the death of his Son. If this doctrine should cause you offence, your anger cannot stay my purpose. You are my brethren, yes, my own brothers, the sons of my father; nursed at the same bosom; . . . but if you are not my brethren in Christ, and in the work of faith, then my grief shall become so excessive that nothing can be compared to it. Adieu—I shall never cease to be your real brother, unless you cease of yourselves to be the brethren of Jesus Christ.”

The confederates now appeared to rise like one man in opposition to the gospel. The petitions from Einsidlen had been made the signal of their commotion. Zwingle, oppressed with the fate of his dear Myconius, only beheld in these misfortunes the commencement of dire calamities. A host of enemies in Zurich, backed by enemies at a distance, the very relations of a man becoming his adversaries; furious opposition on the part of monks and priests; violent measures in the acts of the diet and the council; rude, and it might be, bloody attacks on the part of the partisans of foreign services; the highest valleys of Switzerland, that cradle of the confederation, pouring out long files of invincible soldiers, to save the cause of Rome and to annihilate, at the cost of their lives, the budding faith of the sons of the Reformation. Behold the view which in the distance was discovered, in tremblings, by the penetrating spirit of the Swiss reformer. How awful was this future! The work was but begun, and was it not about to be crushed? Zwingle, thoughtful and agitated, laid open at this time before God the full agony of his soul. “O Jesus!” said he, “thou seest how many wicked men and blasphemers stung with their cries the ears of thy people. Thou knowest how much, since mine infancy, I have hated disputes, and, nevertheless, in spite of me, thou hast not ceased to push me forward to the combat. . . . It is for this reason I call upon thee with confidence, in order that what thou hast commenced thou mayest complete. If I have wrongfully erected anything, let thy powerful arm cast it to the ground. If I have laid any other foundation but what ought to be placed on thee, overthrow that work with thine omnipotent hand. O Stem full of sweetness! of which the Father is the vine-dresser, and of which we are the branches, do not forsake thine own race! for thou hast promised to be with us till the end of the world.”

It was on the 22d of August 1522 that Ulric Zwingle, the reformer of Switzerland, seeing to descend from the mountains heavy storms in the direction of the frail bark of the faith, poured out thus before God the troubles and expectations of his soul.

BOOK IX.

FIRST REFORMS.—(1521-1522.)

CHAPTER I.

March of the Reformation—New Period—Utility of the Captivity of Luther—Agitation of Germany—Melancthon and Luther—Enthusiasm.

During the course of the last four years an ancient doctrine had been anew proclaimed within the bosom of the church. The grand sentence of salvation through grace, published formerly in Asia, Greece, and Italy, by Paul and his brethren, and recognised in the

Bible, after a lapse of several ages, by a monk of Wittemberg, had also resounded from the plains of Saxony even to the capitals of Rome, Paris, and London; whilst the high mountains of Switzerland had equally been heard to repeat its energetic accents. The sources of truth, liberty, and life, had been re-opened to the view of mankind. Crowds had hastened to these sources, and had drank with joy of their waters; but those who had eagerly dipped their lips in this liquid, had retained the same appearances. All within was changed, and yet all without seemed to remain as before.

The constitution of the church, its services, and its discipline, had undergone no change. In Saxony, at Wittemberg even, and in every place where the new thought had penetrated, the papal worship gravely continued its pomps. The priests still appeared at the foot of the altar, offering to God the host, and seeming to perform an ineffable change. The members of religious societies and nuns continued to take in their convents the vows of eternal obligations; the pastors of the flock lived without families; the brotherhood held their meetings; the toils of pilgrimages were accomplished; the faithful affixed their *ex-voto* to the pillars of the chapels, and all ceremonies were celebrated as formerly, even to the most insignificant act observed in the sanctuary. There was a new word in the world, but it had not created for itself a new body. The discourses of the priest exhibited the most striking contrast to the actions of the priest. He was heard to declaim vehemently from the elevation of the pulpit against the mass, as against a remnant of idolatrous worship, and afterwards seen to descend from the same desk and celebrate scrupulously, before the altar, the pompous show of that mystery. Everywhere the new gospel shone amidst the performances of ancient rites. The sacrificer himself did not perceive the existence of this singular contradiction; and the people who listened with acclamation to the bold discourses of the new preachers, devoutly fulfilled their former customs, as if they were never destined to forego such evil practices. Everything likewise remained as it had been, alike within the domestic circle and the habits of social life, as well as in the house of God. There was a new faith in the world, but there was not the accompaniment of new works. The fresh sun of spring had appeared, but winter still seemed to hold nature in a torpid state; no flowers offer their fragrance, nor leaves adorn the trees; nothing displayed the outward sweetness of the new season. But all such appearances were deceptive; for a general moisture, although hidden, circulated through the veins of the earth, and prepared to alter the face of the world.

It was to this progress, stamped by wisdom, that the Reformation most likely owed its distinguished triumphs. All revolutions ought to be engendered in the thought before they are made manifest to the light. The contradiction we have alluded to did not even at first sight strike Luther. He seems to have observed no discrepancy in the act of receiving with enthusiasm those writings, while devoutly resting attached to the very abuses they so indignantly attacked; and might almost be supposed, indeed, that he had beforehand arranged his plans, and had resolved to transform the spirits before attempting to change the forms. But such an idea would be to attribute to him a

wisdom whose strength proceeded from a higher intelligence. He executed a scheme he had not himself designed. At an after period he may have been able to recognise and understand these things ; but he did neither conceive nor produce them in the manner described. God marched at the head ; the reformer's part was to follow his guide.

If Luther had begun with an exterior reform ; if, immediately after having spoken, he had desired to abolish all monastic vows, the mass, confession, and the forms of worship, assuredly he would have met with the most formidable resistance. Time is necessary with man to reconcile him to the changes of great revolutions. But Luther was in no sense that violent renovator, imprudent and hazardous, which some historians have represented him to be. The people, beholding no change in his ordinary devotions, gave themselves over without fear to the practices of their new master. He was astonished even at the attacks directed against a man who had left for him his mass, his chaplet, and his confessor ; and he attributed them to the base jealousy of obscure rivals, or the cruel injustice of powerful adversaries. The ideas of Luther nevertheless agitated the spirits, renewed the heart, and so far undermined the ancient edifice, that it very soon fell of itself without any endeavours on the part of man. Ideas do not act through momentary impulsions ; they prosecute their course in silence, like those waters which, running concealed behind our rocks, succeed at last to detach them from the mountain on which they rested. On a sudden the work accomplished in secret displays its effects, and one day suffices to explain the labours continued through a period of many centuries.

A new period dawns upon the Reformation. Truth had been already re-established in the doctrine, and now the doctrine is about to re-establish truth in all the forms of the church and of society. The existing agitation is too great to allow the public mind to remain fixed and immovable at the point to which it had reached. Upon ancient dogmas so forcibly shaken had rested usages which now began to totter, and which were destined to disappear with their falling props. The new generation was possessed of too much courage and life to continue in a state of error. Sacraments, worship, hierarchy, vows, constitution, domestic life and public life, all were about to receive a modified nature. The ship slowly and with difficulty constructed, was at last ready to quit the stocks, and to be launched upon the wide ocean. We shall have to follow her course traced by many accidents and dangers.

The captivity of Wartburg defined the limits of the two periods exposed to our view. Providence having chosen to give to the reform an impulsions so decided, had prepared the progress of the action, by conducting with the silence of a profound retreat the instrument selected for actual operation. The work seemed for a time buried in oblivion along with the labourer ; but the seed must be put in the earth to ensure the production of fruit ; and it was out of this prison, which appeared fitted to become the tomb of the reformers, that the Reformation prepared to sally forth in quest of new conquests, and to spread its influence quickly over the whole surface of the globe. Until the period we speak of, the Reformation had been concen-

trated in the person of Luther. His appearance before the diet at Worms formed unquestionably the most interesting and sublime event in his history. His character on this occasion appeared almost exempted from natural imperfection; and thus it was asserted that, if God who had arranged the concealment of the reformer during a space of ten months within the walls of Wartburg, had at the instant snatched him for ever from the sight of the world, his end was secured—the deification of his memory. But God does not make choice of apotheosis for his servants; and Luther was preserved to the church, in order to shew, by his very faults even, that it is alone upon the word of God the faith of Christians must be placed. He was hastily transported to a distance from the scene whereon the grand revolution of the sixteenth century was being completed, and the truth, which, for the course of four years, he had so powerfully proclaimed, continued in his absence to diffuse its spirit over christendom, while the work in which he was but a feeble instrument bore from that time, not merely the signet of man, but the very seal of the living God.

Germany was driven into a state of commotion by the captivity of Luther. Reports the most contradictory were spread abroad within the districts of every province. The absence of the reformer preyed upon men's minds more than his presence had ever done. At one time it was asserted that friends from France had secured for him a safe retreat on the other side of the Rhine; and at another, rumour was equally confident in declaring that he had been put to death by assassins. In the smallest villages an interest was taken in the fate of Luther, meetings were held in the public places, and travellers were closely questioned as to the information they had received on this subject. At different places some unknown orator would be found relating to the people an animated description of the manner in which the doctor had been carried away. Barbarous knights were represented as binding fast with cords the hands of their prisoner, then spurring on their steeds; at the same time that they dragged their victim along on foot behind them, wasting his strength, unmindful of his cries, and causing blood to stream from his wounded limbs. "The corpse of Luther," added the speaker, "has been seen pierced through and through." Then mournful exclamations rent the air. "Ah!" said the multitude, "we shall never see him again, we shall no more hear that generous man, whose voice invigorated our hearts." The friends of Luther, trembling with rage, swore to revenge his death. Women and children, old men and men of peace, foresaw with affright the renewal of ardent struggles. Nothing could equal the terror of the partisans of Rome. The very priests and monks, who were at first unable to conceal their transports of joy, believing themselves certain of victory, because one man had died, and who had consequently raised their heads with an air of insulting triumph, were now desirous to flee to a distance from the angry threatenings of the people. These men who, while Luther was free, had so loudly expressed their fury, now trembled when he was thrown into a dungeon. Alexander more particularly was cast into a state of consternation. "The only means left to us for recovering our safety," wrote a Roman Catholic to the Archbishop of Mentz, "is to light a number of torches and go in search of Luther

throughout the world, in order to deliver him up again to the nation that demands his liberation." It was said that the ghost of the reformer, dragging chains at the feet of its wan figure, had appeared to excite terror and to demand vengeance. "The death of Luther," some exclaimed, "shall cause the effusion of torrents of blood."

In no district was the public mind more strongly agitated than in Worms itself, and fierce murmurings were heard alike among the assemblies of the people and of princes. Ulric of Hutten and Herman Busch filled this neighbourhood with their complaints and cries for war. Charles V. and the nuncios were loudly condemned, and the nation espoused the cause of the poor monk, who, by the power of his faith, had become its leader.

At Wittemberg, his friends and colleagues, more especially Melancthon, were at first plunged into agonising sorrow. Luther had communicated to the latter young scholar the treasures of that holy theology which ever afterwards entirely occupied the aspirations of his soul. It was Luther who had imparted substance and life to that purely intellectual worship which Melancthon had carried to Wittemberg. The depth of the reformer's doctrine had imposed upon the mind of the young Grecian, and the courage displayed by the doctor in maintaining the rights of the eternal word against all human authorities had inspired his heart with enthusiasm. He had joined himself to the reformer's labours, he had seized the pen, and, with that perfection of style which he had acquired in the study of the classics, he had successively, and with an able hand, reduced to nothing the authorities of the fathers and the councils when compared with the sovereign word of God.

The decision which Luther exhibited in the actions of life Melancthon manifested in the labours of science. Never were two men brought into public notice whose characters were at once so diversified and so uniform. "The Scriptures," said Melancthon, "saturates the soul with a holy and marvellous delight : they compose a celestial ambrosia." "The word of God," exclaimed Luther, "is a sword, a war and destruction ; it works upon the children of Ephraim like the lioness in the forest." Thus the one especially beheld in the Scriptures a power of consolation, whilst the other regarded them as an energetic opposition to the corruption of the world. But for both these holy writings were equally the most precious treasure to be found on the earth ; in so much that their sentiments were perfectly in accordance with each other. "Melancthon," said Luther, "is a wonder, and is acknowledged as such by all. He is the most formidable enemy to Satan and the divinity schools, for he knows at the same time their folly and the rock which is Christ. This little Grecian surpasses me, even in theology, and he shall prove more useful to you than many Luthers." And he added that he was ready to abandon an opinion, if Philip did not approve of it. Melancthon, on his part, filled with admiration for the knowledge Luther possessed of the Scriptures, ranked him far above the fathers of the church. Philip delighted in framing excuses for the pleasantries condemned by some in the manners of his friend, and compared him at the time to an earthen vessel which enclosed a costly jewel under a rude covering. "I will take good care of rashly reproving him for this fault," said Melancthon.

But now these two friends, so intimately united, are seen separated from each other. These two valiant soldiers can no longer march together toward the deliverance of the church. Luther has disappeared, and may perhaps be for ever lost. The consternation in Wittenberg was extreme. It might be likened to an army, with downcast and mournful looks, in presence of the bloody ghost of the general who had led it to victory.

Suddenly, however, news of a more comforting description were received. "Our much beloved father is alive," exclaimed Philip, in the joy of his soul; "take courage, therefore, and be strong." But grief soon supervened over the pleasures of the moment. Luther was alive, but in prison. The edict of Worms, with all its terrible prescriptions, had been scattered abroad by thousands of copies throughout every province of the empire, and even as far as the mountains of the Tyrol. Was not the Reformation about to be crushed to atoms by the iron hand which now pressed so heavily upon it? The meek soul of Melancthon retired within itself with mournful forebodings.

But over and above the hands of men, a more powerful hand caused its strength to be felt; for God had carried away from the formidable edict all its power. The German princes, who had constantly endeavoured to subvert within the empire the powers of Rome, trembled when they beheld the alliance formed between the emperor and the pope, and dreaded lest the result should be the total ruin of all their liberties. Moreover, whilst Charles, in passing through the districts of the Netherlands, was pleased to recognise with an ironic smile the flames which certain flatterers and fanatics had raised in various public places by setting fire to the works of Luther, these same writings were read in Germany with an avidity always on the increase, at the same time that numerous pamphlets, on the subject of the reform, were each day seen to inflict new wounds upon the cause of Popery. The nuncios were driven to despair in beholding the insignificant effects produced by that edict whose accomplishment had cost them so much anxious intrigue. "The ink with which Charles V. has signed his decree," said they, with bitterness, "has not had time to dry, before in every place these imperial sentences are wholly disregarded and destroyed." . . . The people more and more attached themselves to the cause of that admirable man who, without caring for the vengeance of either Charles or the pope, had confessed his faith with the courage of a martyr. "He has offered to retract, if he can be refuted," it was said, "and still no person has dared to give him an answer. Does not this prove the truth of what he teaches?" Besides, to the first emotions of fear, there had succeeded in Wittenberg, and generally throughout the whole empire, a burst of enthusiasm. The archbishop of Mentz himself, seeing the sympathies of the people so clearly disclosed, did not dare to afford to the Franciscans a permission to preach against the reformer. The university, too, which seemed doomed to be overthrown, had again lifted up its head. The new doctrines were therein too firmly established to be shivered to pieces by the mere absence of Luther, and consequently the academic halls were very soon found insufficient to accommodate the crowds of students who sought to prosecute their studies in Wittenberg.

CHAPTER II.

Luther at Wartburg—End of the Captivity—Excessive Pangs—Sickness—Labour of Luther—Upon Confession—To Latomus—Walks.

Meanwhile, Sir George, such was the name Luther bore at Wartburg, lived in solitude, and unknown. "Were you to see me," he wrote to Melancthon, "you would believe you looked upon some knight, and it would be difficult even for you to recognise me." Luther at first enjoyed a portion of rest, happy in the experience of some actual leisure, which until now had never been at his command. He was allowed free exercise in every part of the fortress, but he dared not go beyond the outward walls. All his desires were satisfied, and he never in his life received better treatment. Many thoughts occupied the reflections of his soul, but none of them gave him trouble. By turns he cast his eyes upon the forest which surrounded his dwelling, or raised them towards the skies. "Most singular captive!" he exclaimed, "for I am one both with and against my will."

"Pray for me," he wrote to Spalatin; "your prayers are the only thing I stand in need of. I do not vex myself about what is said or done with reference to me in the world. I am at last at rest." This letter, as well as several others written at the same period, is dated from the Island of Patmos. Luther compared Wartburg to that celebrated island to which the Emperor Domitian, in his anger, had formerly banished the Apostle St John.

The reformer rested in the bosom of the dark forests of Thuringia from the many violent struggles which had agitated his soul. In this seclusion he studied the truths of Christianity, not in order to join in combat, but as a means of regeneration and life. The commencement of the reform was, of necessity, controversial, but altered times required a different labour. After having rooted out the thorns and the brushwood with sharp instruments, it was necessary to sow in peace the word of God within the hearts of men. If Luther had been compelled to wage incessant war, he could not have accomplished a durable reform in the church. He thus by his captivity escaped a danger which might, perhaps, have lost the cause of the Reformation—the danger, namely, of constantly attacking and destroying, without ever acting in the defence, or reconstructing useful works.

This humble retreat was indeed productive of a result yet more precious. Raised as upon a tower by his people, he was within two finger-breadths of the abyss, and a fit of giddiness might have sufficed to precipitate him into the gulf. Some of the first actors of the Reformation, both in Germany and Switzerland, had early struck upon the rock of spiritual pride or fanaticism. Luther was himself a man very subject to the infirmities of our nature, and he was ill prepared to escape completely from the dangers we have pointed out. The hand of God, however, delivered him for a time from these perils, by suddenly snatching him away from the intoxicating ovations, and casting him into the depths of an unknown retreat. His soul at this juncture was brought to meditate exclusively upon God. He was likewise anew exposed to the trials of adversity; and his sufferings and humiliations constrained him to walk, for a time at least, in the paths of the humble, while the principles of the Christian life were

from this moment developed in his soul with greater energy and freedom.

The peace which Luther enjoyed was not, however, of long duration. Seated alone upon the walls of Wartburg, he remained for whole days absorbed in the reflections of deep meditation. Now the church recurred to his recollection, and all her miseries were depicted in lively colours to his imagination. Then, raising with hope his looks towards heaven, he said, "Wherefore, O Lord, shouldst thou in vain have created men?" (Psalm lxxxix. 48.) Again, losing this hope, he exclaimed in his sadness, "Alas! there is no person, in this last day of his anger, who places himself like a wall before the Lord, in order to save Israel."

Then reverting to the circumstances of his own destiny, he feared that he would be accused of having abandoned the field of battle; and such a supposition overwhelmed his soul. "I would prefer," said he, "to be stretched out on a bed of living coals rather than to languish here in a half-dead condition."

Transporting himself afterwards in imagination to Worms or Wittenberg, in the midst of his adversaries, he regretted having yielded to the advice of his friends, of not having remained in the world, and of not having offered his bosom to the fury of men. "Ah!" said he, "there is nothing I desire so much as to confront my cruel enemies."

Some sweet thoughts, however, intervened to procure an intermission of his agonies. All around was not a scene of torment for Luther: his agitated mind perceived at intervals an appearance of calm and comfort. Next to the certainty of receiving help from God, one thing especially consoled his spirit in his sorrows, namely, the remembrance of Melancthon. "If I perish," he wrote to this friend, "the gospel shall lose nothing: you shall follow me as Elisha did Elijah, possessing a double measure of my spirit." But calling to mind the timid disposition of Philip, he wrote to him with energy, "Minister of the word! protect the walls and the towers of Jerusalem until the adversaries shall have reached you. Alone, we are still erect upon the field of battle; after me, it is you they will assault."

This thought of the last attack which Rome had just inflicted upon the budding church, threw him again into despondency. The poor monk, a solitary prisoner, delivered himself over to hardy conflicts. But suddenly he believed he described the hope of his deliverance. It appeared to him that the attacks of Popery would force rebellion upon the people of Germany, and that the soldiers of the gospel, conquerors, and surrounding Wartburg, would restore liberty to the prisoner. "If the pope," said he, "lays hands upon all those who are on my side, there shall be a tumult in Germany; the more he hastens to crush us, the more speedy also shall be his end, and that of all who belong to him. And for me, . . . I shall be restored to you. . . . God rouses the spirits of many, and he excites the people. Let our enemies merely grasp our cause in their arms, and try to smother it, it shall enlarge under the pressure of their attempts, and escape from them ten times more formidable than before."

But sickness obliged Luther to descend from those elevated heights to which his courage and his faith had transported him. He had previously suffered severely in Worms, and his malady increased

under the depression of solitude. He could not stand the nourishment provided in Wartburg, a little less coarse than that of his convent, and it was found necessary to supply him with the simple food he was accustomed to live upon. He passed many a night wholly unrefreshed by sleep, and the agonies of his soul enhanced the sufferings of his body. No work could be accomplished without sorrow or martyrdom. Luther, alone upon this rock, at this time endured in his powerful nature, a passion which the emancipation of mankind rendered necessary. "Seated at night in my chamber, I uttered screams," said he, "like a women in the pains of labour; suffering, wounded, and bleeding." Then checking his complaints, and penetrated with the thought that these sufferings were the gifts of God, he exclaimed with love, "Thanks be to thee, O Christ, for not leaving me without the knowledge of some of the precious relics of thy holy cross!" But immediately he is incensed at himself—"Mad, hardened creature that I am!" cried he; "O misery! I pray little, I struggle little" with the Lord, I do not groan for the church of God. Instead of being fervent in spirit, it is my passions which inflame me: I remain in idleness, in sleep, and in sloth." . . . Then, not knowing to what cause to attribute his sad condition, and accustomed to expect everything from the affection of his brethren, he cried in the desolation of his soul, "Oh, my friends, do you then forget to pray for me, that God has thus hid his face from me?" . . .

Those who surrounded him, as well as his friends in Wittenberg and at the court of the elector, were disturbed and alarmed at the particulars of his unhappy condition. They trembled to see that life, snatched away from the funeral pile of the pope or the sword of Charles V. mournfully decaying as about to vanish from the earth! "I fear," said Melancthon, "that the sorrow he feels for the church shall hasten his death. A flambeau has been lighted by him in Israel, should it be extinguished, what hope will remain with us? Would to God that I were able, at the price of my miserable life, to preserve in this world that soul which constitutes its most beautiful ornament."

Oh, such a man!" exclaimed he, as if he already stood upon the brink of his grave; "we have not sufficiently appreciated his worth."

That which Luther denominated the unworthy idleness of his prison, was a labour which almost surpassed every effort of man. "I am here every day," said he, on the 14th of May, "engrossed in idleness and pleasure. (He made allusion, no doubt, to the nourishment, a little less coarse than was at first afforded him.) I read the Bible in Greek and Hebrew. I propose to write a discourse in German upon auricular confession. I will continue the translation of the Psalms; and I will compose a collection of sermons, when I shall have received from Wittenberg the requisite means. I write on without intermission." Besides, what we have stated formed only a part of the labour accomplished by Luther.

His enemies had believed that, if he were not dead, they should at least never be doomed to hear him speak again; but their congratulations were not of long continuance, nor were they left long to doubt of his existence in the world. A multitude of writings, composed at Wartburg, succeeded each other in rapid succession; and in every district the dearly-cherished voice of the reformer was recognised with enthusiasm. Luther published at the same time cer-

tain works calculated to edify the church, and several books of controversy, which encroached upon the too hasty joy experienced by his enemies. During the course of nearly one year, he by turns instructed, exhorted, replied, and censured from the top of his mountain keep, while his adversaries, confounded with these exertions, demanded at each other whether there must not be acknowledged, in the presence of such prodigious activity, some supernatural mystery. "It is impossible that he can take any rest," said Cochleus.

But there was no mystery to explain beyond the imprudence of the partisans of Rome. They hastened to take advantage of the edict of Worms, in order to inflict upon the Reformation a finishing blow, while Luther, condemned, put under the ban of the empire, shut up in the fortress of Wartburg, endeavoured to defend the holy doctrine as if he was still at liberty and victorious. It was especially within the tribunal of penance that the priests attempted to rivet the chains of their docile parishioners, and it was equally against the subject of confession Luther directed his first attacks. "The following sentence from St James," said he, "is usually quoted, '*Confess your sins one to another.*' Singular confessor! He appeals to each other! From this phrase, it is evident that the confessors should also make confession to their penitents: that every Christian in his turn should be pope, bishop, or priest, and that the pope himself must agree to confess himself to all Christians."

The moment Luther had completed this treatise he commenced another. A theologian from Louvain, named Latomus, already distinguished for his opposition to the works of Reuchlin and Erasmus, had attacked the sentiments of the reformer. In twelve days the refutation of Luther was prepared; and this theme must be regarded as one of his best productions. He vindicates himself from the reproach made against him of a want of moderation. "The moderation of the age," said he, "consists in bending the knee before certain sacrilegious pontiffs or impious sophists, and calling them '*Gracious Lord! Excellent Master!*' Then, when you have done this, you may put to death whom you please, or you may even overturn the world; you shall not on that account be reckoned less a man of moderation. Far be from me this description of moderation. I would prefer to be sincere, and to deceive no person. The shell is hard, perhaps, but the nut is sweet and tender."

The health of Luther continued impaired, and he thought of quitting Wartburg where he was so closely confined. But how must he act to procure his deliverance? To appear in public was to expose his life to imminent hazard. The back of the mountain on which the fortress was raised was traversed by numerous footpaths, whose edges were adorned with clusters of strawberries. The massy gate of the castle was opened, and the prisoner ventured out, not without fear, to gather clandestinely a small quantity of this fruit. By degrees he became more confident, and began, attired in his knight's garments, to wander over the neighbouring fields, accompanied by a guard from the castle, whose disposition was blunt but faithful. One day, having entered the room of an inn, Luther threw aside his sword, which encumbered his movements, and ran to examine some books that were seen on a table. His natural inclinations overpowered his sense of prudence; and his guardian trembled at the

sight, alarmed lest by this curiosity, so strange in the character of a man of arms, it might be suspected that the doctor was in reality no true knight. On another occasion, the two soldiers descended into the convent of Reichardsbrunn, where a few months before Luther had slept on his journey to Worms. On a sudden a lay brother is caught uttering an expression of surprise. Luther was recognised. His guardian observed the discovery, and hurried him off in immediate haste, in so much that they were both galloping far from the cloister, before the poor interdicted monk had time to recover from his astonishment.

The knight-errant like life of the doctor was at times distinguished by events of a very theological cast. On one occasion the snares were prepared, the gates of the fortress were opened, and the dogs, with long and hanging ears, rushed from the kennel. Luther felt a desire to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Very soon the hunters enter into the spirit of the game, and the dogs eagerly follow the footsteps of the stag or deer, which they drive within the covers of brush-wood. In the midst of this tumult, the knight Sir George, immovable, remained with his mind filled with serious thoughts, and experienced a sorrowfulness of heart at sight of the scene around him. "Is it not," said he, "the image of the devil that excites these dogs, that is to say, the bishops, these proxies of Antichrist, and urges them on to the pursuit of poor souls?" A young hare was about to be taken, and Luther, wishing to save its life, carefully wrapped up the animal in his mantle and hid it in a bush; but scarcely had he left the spot before the dogs caught the scent, and springing towards the poor brute, destroyed it in an instant. Luther, attracted by the noise, uttered an exclamation of grief—"O pope!" said he, "and thou too, Satan, it is thus you endeavour to ruin those very souls which have already been saved from death."

CHAPTER III.

The Reform Commences—Marriage of Feldkirchen—Marriage of the Monks—Theses—Writing against Monachism—Monachism ceases for Luther.

Whilst the doctor of Wittenberg, dead to the world, amused himself with these games in the neighbourhood of Wartburg, the work went on as of itself, and the Reformation commenced. It no longer confined itself to the truths of doctrine, but penetrated with power into the affairs of life. Bernard Feldkirchen, the pastor of Kemberg, who was the first, under the direction of Luther, to attack the errors of Rome, was also the first to disencumber himself from the yoke of her institutions. He, in short, became a married man.

The German character is peculiarly devoted to the interests of a family life and the enjoyment of domestic pleasures. Moreover, among all the ordinances of Popery, that of a forced celibacy had been productive of the most mournful consequences. Imposed upon the heads of the clergy, this law had hindered the lands of the church from becoming a species of hereditary property; but extended in its application to the lower ranks of clergymen, it had produced the most deplorable effects. Many of the priests had released themselves from the obligations imposed upon them by shameful irregularities, and had loaded their class with common hatred and contempt; whilst

those who submitted to the law of Hildebrand were inwardly enraged against the church, inasmuch as, while she gave to these high dignitaries so large a portion of power, of riches, and of terrestrial enjoyment, she constrained the humble ministers, who were at same time her most useful support, to observe practices of self-denial wholly opposed to the spirit of the gospel.

"Neither popes nor councils," said Feldkirchen, and another pastor, named Seidler, who followed his example, "are able to impose upon the church a commandment which exposes both soul and body to danger. The obligation to maintain the law of God constrains us to violate the traditions of men." The re-establishment of marriage was, in the sixteenth century, a mark of homage paid to the moral law. The alarmed ecclesiastical authority immediately issued its arrests against these two priests. Seidler, who resided within the territories of Duke George, was delivered over to the care of his superiors, and died in prison. But the elector Frederick refused to give up Feldkirchen to the archbishop of Magdeburg. "His Highness," said Spalatin, "has no wish to act the part of a mounted policeman." Feldkirchen remained, therefore, pastor of his flock, although he had become both a husband and a father.

The first impulse of the reformer, when he was informed of these occurrences, was to indulge in expressions of joy. "I admire," said he, "this young husband at Kemberg, who seems to fear nothing, and to exert himself in the midst of tumult." Luther was convinced that it was a right thing for the ministers to marry. But this question led to another, namely, the marriage of the monks; and on this subject Luther was subjected to one of those inward combats which he was doomed to encounter during the whole course of his life, because every reform must be obtained at the cost of a spiritual struggle. Melancthon and Carlstadt, the one a layman and the other a priest, considered that the liberty to enter into the bands of marriage ought to be equally free alike to the monks and to the priests. Luther, himself a monk, did not at first join in this opinion. One day the governor of Wartburg having brought him the theses composed by Carlstadt upon celibacy, "Good God!" exclaimed he, "would our citizens of Wittenberg give then wives even to the monks?" . . . This idea astonished and bewildered his imagination, and his soul was troubled at the thought. He rejected in his own case the liberty he claimed on behalf of others. "Ah," cried he, "with indignation, they shall not force me from the monks, myself to take a wife." This sentence was, no doubt, hidden from the knowledge of those who have pretended that Luther urged on the Reformation in order that he might himself become a married man. Singly seeking the truth, not through passion, but in uprightness, he sincerely supported these views which exhibited to his sight the appearance of truth, although opposed to the perfect unity of his general system. He walked, as it were, in a labyrinth of truth and error, from imagining that all error would fall to the ground and that truth would remain alone conspicuous.

There was, in reality, a great difference between the two questions. The marriage of the priests was not the aim of the priesthood alone; on the contrary, the priesthood could restore to the secular clergy

the respect of the people, but the marriage of the monks constituted the destruction of monachism. It was, therefore, a matter of deep reflection how far it was necessary to dissolve or dismiss that powerful army which the popes held under their command. "The priests," wrote Luther to Melancthon, are "instituted by God, and consequently they are free with respect to human commandments. But it is of their own will the monks have chosen to live in a state of celibacy; they are not, therefore, at liberty to withdraw from under the yoke, they having willingly imposed it upon themselves."

The reformer must, however, advance and carry by force in a new struggle this fresh position of the adversary. Already he had succeeded in trampling under foot many abuses of Rome and Rome itself; but monachism still retained its presumptuous posture. Monachism, which had of old carried life into so many deserts, and which, after having continued for so many centuries, now filled a vast number of cloisters with idleness and even with luxury, appeared to have assumed a body, and to have proceeded to defend its rights in this castle of Thuringia, wherein was disputed, in the conscience of one man, the question of its life or death. Luther struggled with this phantom; at times he was near the close of its overthrow, and at times ready to be conquered. At last, finding himself unable to maintain the combat any longer, he threw himself in an attitude of prayer at the feet of Jesus Christ, and exclaimed—"Do thou instruct us and deliver us! Establish us, through thy mercy, in that liberty which belongs to us; for assuredly we are thy people!"

The deliverance prayed for was not long delayed; an important revolution was set at work in the mind of the reformer; and it was once more the doctrine of justification by faith which gained for him the victory. That arm which had demolished indulgences, the practices of Rome and the pope himself, razed also the structure of the monks, in the sight of Luther and of christendom. Luther now perceived that monachism and the doctrines of salvation through grace were at flagrant opposition with each other, and that the monastic life was entirely founded upon the pretended merits of men. From that moment, convinced that the glory of Jesus Christ was compromised in the question, he distinguished a voice in the recess of conscience which incessantly repeated these words:—"Monachism must fall. As long as the doctrine of justification by faith shall remain pure in the church, no person will become a monk," said he. This conviction continued to gather unabated strength in his mind, and, about the commencement of September, he sent "to the bishops and deacons of the church of Wittemberg" the following theses, which composed his declaration of war against the monastic life.

"Whatever is not proved by faith is a sin," (Rom. xiv. 23.) "Whoever makes a vow of virginity or chastity, in the service of God, without faith, takes an impious and idolatrous vow, and even takes a vow to the devil.

"To engage in such vows, is to become worse than the priests of Cybele or the vestals of the Pagans; because the monks utter their vows in the belief of being justified and saved in consequence of these vows; and that which ought to be entirely attributed to the mercy of God, is thus attributed to the effects of meritorious deeds.

"It is necessary to overthrow from top to bottom all such convents, as being so many houses of the devil.

"There is only one order which can be holy or can render holy, namely, Christianity or faith.

"In order that these convents may become useful, they should be turned into schools, wherein children may be reared until they reach the age of manhood; whereas they are now houses in which men return to a state of infancy and remain therein for ever."

Luther, we see, was still willing, at this period, to tolerate convents as houses of education; but his attacks upon these establishments very soon became more energetic. The immorality of the cloisters, and the shameful practices therein encouraged, arose in mighty strength before the vision of his soul. "I am desirous," wrote he to Spalatin on the 11th of November, "to deliver these young people from the infernal flames of celibacy." Afterwards he wrote a work against monastic vows, which he dedicated to his father. "Are you anxious," said he, in this dedication to the old man of Mansfeld, "are you still willing to drag me from the snares of monachism? You have a right to perform this work; for you are still my father, and I am still your son: but the office is no longer necessary; God has come before you, and he has dragged me out of this net with power. What does it signify whether I wear the tonsure and the hood or throw them aside? Is it the hood or is it the tonsure which make a monk? *All things are yours, said St Paul, and you are Christ's.* I do not belong to the hood, but the hood to me. I am a monk, and for all that I am not a monk: I am a new creature, not of the pope, but of Jesus Christ. Christ, alone and without any intermediate one, is my bishop, my abbot, my prior, my lord, my father, and my master; and I know of no other head. What is it to me although the pope should condemn me and cause my throat to be cut? He cannot oblige me to come out of the tomb in order that he may cut my throat a second time. . . . The great day approaches on which the kingdom of abominations shall be overthrown. Would to God that he should consider it of use for us to be murdered by the pope! Our blood would then cry against the pope till these cries were heard in heaven, and in this manner his judgment would be hastened and his end would be brought near."

The transformation was completed in Luther himself; he was no longer a monk. It was not from exterior causes, from human passions, or carnal precipitation, this change had proceeded. There was here a struggle. Luther was at first ranked on the side of monachism, but truth had met him in the lists, and monachism had been conquered. The victories which passion wins are always ephemeral, while those accomplished by truth are durable and decisive.

CHAPTER IV.

The Archbishop Albert—The Idol of Halle—Luther becomes Bold—Terror at the Court—Luther to the Archbishop—Reply of Albert—Joachim of Brandenburg

Whilst Luther in this manner formed the prelude to one of the greatest revolutions which were destined to operate upon the affairs of the church, and while the Reformation began to produce such memorable effects in the life of the subjects of christendom, the partisans

of Rome, blinded in the fashion usual with those who have been long in the possession of power, imagined to themselves that, because Luther was shut up in Wartburg, the reform was for ever dead and buried; in so much, that they considered themselves at liberty to recommence in peace their ancient practices, for an instant interrupted by the monk of Wittemberg. The archbishop-elect of Mentz, Albert, was one of those good easy souls who, all things equal, decided upon following the right, but who, from the moment their own interests were put in the balance, are ever ready to range themselves on the side of error. The grand question with him was, to be sure of having his court equally brilliant with that of any other prince in Germany, his equipages as gorgeous, and his table as plentifully covered. Now the commerce in indulgences was admirably fitted to ensure such ends. Therefore the condemnation against Luther and the reform had scarcely issued from the imperial chancery, before Albert, who was then with his court at Halle, caused the merchants of these indulgences, still in a state of fear on account of the denouncements of the reformer, to be brought together, and strove to re-animate their courage by expressions like the following:—"Be no longer afraid, we have reduced him to silence; let us begin in peace to clip the flock; the monk is a captive; he is shut in with bolts and bars; he shall be very clever this time if he come again to disturb our transactions." The market was consequently re-opened, the merchandise exposed, and the churches in Halle again resounded with the declamations of shameless imposters.

But Luther was still in life, and his voice was sufficiently powerful to extend beyond the ramparts and walls behind which he had been hid. Nothing could have inflamed his indignation to a higher pitch. How could he endure to think that, after the most violent combats had been engaged in, after he had exposed himself to every danger, and after the truth had remained victorious on the field, any one should yet dare to trample her again under foot, as if she had been conquered! She shall once more re-echo that sentence which had already sufficed before to destroy the artifices of that criminal commerce. "I will allow myself no rest," wrote he to Spalatin, "until I shall have attacked the idol of Mentz and his prostitutions at Halle."

Luther immediately set about this work. He cared little about the mystery with which it was tried to envelope his sojourn at Wartburg. Elias in the desert had forged new thunderbolts against the impious Ahab. On the 1st of November Luther terminated a writing *against the new idol of Halle*.

The archbishop was apprised of the design entertained by Luther; and, in a state of emotion and dread, he sent, about the middle of October, two officers of his court, Capito and Auerbach, to Wittemberg, in order to arrest the storm. "It is necessary," said they to Melancthon, who received them with earnestness, "that Luther should be advised to moderate his impetuosity." But Melancthon, although of a mild disposition, was not of the number of those who imagine that wisdom consists in always yielding, or shuffling, or holding one's tongue. "It is God himself who has called him to the work," replied he, "and our age stands in need of sharp and biting salt." Capito therefore turned his mission towards Jonas, and endeavoured by means of him to bring the affair before the court. The news of Luther's

purpose had already reached the palace, and had struck the courtiers with amazement. "Wherefore," these great persons had said, "is it necessary to rekindle the flame which it has cost so much trouble to extinguish? Luther can only be saved by allowing himself to be forgotten, and yet he sets himself against the first prince of the empire." "I will not permit," said the elector, "that Luther should write against the archbishop of Mentz, and in this manner disturb the public peace."

Luther, when these speeches were repeated to him, was very indignant at their import. It seemed not enough to have cast his body into prison, but pretensions were also made to enchain his mind, and even the Spirit of truth itself! . . . Did they imagine that he had hid himself because he was afraid, or that his retreat implied a confession of his defeat? He regarded his seclusion himself as a victory. Who, then, at Worms, had dared to rise up against him or to contradict the truth? Therefore, when the prisoner in Wartburg had read the letter of the chaplain, which informed him of the sentiments of the prince, he threw this document away from him, resolved not to return an answer thereto. But he was unable for any length of time to restrain his feelings; he snatched thus the letter from the ground. "The elector shall not permit!" . . . he wrote to Spalatin; "and for me, I will not suffer that the elector shall not permit me to write. . . . Rather would I lose you for ever, the elector, . . . and the whole world beside. If I have resisted the pope, who is the creator of your cardinals, wherefore should I yield to his creature? It is very well, indeed, for you to mean to say that we must not disturb the public peace, while you permit others to trouble the eternal peace of God! . . . It shall not be thus, O Spalatin. It shall not remain so, O prince. I now send you a book which I had already prepared against the cardinal at the time I received your letter. Send it on, I pray, to Melancthon." . . .

The perusal of this manuscript caused Spalatin to tremble. He again represented to the reformer the imprudence there would attach to the publication of a work which must force the imperial government to shake off its pretended ignorance of the fate of Luther, and to punish a prisoner who had dared to attack the first prince of the empire and of the church. If Luther persisted in his design, the peace must anew be broken, and the Reformation might perhaps be lost. Luther consented to defer the publication of his work, and even permitted Melancthon to efface the most rudely composed passages. But, irritated at the recollection of this timidity of soul, he wrote to the chaplain, "He lives, he reigns—the Lord in whom you do not believe, you people of the court, at least, that he will in such a manner accommodate his operations to your reasoning that it is no longer necessary to believe anything." He afterwards took the resolution to write directly to the cardinal-electors.

It was the whole body of Episcopacy which Luther arraigned before his bar, in the person of the Germanic primate. His words were those of a bold man, burning with zeal for the truth, and whose conscience told him that he spoke in the name of God himself.

"Your Electoral Highness," wrote he from the recesses of the retreat in which he was concealed, "has raised up in Halle that idol

which swallows up the money and the souls of poor Christians. You think perhaps that I am beyond the field of battle, and that imperial majesty shall easily be able to stifle the cries of the poor monk. . . . But be assured that I will discharge the duty which Christian charity has imposed upon me, without a fear of the gates of hell, and, with much greater reason, without a fear of popes, bishops, and cardinals.

"It is for this reason my very humble prayer is, that your Electoral Highness would call to remembrance the commencement of this affair, and how from so small a spark a great fire has been kindled. The whole world was then in a state of security. This poor mendicant, it was said, who wishes, in his own strength, to attack the pope, is too insignificant for such a work. But God has appeared on the scene, and he has given to the pope more care and labour than he has ever had to contend with since he assumed his seat in the temple of God, in order to domineer over the church. That same God is still alive: let no one doubt this fact. He will know how to resist a cardinal of Mentz, even although he were supported by four emperors; for God desires above all things to cast down these lofty cedars, and to humble these superb Pharaohs.

"It is for this reason I give your Highness notice in writing, that if the idol be not destroyed, I must, in obedience to the doctrine of God, attack your Highness publicly, as I have attacked the pope himself. May your Highness be pleased to follow this advice. I expect a prompt and direct reply within the space of fifteen days. Given in my desert, the Sunday after St Catherine's Day, 1521.

"Of your Electoral Highness the devoted and submissive servant,
"MARTIN LUTHER."

The above epistle was sent to Wittemberg, and from Wittemberg to Halle, where the cardinal-electoral at the time resided; for no one dared to arrest it in its passage, foreseeing what a storm such an act would be sure to produce. But Melancthon sent along with it a letter, addressed to the cautious Capito, by which means he endeavoured to prepare a good issue to this difficult enterprise.

It is impossible to describe the feelings of the young and weak archbishop on receiving the letter of the reformer. The work announced *against the idol of Halle* was like a sword suspended over his head. And, at the same time, what must not have been the rage kindled in his bosom on account of the insolence of this son of a peasant—of this excommunicated monk—who dared to use language of such intemperance in his address to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, and to the primate of the Germanic church! Capito implored the archbishop to give satisfaction to the monk. Fear, pride, and a conscience whose voice it was impossible to stifle, raised a terrible struggle in the soul of Albert. At last, terror of the book, and perhaps also a feeling of remorse, gained the victory. The prince humbled himself; he searched to find expressions most fitted, as he thought, to appease the wrath of the man of Wartburg, and scarcely had the fifteen days elapsed before Luther received the following letter, more astonishing still than his own terrible epistle:—

"My dear Doctor, I have received and read your letter, and I have taken it in good will and good intention. But I think that the motive which has induced you to write me such a letter has had no

existence for a long time past. I desire, with the assistance of God, to conduct myself as a pious bishop and a Christian prince, and I acknowledge that the grace of God is necessary for my guidance. I do not deny that I am a sinful man, who can sin and deceive himself, and even who sins and deceives himself every day. I am well aware that, without the grace of God, I am no more than useless and rotten dust, like other men, if, indeed, not more so. In reply to your letter, I have not wished to hide from you this gracious disposition ; for I am more than desirous to testify towards you, for the love of Christ, every kind of good feeling and favour. I know how to receive a fraternal and Christian reprimand. With my own hand, ALBERT."

Such was the language used by the elector-archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, intrusted to represent and maintain in Germany the constitution of the church, in his address to the excommunicated monk shut up in the castle of Wartburg.

Had Albert, however, in penning this epistle, listened to the generous inspirations of his conscience or to the warnings of servile fear ? Under the first impression, the letter was a noble production ; but under the second, it is worthy of contempt. We are willing to suppose that it proceeded from the amiable suggestions of his heart. Whatever may be the real state of the matter, this letter demonstrates the vast superiority possessed by the servants of God over the greatness of this earth. For while Luther alone, captive and condemned, experienced in the strength of his faith invincible courage, the archbishop-cardinal-elect, surrounded with all the power and all the favour of the world, trembled upon his throne. This contrast is constantly observable, and it affords a key to the astonishing enigma which the history of the Reformation presents to our view. The Christian is not required to reckon up his forces, or to make a calculation of his means of victory.

The single question that gives him anxiety is, to ascertain whether or not the cause he maintains is, indeed, that of God himself, and whether he is alone desirous to see the glory of his Master. There is, without doubt, a computation to be made ; but it is a spiritual inspection, and the Christian refers to the heart and not to arms ; he ponders upon the means of justice, and not of strength ; and when the question thus put is once clearly resolved, the road of the Christian is defined. He must therein courageously advance, were even the whole world arrayed against him, under the unshaken conviction that God himself fights on his side.

The enemies of the Reformation in this manner passed from the practices of extreme rigour to the exhibition of excessive weakness : they had done so formerly at Worms ; and these rapid transitions were constantly displayed in the war waged by error on the properties of the truth. Every cause destined to fall is afflicted with some inward evil which renders it feeble and uncertain, and thus forces it by turns to stagger from one extreme to the other. It would be more worthy to foster energy and consequence ; for although the fall might thus be precipitated, it would be accomplished with glory.

The brother of Albert, the elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I. afforded an example of that strength of mind so rare, especially in our own age. Immovable in his principles, firm in action, knowing, when it was necessary, how to resist the encroachments of the pope,

he opposed with an iron hand the advance of the Reformation. At Worms he had already insisted that Luther ought not to be heard, and that he deserved to be punished as a heretic, in spite of the protection of his safe-conduct. At the first appearance of the edict of Worms, he commanded its rigorous execution in every district of his states. Luther knew how to estimate the worth of a character thus energetic, and, distinguishing Joachim from his other adversaries, he said, "It is still possible to pray for the elector of Brandenburg." This stern spirit of the prince seemed also to have communicated its influence to the minds of his people. Berlin and Brandenburg remained for a long time shut against the approaches of the reform. But that which is received with difficulty is preserved with fidelity. Whilst that many countries who accepted of the gospel at this time with joy, for example, Belgium and Westphalia, were destined soon afterwards to abandon the good cause, Brandenburg, which entered the last of the states of Germany into the paths of the true faith, was equally appointed to adopt, at a later period, the foremost rank in the march of the Reformation.

Luther did not receive the letter of the cardinal Albert without harbouring a suspicion of its having been composed in a spirit of hypocrisy, and in conformity with the counsels of Capito. He, however, remained silent on that point, and contented himself with declaring to the last-named functionary, that so long as the archbishop, scarcely fitted for the duties of a small parish, refused to dispose of the mask of the cardinalship and the Episcopal pomp, and did not return to the simple ministration of the pure word of God, it was impossible to regard him as in the way of salvation.

CHAPTER V.

Translation of the Bible—Wants of the Church—Principles of the Reform—Temptations of the Devil—Condemnation of Sorbonne—Reply of Melancthon—Visit to Wittenberg.

Whilst he thus carried on an active struggle with error, as if he had been still present on the field of battle, Luther was engaged within the silence of his retreat at Wartburg in a manner that seemed to separate him from all that was passing in the world. The moment had arrived when the Reform was appointed to pass from the science of theology into the life of nations; and, meanwhile, the grand machine wherewith this progress was to be effected was not yet in actual existence. This marvellous and powerful instrument, ordained to fly from every quarter against the edifice of Rome, in the figure of large arrows fitted to overthrow the massy walls, or like a lever sufficiently strong to raise the ponderous weight under which Popery held the church in a stifled condition, and to impart to humanity herself an impulse which she shall preserve to the end of ages, was fixed to come forth from the old castle of Wartburg, and to enter the world with the reformer on the day on which his captivity was brought to a close.

The more the church became estranged from the time in which Jesus Christ, the true Light of the world, had appeared upon the earth, the more was she in need of the torch of the word of God, which must bear undiminished and entire, to the men of latest ages,

the brightness of Jesus Christ. But this divine word was, at the time we speak of, unknown to the people. Some attempts at translation, in imitation of the Vulgate, accomplished in 1477, in 1490, and in 1518, had met with bad success, were almost unintelligible, and were placed, on account of their high price, beyond the reach of the people. A prohibition had even been issued in the Germanic church against the distribution of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. Besides, the number of those who were in a condition to read only became considerable when a book written in the German language presented itself possessed of a lively and universal interest.

Luther was chosen to bestow upon his own nation the Scriptures of God. The same God who had conveyed St John to Patmos, in order that he might there write his revelations, had shut up Luther in Wartburg for the purpose of completing a translation of his word. This grand work, which it would have been difficult to have undertaken amidst the distractions and occupations of Wittenberg, was calculated to establish the new edifice upon the primitive rock, and, after the lapse of so many centuries, to lead back Christians from the subtilities of the divinity schools to the first and pure sources of redemption and salvation.

The necessities of the church were clamorous; they loudly called for the completion of this grand work; and Luther, on account of his intimate experience, must be selected to perform the patient labour. In truth, he had found in the possession of faith that repose of soul which his agitated conscience and his monastic ideas had so long urged him to seek in individual holiness. The doctrine of the church, the scholastic theology, were wholly ignorant of those consolations obtained by the practices of a living faith, whilst the Scriptures declare them with a mighty energy; and it was in the Scriptures Luther found these inestimable consolations. Faith in the word of God had made him free. Through means of it he felt emancipated from the dogmatic authority of the church, its hierarchy, its tradition, as well as from scholastic opinions, the power of prejudice, and all domination of man's fancy. These numerous and strong cords which, during so many ages, had chained and gagged Christianity, were broken, destroyed, and scattered around him in fragments; and he nobly raised his head, free from all save the word of God. That independence of the imaginations of men, that submission to God which he had found in the Scriptures, he wished to be communicated to the church. But in order to ensure for her these possessions, it was necessary to bestow upon her the revelations of God. There was need of the assistance of a strong hand to make roll back upon their hinges the heavy gates of that arsenal of the word of God wherein Luther himself had found his arms, so that these vaults and ancient halls into which, for a long course of ages, no foot had entered, might at last be re-opened to the access of Christian nations, and enable them to prepare for the day of battle.

Luther had already translated divers portions of the Holy Scriptures, and the seven penitential Psalms had formed the subject of his first work. John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the Reformation, equally began their labours by the declaration of repentance. It is the principle of all regeneration in man, and in every class of humanity. These early attempts had been received with avidity;

every one expressed an ardent wish for more of the same supply, and that voice of the people was heard by Luther as the voice of God himself. He entertained the purpose of replying to its call. He was, at same time, a prisoner shut up behind high walls; but what of that! he consecrated this forced leisure to the work of transferring the word of God into the language of his nation. Very soon that word shall go down with him from the heights of Wartburg; it shall overspread among the tribes of Germany, and shall put them in possession of those spiritual treasures until this hour enclosed merely within the hearts of a few pious individuals. "May this single book," exclaimed he, "be transferred into every language, into every hand, under every eye, before every ear, and within every heart." Admirable words, which an illustrious society, transferring the Bible into the idioms of every nation, have undertaken to accomplish, after a lapse of three hundred years. "The Scriptures, without any commentaries," said he again, "is the sun from which all teachers should receive the light."

Such are alike the principles of Christianity and of the Reformation. In conformity with these venerable testimonies, it is not the fathers who ought to be consulted in order to find an explanation of the Scriptures, but the Scriptures which must form the means whereby to judge the writings of the fathers. The reformers and the apostles in the same manner exhibit the word of God alone as the light as they exhibit the sacrifice of Christ alone as the source of righteousness. To attempt to mix any human authority with this absolute authority of God, or any human justice with this perfect righteousness of Christ, is to corrupt Christianity at its double foundation. These form, in reality, the two fundamental heresies of Rome, and they are likewise those which some teachers would wish to introduce, although undoubtedly in a less degree, into the bosom of the Reformation.

Luther laid open the Greek writings of the evangelists and the apostles, and he undertook the difficult task of making his maternal language speak in the words of these divine teachers. A most important epoch in the history of the Reformation. The reform was no longer in the hand of the reformer. The Bible was brought forward, and Luther withdrew. God shews himself, and man disappears. The reformer has intrusted the *Book* to the hands of his contemporaries, and each person is now enabled to understand and listen to God himself. As for Luther, he from that hour became mixed in the crowd, and placed himself in the ranks of those who came together to draw knowledge from the common source of light and life.

Luther found in the translation of the Holy Scriptures an abundance of consolation and strength which were very needful to his condition. Sick, isolated, and saddened by the efforts of his enemies and the disaffection of some of his partisans; seeing also his life consumed within the darkness of this old castle, he had often encountered the agony of terrible contests. At this time people were prone to transport into the visible world the struggles which the soul maintained against its spiritual enemies, and the lively imagination of Luther easily bestowed a body upon the emotions of his heart, whilst the superstitions of the middle ages still held a certain sway over the workings of his mind, in so much that it might be said of him in this respect, what has been said of Calvin in regard

to the chastisements due to heretics, that he was still tinctured with a remnant of Popery.* Satan was not simply in the opinion of Luther an invisible, although perfectly real, being. He believed that this enemy of God appeared to men as he had appeared to Jesus Christ. Although the authenticity of many of the stories recited upon this subject in the "*Table Talk*," and elsewhere, may be reckoned more than doubtful, it is nevertheless the duty of history to record this instance of weakness in the character of the reformer. Never did thoughts of this mysterious kind assail his imagination more than during his confinement in the castle of Wartburg. He had braved the devil in Worms, in the days of his strength: but now all the powers of the reformer seemed crushed and his glory tarnished. He was thrown off his guard, Satan became victorious in his turn, and, in the agony of his spirit, Luther imagined that he saw the devil drawing himself up before him to the full height of his gigantic stature, raising his finger in a threatening attitude, expressing his triumph with a bitter and infernal smile, and grinding his teeth in an ecstasy of rage. On one occasion, among others, it was said,† while he, Luther, was labouring at his translation of the New Testament, he fancied that he beheld Satan, who, full of horror at the progress of his work, tormented the doctor, and walked slowly round him in the fashion of a lion about to spring upon his prey. Luther, irritated and alarmed, seized his inkstand and threw it at the head of his enemy. The figure vanished out of sight, and the inkhorn was broken against the wall.

The sojourn at Wartburg began to be insupportable to Luther. He became indignant at the pusillanimity of his protectors. Sometimes he continued a whole day wrapped up in deep and silent meditation, and never awoke from this torpid state save to exclaim in bitterness of soul, "Ah, if I were but in Wittenberg!" At last he could no longer endure this solitude, he had shewn enough of respect, he must now again look upon his friends, hear them talk, and speak to them himself. He might run the risk, it is true, of falling into the hands of his adversaries, but nothing could arrest his purpose. About the end of November, he secretly left the halls of Wartburg, and directed his steps towards Wittenberg.

A new storm was ready at this time to burst upon his head. La Sorbonne had at last broken silence. This illustrious school of Paris, the first authority in the church after the pope, the ancient and venerable source whence had proceeded the theological doctrines, had just issued its verdict against the Reformation.

The following are some of the propositions condemned by the French school. Luther had asserted that "God pardons and always remits sins gratuitously, and that he requires nothing of us in return, unless it be that for the future we will live according to justice." He had added, "Of all mortal sins the following is the most mortal, namely, that any one should believe he is not guilty, before God of one mortal or damnable sin." He had again said, "To burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit."

* M. Michelet, in his *Memoirs of Luther*, devotes more than thirty pages to various accounts upon the apparitions of the devil.

† The gardener at Wartburg still carefully points out to travellers the stain made by Luther's inkhorn.

Upon all these propositions, and many others beside, quoted by her, the Faculty of Theology in Paris had stamped the verdict of "Heresy, anathema!"

But a young man, twenty-four years of age, of small stature, modest, and without appearance, dared to take up the glove which had just been thrown upon the ground by the first seminary in the world. The men of Wittenberg were not ignorant of the consideration due to these pompous condemnations; for they well knew that Rome had yielded to the solicitations of the Dominicans, and that Sorbonne was guided by two or three fantastic doctors, who were distinguished in Paris by the title of certain ridiculous nicknames. Therefore, in his "Apology," Melancthon did not confine himself to a defence of the conduct of Luther; but, with that boldness which characterizes his writings, he carried the attack into the camp of his opponents. "You say he is a Manicheen, he is a Montanist, that the flames and fire should restrain his folly; but who can be called a Montanist? Luther, who wishes only to believe the writings of the Holy Scriptures, or yourselves, who wish that men should believe the spirits of men rather than the word of God?"

To attribute more sense to the word of man than to the word of God formed, in fact, the essence of the heresy of Montanus, as it does still in the instance of that of the pope, and all those who place the hierarchical authority of the church or the inward inspirations of mysticism above the positive declarations of the sacred writings. Thus the young master of arts who had said, "I will lose my life rather than my faith," did not stop at this point. He accused Sorbonne of having darkened the gospel, of having extinguished the faith, and of having substituted a vain philosophy in the room of Christianity. After the appearance of this book of Melancthon, the position of the question was changed, he demonstrated without contradiction that the heresy existed in Paris and in Rome, and that the catholic truth was acknowledged in Wittenberg.

Nevertheless Luther disquieted himself little on account of the condemnations of Sorbonne, and hastened his arrival in his knightly garments within the city of the university. Several reports reached his ear during the time of his secret journey, concerning a spirit of impatience and independence which had manifested itself in the conduct of some of his adherents, and his heart was overwhelmed with sorrow at the recital of these rumours. At last he arrived in Wittenberg without having been recognised, and took up his abode in the house of Amsdorf. Immediately a confidential notice was sent to all his friends, and particularly to Melancthon, who had so often declared, "If I must be deprived of his society, I would prefer to die." These friends were collected together, and what must have been the nature of that interview, how great the joy of the select fraternity! The prisoner of Wartburg experienced in the bosom of this society all the sweet emotions of Christian friendship. He learned the progress the reform had made, and listened to the hopes expressed by his brethren; and, ravished with the details of what he heard and saw, he offered up prayers and thanks to the Giver of all good, and soon afterwards set out on his return to Wartburg.

CHAPTER VI.

New Reform, &c.—Gabriel Zwilling upon the Mass—The University—The Elector—Monachism attacked—Emanicipation of the Monks—Troubles—Chapter of the Augustines—The Mass and Carlsbad—First Lord's Supper—Importance of the Mass in the Roman System.

The joy experienced by Luther was well founded ; for the work of the reform made, at this time, an extraordinary advance. Feldkirchen, always in the front, had commenced the assault, and now the main body of the army had moved forward, and that power which caused the reform to pass on from the doctrine which it had purified into the fields of worship, of life, and of the constitution of the church, had at this period manifested its presence by a new explosion, more formidable still to the cause of Popery than had proved the first invasion.

Rome, disembarassed of the reformer, thought that she had put an end to the evils of this heresy. But in a short time the whole prospect was changed. Death hurled from the pontifical throne the man who had placed Luther under the ban of an interdict. Many commotions had arisen in Spain, and obliged Charles V. to shift his quarters to the other side of the Pyrenees. War had commenced between this prince and Francis I. and, as if such disasters had not been sufficient to occupy the attention of the emperor, Soliman had advanced into Hungary. Charles, attacked on every side, beheld himself forced to neglect the monk of Worms and his religious innovations.

About the same time the vessel of the Reformation, which, driven about in every sense by contrary winds, had been near her destruction, now assumed a better posture and became more steadfast in her course.

It was within the convent of the Augustines at Wittemberg the Reformation burst out afresh. Nor is this to be wondered at. The reformer, it is true, was no longer an inhabitant of these cloisters ; but it was impossible for every human power to banish therefrom the spirit which he had therein kindled.

For some time before this date the church in which Luther had so often spoken, resounded with sentences of strange discourses. A monk, full of zeal, the preacher in the convent, Gabriel Zwilling, proclaimed with energy in this temple the doctrines of the reform. As if Luther, whose name was everywhere spoken of, had become too strong and too illustrious, God had now chosen to carry on the Reformation, which the celebrated doctor had prepared, by means of certain simple and obscure individuals. "Jesus Christ," said the preacher named above, "has instituted the sacrament of the altar, in order to keep his death in remembrance, and not to make this sacrament an object of adoration. To adore this ceremony is an act of real idolatry. The priest who communicates alone commits a sin. No priest has the privilege to force a monk to say mass alone. Let one, two, or three officiate, and let all the others receive in both kinds the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

Such was the demand made by the brother Gabriel, and his bold words were listened to with approbation by the rest of the brethren, and especially by those who came from the Netherlands. As disciples

of the gospel, wherefore should they not conform in everything to its commandments? Had not Luther himself written to Melancthon, in the month of August, "From this time and for ever I will no longer repeat a private mass?" In this manner these monks, the soldiers of the hierarchy, set at liberty by the word of God, courageously took part with the opponents of Rome.

At Wittenberg, however, they experienced, on the part of the prior, a stubborn resistance. In the recollection of the precept that all things should be done in order, they yielded, but accompanied their submission by declaring that to maintain the mass was to act in opposition to the gospel of God.

The prior had here gained the advantage. A single person had proved more strong than the whole body of monks. And it might be supposed that this movement of the Augustines was no more than one of those fantastic deeds of insubordination of which the convents were so often the theatre. But it was in reality the very Spirit of God which at this time agitated the public mind in christendom. A single cry, uttered in the recesses of a monastery, had been responded to by a thousand voices, and that idea which it was attempted to confine within the walls of a convent burst forth from these shackles and assumed a body in the very centre of the city.

The report of the disagreements among the monks was very soon spread throughout the various districts of the town. The burgesses and the students of the university espoused a side, whether for or against the ceremony of the mass. The electoral court, too, became affected by this agitation. Frederick, therefore, in astonishment at the rumours conveyed to his palace, sent his chancellor, Pontanus, to Wittenberg, with orders to subdue the revolt of the monks, by putting them, if it were necessary, upon an allowance of bread and water; and on the 12th of October, at seven o'clock in the morning, a deputation of professors, of which Melancthon was a member, proceeded to the convent with the view of exhorting the brethren to abstain from the introduction of new customs, or at least to have patience for a while to come. On this occasion the zeal of the monks was inflamed, and unanimous, with the exception of the prior, they boldly referred to the Holy Scriptures, to the understandings of the faithful, and to the consciences of the theologians, while two days afterwards a declaration was remitted to these professors in writing.

The doctors were thus called upon to make a closer scrutiny into the merits of the question, and were induced to acknowledge that truth lay on the side of the monks. Come to gain a victory they were themselves vanquished. What must they, therefore, do? Their consciences admonished them with earnestness, their agony increased, and at last, after having hesitated for some length of time, they adopted a courageous resolution.

On the 20th of October the university drew up a report to be laid before the elector—"May your Electoral Highness be pleased," said this report, after having exposed the errors of the mass, "to abolish all abuses, for fear that Christ, at the day of judgment, should address to you the reproach which he formerly addressed at Capernaum."

It was thus no longer a few obscure monks who advocated the cause of Reform. The question was now supported by that university which all serious men had regarded, for some years back, as the school

of the nation ; and the very means which had been taken to smother the reform had proved the instrument wherewith it was to be still wider diffused.

Melancthon, with that fortitude he constantly displayed in the cause of science, published fifty-five propositions calculated to enlighten the minds of men.

"In the same way," said he, "that to look upon a cross is not to perform a good work, but simply to contemplate a sign which recalls to our remembrance the death of Christ,

"In the same way that to look upon the sun is not to perform a good work, but simply to contemplate a sign which recalls to remembrance Christ and his gospel ;

"In the same way that to participate in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not to perform a good work, but simply to make use of a sign which calls to our remembrance the grace which has been given us by Christ.

"But the difference consists in this, namely, that the symbols instituted by men recall simply what they signify, whilst the signs given by God, not only recall the things present, but also render the heart certain of the will of God.

"As the sight of a cross does not justify, in like manner the mass does not justify.

"As the sight of a cross is not a sacrifice for our sins nor for those of others, in like manner the mass is not a sacrifice.

"There is only one sacrifice, there is only one satisfaction—Jesus Christ. Out of him there is no salvation.

"May the bishops who do not oppose the impiety of the mass be anathematized."

Such were the sentences composed by the mild and pious Philip.

The elector was thrown into a state of consternation. He was anxious to secure the submission of a body of young monks, and, behold, the whole university, with Melancthon at its head, had risen up in their defence. To have patience, appeared to him, on every occasion, the sure means of obtaining success. He was no admirer of speedy reforms, and he was anxious to afford time, so that every opinion might have an opportunity of being fairly discussed. "Time," thought he, "enlightens, and alone brings all things to maturity." But nevertheless the reform advanced in spite of him at a rapid rate, and threatened to carry all before it. Frederick used all his efforts to stay its progress. His authority, the influence of his character, and the reasons which appeared to him the most conclusive, were all arrayed in opposition to the movement. "Do not make such haste," he caused to be reported to the theologians, "you are too insignificant in numbers to ensure the success of such a reform. If it be founded upon the truths of the holy gospel, others shall discover this fact, and it shall be with the whole church you will abolish these abuses. Speak, dispute, preach upon these matters as much as you please ; but still preserve the ancient customs."

Such was the nature of the combat which was engaged in concerning the subject of the mass. The monks had advanced courageously to the assault, and the theologians, after a moment's hesitation, had hastened to afford them support. The prince and his ministers alone defended the place. It has been said the Reformation was completed

by the power and authority of the elector ; but, far from this being the case, the assailants were induced to withdraw at the earnest solicitation of the venerated Frederick, and the mass was thus preserved for a little longer.

In other respects the ardour of the attack was directed against other points of resistance. Brother Gabriel continued, in the church of the Augustines, to deliver discourses of glowing interest. It was indeed against monachism itself he aimed his heaviest blows ; for if the mass constituted the strength of the doctrine of Rome, monachism formed the forces of her hierarchy. These were consequently the two first positions which it was requisite to carry by assault.

"No person," exclaimed Gabriel, as reported by the prior, "no person in the convent observes the commandments of God ; no person can be saved under his hood. Whoever inhabits the cloister has entered therein in the name of the devil. The vows of chastity, of poverty, and obedience are contrary to the gospel."

These singular discourses were repeated to the prior, who took special care not to enter the church, for fear of having his ears shocked by the sound of such offensive language. Gabriel, it has also been said of him, was desirous that every means should be taken to empty the cloisters. If any one met with a monk on the street, it was proper, in his opinion, to pull him by the clothes and make a fool of him ; and if mockery were not found sufficient to provoke the desertion of the convent, it would be necessary to have recourse to force. "Do spoil, destroy, and overthrow the monasteries, so that a vestige of them may not be left, and that, upon the places where they have so long stood, it may be impossible for ever to find a single stone which has served to shelter so much idleness and superstitions."

The monks were astonished ; their consciences bore testimony to the but too certain truth of the words which Gabriel spoke, in asserting that the life of a monk was not conformable to the will of God ; and that no person was able to set them in order but themselves.

Thirteen Augustines left, at one time, their habitation in the convent, and laying aside the habit of their order, they dressed themselves in ordinary clothing. Those among them who had profited by their opportunities of education, entered themselves as students of the university, in order to become of use to the church at an after period, whilst those whose minds were less cultivated, endeavoured to gain their livelihood by the work of their own hands, according to the precept of the Apostle, and in imitation of the worthy citizens of Wittenberg. One of them, who could work as a joiner, obtained the freedom of the trade, and resolved to marry.

If the entrance of Luther into the convent of the Augustines at Erfurt formed the first germ of the Reformation, the departure of these thirteen monks from the convent of the Augustines at Wittenberg gave the sign of the Reformation having taken possession of Christendom. Erasmus, thirty years previous to this date, had undertaken to disclose the uselessness, the folly, and the vices of the monks, and had set all Europe to laugh and be disgusted at these scenes ; but sarcasm was no longer the weapon required. Thirteen proud and courageous men entered again into familiar intercourse with mankind, in order to render themselves useful to society, and

to fulfil the commandments of God. The marriage of Feldkirchen completed the first defeat of the hierarchy; the emancipation of these thirteen Augustines constituted the second. Monachism, which had been created at the moment when the church entered into a state of bondage and of error, must of necessity be found to fall at the instant when the church received back the possession of liberty and truth.

The bold proceeding we have alluded to excited in Wittenberg a general fermentation. Every one admired the conduct of these men, who came to partake in the labours of all, and they were received with the affection due to the members of the same family. At the same time certain murmurings were heard in condemnation of those who obstinately continued to dwell in idleness behind the walls of the monastery. The monks who remained faithful to the prior trembled in the solitude of their cells, while this high functionary, urged by the pressure of the universal movement, interrupted the celebration of low mass.

The smallest concession, at a moment so critical, was calculated to precipitate the progress of events. This order issued by the prior awakened in the city and the university a very lively sensation, and produced a sudden explosion. Among the students and the citizens of Wittenberg there were mixed a portion of those turbulent men whom the least excitation serves to rouse and hurry into actions of guilty excess. These beings felt annoyed at the thought of having low mass, suspended even by the superstitious prior, celebrated still in the parish church of the district, and on Tuesday the 3d of December, as mass was about to commence in this place, they all at once marched up to the altar, laid hold upon the books, and drove the priests from their station. The council and the university, indignant at the commission of such an outrage, held meetings for the purpose of bringing to punishment the authors of these insults; but passions once excited are only with difficulty calmed. The Franciscans had taken no share in the movements of reform prosecuted by the Augustines. The next day a party of students posted on the gate of the Franciscan monastery a threatening placard; and, in the sequel, forty students entered the church belonging to this establishment, where, without committing acts of violence, they so rudely insulted the monks, that these latter individuals dared not to celebrate mass saving within the retreat of the choir. Towards the evening, intimidation was given to the fathers to be on their guard, "for the students," it was said, "were determined to invade the monastery."

This terrified religious body, not knowing how to protect themselves against the fury of these real or supposed attacks, hastened to request assistance from the council, who despatched a company of soldiers to defend the convent; but the enemy did not make their appearance. The university caused the students who had taken a part in these disturbances to be put under arrest. The rioters were thus proved to be some students from Erfurt, already known by their deeds of insubordination, and they were visited with the penalties connected with the discipline of the university.

Meanwhile, the necessity of examining with care the legitimacy of monastic vows was openly confessed. A chapter, therefore, composed of the Augustines belonging to Thuringia and Misnia was

summoned to meet in the month of December in Wittemberg. The opinion of Luther was adopted by this meeting. They declared, on the one hand, that monastic vows were not culpable, but, on the other, that they were not obligatory. "In Christ," said they, "there is neither layman nor monk; each one is free to quit the monastery or to remain therein. Let him who goes out not abuse his liberty, and let him who remains shew obedience to his superiors, but in a spirit of love." They afterwards abolished the act of mendicancy and of masses said to obtain money. They likewise ordained that the most learned among the monks should apply themselves to the teaching of the word of God, and that the rest should contribute to the support of their brethren by the labour of their hands.

In this manner the question of vows appeared to be decided; but that of the mass remained unsettled. The elector constantly opposed the approach of hurried innovations, and therefore protected an institution which he saw still in active operation among the districts of christendom. The orders of a prince so indulgent, however, could not for any length of time restrain the impulses of the public mind. The head of Carlstadt especially became heated in the midst of the general fermentation. Full of zeal, of uprightness, and of courage; ready, like Luther, to sacrifice all in the cause of the truth, he had less wisdom and moderation than the reformer; he was not wholly devoid of a love of vain glory, and, with a disposition anxious to reach the bottom of every question, he was possessed of little judgment or clearness of ideas. Luther had drawn him out of the meshes of scholastic divinity, and had directed his thoughts towards the study of the Scriptures; but Carlstadt had not possessed sufficient patience to study the original languages, and had not acknowledged, like his friend, the all-sufficiency of the word of God. For this reason he often attached himself to interpretations the most peculiar. As long as Luther remained at his side, the superiority of the master restrained the spirit of the disciple within just limits. But at this time Carlstadt was free to act for himself, and in the university, in the church, and everywhere in the city of Wittemberg, this little man, of a swarthy complexion, who had never shone in the accomplishment of his eloquence, was heard to express himself in a torrent of ideas sometimes profound, but often enthusiastic and exaggerated. "What folly," he was heard to exclaim, "is it to think that it is necessary to leave the reform to the guidance of God alone! A new order of things has commenced! The hand of man must be brought to interfere. Bad luck attend him who continues behind, and will not mount the breach in the cause of God."

The words of the archdeacon communicated to others the impatience experienced by himself. "All that the popes have instituted is impious," said, in imitation of him, certain sincere and upright men. "Shall we not make ourselves accomplices of these abominations by allowing them to subsist? That which is condemned by the word of God ought to be abolished, whatever may be the ordinances of men. If the heads of the state and the church are unwilling to do their duty, let us perform ours. Let us renounce all negotiations, conferences, or theses, or debates, and let us apply the true remedy suited to the cure of so many evils. There is need of a second Elias to overthrow the altars of Baal."

The re-establishment of the Lord's Supper, at this moment of fermentation and enthusiasm, could not undoubtedly be expected to represent the solemnity and holiness of its institution by the Son of God, on the evening before his death, and almost at the foot of his cross. But if God on this occasion made use of weak and perhaps impassioned men, it was nevertheless his hand which re-established in the bosom of the church the feast of his love.

As early as the month of October, Carlstadt had celebrated in secret the Lord's Supper, according to the institution of Christ, in company with twelve of his friends. On the Sunday before Christmas he announced from the pulpit that, on the day of our Lord's circumcision, the first day of the year, he would distribute the Lord's Supper in both kinds, with bread and wine, to all those who should present themselves at the altar; that he would omit all useless ceremonies, and would not put on, in the celebration of that mass, either cope or chasuble.

The council, in a state of alarm, requested of the counsellor Beyer to prevent the accomplishment of an irregularity so heinous. On which account Carlstadt resolved not to wait until the day fixed upon, and on Christmas day itself, he preached in the parish church, upon the necessity of abandoning mass and of receiving the Lord's Supper in both kinds. After the sermon was finished he went down to the altar; he there pronounced the words of consecration, and afterwards, turning himself round towards his attentive audience, he said, with a solemn voice, "Let whosoever feels the weight of his sins, and hungers and thirsts for the grace of God, come forward and receive the body and blood of the Lord." Then, without raising the host, he distributed to all the bread and wine, saying, "This is the cup of my blood, of the blood of the new and everlasting testament."

Many different opinions were entertained by the members of the congregation. Some, sensible that a new grace from God had been given to the church, came with emotion and in silence to the front of the altar. Others, attracted especially by the novelty of the scene, approached the same place with agitation and a certain degree of impatience. Five communicants only presented themselves at the confessional. The rest simply joined in the repetition of the public confession of sins. Carlstadt bestowed on all the general absolution; and imposed no other conditions of penance than the following—"Sin no more henceforth." At the termination, the hymn of the *Lamb of God* was sung.

No person offered to interrupt Carlstadt in the performance of this ceremony. These reforms had already obtained the consent of the public mind. The archdeacon again distributed the Lord's Supper on New Year's Day, then on the Sunday following, and from that time the institution was fully maintained. Einsidlen, the counsellor of the elector, having reproached Carlstadt with seeking his own glory rather than the salvation of his hearers, "Most powerful Lord," replied he, "there is no kind of death which can make me desist from following the Scriptures." The word has come to me with so much assurance. . . . Unhappy it shall be for me if I preach not the gospel." In a short time after this Carlstadt became a married man.

In the month of January the council of the city of Wittenberg and the university regulated the celebration of the Lord's Supper in

conformity with the observances of the new rite. Endeavours were at same time made to restore the moral influences of religion ; for the Reformation was destined to re-establish simultaneously, faith, worship, and manners. A resolution was needed to hinder the toleration of mendicants, whether they were monks or not, and that, in every street, there should be some pious man intrusted with the care of the poor, and with the duty of citing hardened sinners to appear before the university or the council.

In this manner the principal bulwark of Rome was cast to the ground, and in this fashion the Reformation passed from the question of doctrine to the practices of worship. For three centuries previous to this date, the mass and transubstantiation had been definitively settled. From that time till now everything in the church had assumed a new aspect ; all had reference to the glory of man and the worship of the priest. The holy sacrament had been adored ; numerous feasts had been instituted in honour of the greatest miracles ; the adoration of Mary had acquired a high degree of importance ; and the priest who, in the consecration, received the wonderful power of "making the body of Christ," had been separated from the laity, and had become, according to the opinion of Thomas d'Aquin, the mediator between God and man. Celibacy had been proclaimed an inviolable law, auricular confession had been imposed upon the people, and the cup had been taken away from them ; because, how could it be possible to place the humble laymen upon the same footing with the priests intrusted with the duties of the most august ministry ? The mass was an insult offered to the Son of God ; it was put in opposition to the perfect grace of his cross, and the untarnished glory of his eternal reign ; but if it debased the Lord, it elevated the priest, who bestowed upon it the unheard-of power of producing at his pleasure, and placing in his hands, the sovereign Creator of all things. The church appeared from that time to exist, not for the purpose of preaching the gospel, but simply for the corporeal reproduction of Christ within her own bosom. The pontiff of Rome, whose most humble servants were able at their will to create the body of God himself, was seated like God in the temple of God, and attributed to himself a spiritual treasure, from whose funds he could extract at his pleasure a quantity of indulgences for the pardon of souls.

Such were some of the gross errors which, during the space of three centuries, had, with the mass, been imposed upon the church. The Reformation, in abolishing this institution, abolished therewith all these crying abuses. It was, therefore, an action of high import the archdeacon of Wittenberg had accomplished. The pompous feasts which amused the people, the worship of Mary, the pride of the priesthood, and the power of the pope, were all shaken at the removal of the mass. The glory was withdrawn from the priests to be returned to Jesus Christ, and the Reformation made an extraordinary step in advance.

CHAPTER VII.

False Reform—The New Prophets—The Prophets at Wittenberg—Melancthon—The Elector—Luther—Carlstad and the Images—Disorders—Luther called—He does not hesitate—Dangers.

Nevertheless some prejudiced men were unable to discern in the operations at work anything else than the effects of a vain enthu-

siasm. The simple facts exhibited, however, proved the very contrary, and demonstrated that there is a wide difference between a Reformation founded on the word of God and the exultations of fanaticism.

When a grand religious fermentation is being accomplished in the church, some impure elements are always found to mix with the manifestations of the truth. One or more false reforms proceeding from man were seen to arise, and which served as witnesses or counter-signs to the true reform. Thus, in the times of Jesus Christ, several false Messiahs attested the fact of the true Messiah having appeared upon the earth. The Reformation of the sixteenth century could not therefore be accomplished without the display of a similar phenomenon, and it was in the small town of Zwickau the strange sight appeared.

There dwelt in this town some men who, excited by the manifestation of the great events which then agitated the public mind in christendom, aspired to the possession of direct revelations from the Divine Being, instead of seeking with simplicity the sanctification of the heart, and who pretended that they were called to complete the Reformation of which Luther had weakly sketched the design. "For what good purpose is it," said they, "to attach oneself so exclusively to the Bible? The Bible! always the Bible! Can the Bible speak to us? Is it not insufficient for our instruction? If God had wished to instruct us by means of a book, would he not have sent us a Bible from heaven? It is by the Spirit alone that we can be enlightened. God himself thus speaks to us. God himself reveals to us what we ought to do and what we ought to say." In this manner, like the partisans of Rome, these fanatics attacked the chief foundation on which the Reformation wholly reposed, namely, the full sufficiency of the word of God.

A simple cloth manufacturer, named Nicolas Storck, declared that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him during the night, and that, after having communicated many things which he could not yet reveal, the angel had said, "Thou thyself shalt sit upon my throne." One of the former students at Wittenberg, called Mark Stubner united himself to Storck, and immediately abandoned his studies; because, as he said, he received directly from God the gift of interpreting the Holy Scriptures. Mark Thomas, another cloth manufacturer, also joined the party; while a new adept, Thomas Munzer, a man of a fantastic disposition, imparted a regular organization to the body of this new sect. Storck, wishing to follow the example of Christ, chose from among his adherents twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. All loudly declared, as a particular sect of our own day has likewise done, that apostles and prophets were at last returned to the church of God.

Very soon these new prophets, pretending to walk in the footsteps of the old, declared the purport of their message. "Wo! wo!" said they. "A church governed by men so corrupted as are these bishops cannot be the church of Christ. The impious magistrates of christendom are about to be overthrown. In the course of five, six, or seven years, a universal desolation shall burst upon the world. The Turks shall seize upon Germany, and all the priests shall be put

to death, even those who have married. No impious person or sinner shall be left alive; and after the earth shall have been purified by blood, God shall therein establish a new kingdom; Storck shall be put in possession of the supreme authority, and shall bestow upon saints the government of the people. Then there shall be no more but one faith and one baptism. The day of the Lord is at hand, and we are near to the end of the world. Wo! Wo! Wo!" Then, asserting that baptism received in infancy was of no value, the new prophets invited all men to come and receive from their hands the true baptism, in testimony of their introduction into the new church of God.

This style of preaching made a lively impression upon the minds of the people. Some pious souls were moved at the thought of prophets having been again returned to the church, and all those who were enamoured of marvellous events embraced hastily the views of these eccentric men in the town of Zwickau.

But scarcely had this old heresy, which had already appeared in the times of Montanism and in the middle ages, acquired a body of sectators, before it met with a powerful adversary in the spirit of the Reformation. Nicolas Haussman, to whom Luther bore this elegant testimony—"That which we teach he does"—was then the pastor of Zwickau. This worthy man did not allow himself to be carried away by the assumptions of these false prophets. He opposed the innovations which Storck and his adherents were anxious to introduce, and the two deacons of the church acted in unison with their pastor. The fanatical party, repulsed by the ministers of the church, adopted afterwards the prosecution of another excess. They formed regular congregations, wherein destructive doctrines were acknowledged, and the minds of the people became highly excited. Disorders arose, and a priest, who was carrying the holy sacrament, being assailed with a shower of stones, the civil authority interfered, and threw the most violent of the assailants into prison. Indignant at these proceedings, and impatient alike to make a complaint and to justify their own conduct, Storck, Mark Thomas, and Stubner, made their appearance in Wittenberg.

They arrived in this celebrated town on the 27th of December 1521. Storck marched first, imitating the step and bearing of a common soldier, while Mark Thomas and Stubner followed behind him. The troubles which reigned in Wittenberg favoured the designs of these strangers. The youths of the academy and the citizens, at the time in a state of much agitation, composed, as it were, a soil prepared for the operations of the new prophets.

Believing themselves sure of their support, they immediately waited upon the professors of the university, in order to obtain their concurrence. "We are," said the strangers, "sent from God to give instruction to the people. We hold familiar conversation with the Lord, and we are acquainted with the events that are to come to pass: in a word, we are apostles and prophets, and we appeal, in this matter, to doctor Luther." This singular language amazed the doctors of the university.

"Who has ordained you to preach?" inquired Melancthon of Stubner his former pupil, whom he received into his house. "Our

Lord God." "Have you written any books?" "Our Lord God has forbidden me to do so." Melancthon was thunder-struck; equally amazed and alarmed.

"There are," said he, "extraordinary spirits in these men, but what sort of spirits? . . . Luther is alone able to decide this question. On the one hand let us take care of extinguishing the Spirit of God, and on the other of being seduced by the spirit of the devil."

Storck, whose character was restless, very soon quitted the town of Wittenberg, but Stubner remained there. Animated with an ardent desire of proselytism, he visited every district of the town, speaking sometimes to one person sometimes to another, and several of his hearers acknowledged him as a prophet sent from God. He addressed himself particularly to a Swabian named Cellarius, a friend of Melancthon, who kept a school wherein he gave instructions in letters to a great number of young people, and who very soon fully recognised the mission of the new prophets.

Melancthon became more and more uncertain and disquieted in his mind. It was not so much the visions of the prophets from Zwickau which disturbed his imagination as the new doctrine they professed upon the sacrament of baptism. This doctrine appeared to him founded on reason, and he owned it worth the trouble to enter into an examination of the subject; "for," said he "we must neither admit nor reject anything in a trifling spirit."

Such was, indeed, the spirit of the Reformation, and there was evident in these hesitations and distresses of Melancthon a proof of the uprightness of his heart, which does him more honour, perhaps, than a systematic opposition could have conferred on his name.

The elector whom Melancthon named "the Lamp of Israel" hesitated also. Prophets and apostles within the electorate of Saxony, as of old in the districts of Jerusalem. "It is a mighty affair," said he, "but, as a layman, I am not bound to comprehend it. Still, rather than be found acting against God, I will take a staff in my hand and will abandon my throne."

At last he caused his counsellors to report to the doctors that it seemed as if there were enough of disturbances to attend to in Wittenberg; that it was very probable the pretensions of the men from Zwickau would prove a seduction of the devil; and that the wisest part to act, in his opinion, was to allow the matter to die of its own accord; nevertheless, that in every circumstance wherein his Highness could discern clearly the will of God, he would take counsel of neither brother nor mother, and that he was ready to suffer all things for the cause of the truth.

Luther was informed in Wartburg of the agitation which now reigned in the court and at Wittenberg. Some strange men had appeared, and it was impossible to decide whence their message proceeded. He immediately perceived that God had permitted these sad events to occur in order to humble his servants, and to excite them, by means of such trials, to seek with greater earnestness the blessing of sanctification.

"Your Electoral Grace," he wrote to Frederick, "has been accustom-
tomed for many years to seek for relics in every country. God has granted your desires, and has sent you, without expense or trouble,

a complete *cross*, with nails, lances, and scourges. . . . Grace and prosperity to the new relic! . . . Let your Highness only without fear extend your arms, and allow the nails to pierce the flesh! . . . I have always expected that Satan would send us this plague." . . .

But at the same time, nothing appeared to him more urgent than to secure for others the liberty he claimed for himself. He did not regard two different weights or measures. "Let care be taken about throwing them into prison," he wrote to Spalatin; "and do not allow the prince to steep his hands in the blood of these new prophets!" Luther was far in advance of his age, and even of several other reformers, on the subject of religious liberty.

Circumstances became more and more serious at Wittemberg.

Carlstadt rejected several of the doctrines professed by the new prophets, and in particular their ana-baptism; but there is always something contagious in religious enthusiasm, against whose influence a head like his could not easily defend itself. From the first appearance of the men from Zwickau in Wittemberg, Carlstadt quickened his march in the ways of violent reforms. "It is especially necessary," said he, "to fall upon all impious customs and to overthrow them in one day." He called to remembrance a number of the passages of Scripture against images, and displayed increasing energy in his attacks upon the idolatry of Rome. "People are found to kneel and creep before these idols," said he. "They light them with wax candles and present them with offerings. . . . Let us arise and tear them from their altars."

These words were not pronounced in vain in the ears of the people. They entered into the churches, they carried off the images, and broke them to pieces or destroyed them with fire. It would have been much better to have waited until their abolition had been legitimately determined; but it was thought that the slowness of the heads had compromised the very cause of the Reformation itself.

Very soon, to take the word of the enthusiasts, there were no longer in Wittemberg any Christians but those who did not confess themselves, who pursued the priests, and who eat meat on the days on which it was forbidden. Were some one suspected of not rejecting, as the invention of the devil, all the practices of the church, he was regarded as a worshipper of Baal. "A church must be formed," they exclaimed, "which shall be composed wholly of saints."

The citizens of Wittemberg presented certain articles to the council to which they were obliged to adhere. Several of these articles were in conformity with evangelical morality. It was required, in particular, that all houses of public amusement should be closed.

But Carlstadt quickly exceeded the limits we refer to, and began to shew a contempt for study. The old professor and counsellor was seen to leave his pulpit, on the return of his students to their different homes, and to lay hold on the spade or the plough, in order to cultivate the ground, seeing that it was by the sweat of man's brow he was ordered to gain his bread. The master of the boys' school at Wittemberg, George Mohr, stupified by the same vertigo, cried, from the window of his school-house, to the citizens in the street, to come and take away their children. What use was there in prosecuting studies, since Storck and Stubner had never been taught in the

university, and yet they were prophets? A tradesman, therefore, was of as great, and perhaps more value than all the doctors of the world for the duty of preaching the gospel.

In this manner doctrines were promulgated in direct opposition to the spirit of the Reformation. The revival of learning had formed the preparation of the reform. It was with the arms of theological science Luther had attacked Rome; and yet the enthusiasts of Wittenberg, like the fanatic monks whom Erasmus and Reuchlin had defeated, pretended to trample under foot all means of human acquirements. If Vandalism were about to be established, the hope of the world was lost, and a new invasion of barbarians was prepared to extinguish the light which God had kindled in Christendom.

The effects of these strange proceedings were soon made apparent. The public mind was filled with prejudices, excited and turned away from the gospel. The academy was disorganized, and the students, demoralized, forsook their books and abandoned their quarters, while the governments of Germany recovered their special jurisdictions. Thus the men who were anxious to reform everything, and to give everything a new life, were about to cast everything into destruction. "Still another effort," exclaimed the friends of Rome, who on all sides gathered new courage; "still one more effort, and all shall be gained."

Promptly to repress the excesses of fanaticism was the only method whereby to save the cause of reform. But who could be found capable of accomplishing such a task? Melancthon? He was too young, too weak, and too much agitated himself in consequence of these strange apparitions. The elector? He was the most placid in disposition of any man then alive. To build his castles of Altenburg, Weimar, Lochan, and Cobourg, to decorate his churches with the beautiful pictures of Lucas Cranach, to bring to perfection the singing in his chapels, to advance the prosperity of his university, to make his people happy, to stand still in the middle of a troop of children whom he met playing on the path, and to distribute among them little presents—these were the occupations which most engaged his attention; and now, in his advanced age, to come to blows with fanatics, to oppose violence with violence!—how could the good, the pious Frederick be able to form the necessary resolution?

The evil was thus continued, and no person appeared willing to interrupt its progress. Luther was absent from Wittenberg. Disorder and ruin had invaded the city. The Reformation had seen to proceed out of its own heart an enemy more formidable than all the popes or emperors. It now stood on the edge of a precipice.

Luther! Luther! was the unanimous cry at Wittenberg. The citizens invoked his presence with importunity. The doctors implored his advice, and the prophets themselves appealed to his judgment. All joined in supplicating his return.

It is not difficult to understand what must have been passing in the mind of the reformer. All the rigours of Rome were nothing in comparison to the anguish which now afflicted his soul. It was out of the very bosom of the Reformation these enemies had sprung. It, as it were, devoured its own entrails; and that doctrine which could alone render peace to his agitated heart had become in the church the cause of sorrowful troubles.

"Had I known," said he, "that my doctrine was calculated to offend a man—one simple and obscure individual, (which indeed it could not do, for it is the gospel itself,) I would rather have died ten times than not retract." And now a whole city, and that city Wittenberg, had fallen into error. His doctrine had no share in this disorder; but still, from every quarter in Germany, accusations were poured upon his head. Grief, more poignant than any he had before experienced, now wrung his soul, and temptations altogether new assailed his spirit. "Shall this, then," cried he, "be the end to which the work of the Reformation must come?" But, no; he rejected such doubts. God has commenced, God will accomplish the work. "I throw myself in the dust while creeping towards the grace of the Eternal," he exclaimed; "and I beseech him to allow his name to be still connected with this work, and that if something impure has mingled in its operations, he will remember that I am a weak and sinful man."

The accounts which were sent to Luther of the inspirations of these new prophets and of their sublime intercourse with God, did not shake his constancy for a moment. He knew the depth, the agonies, and the humiliation of the spiritual life; he had in Erfurt and Wittenberg experienced the manifestations of the power of God, and he could not be led so easily to believe that God would appear to a creature and converse with him. "Inquire of them," he wrote to Melancthon, "whether they have suffered these spiritual torments, those creations of God, those deaths and hells which are the accompaniments of a true regeneration. And if they speak to you of nothing but pleasing events, of tranquil impressions, of devotion and piety, as it is reported, do not believe them, although they even pretend to be transported to the third heavens. In order that Christ might attain the heights of glory he was obliged to pass through the horrors of death; in the same manner the faithful must pass through the agonies of sin before they reach a state of peace. If you desire to know the time, the place, and the manner in which God speaks with men, listen to these words—*He has broken all my bones like a lion: I am driven out from before his face, and my soul is carried down to the gates of hell.* . . . No! the Divine Majesty (as they call it) does not speak directly to man, so that man may look upon his presence; *for no man (it is said) can look upon me and live.*" But even the conviction of the error into which the prophets had fallen only served to increase the sorrows of Luther. Had then the grand truth of salvation through grace so speedily lost all its attractions that men were eager to escape from this persuasion to fix their hopes on fables? He began to feel that the work was not so easy as he had at first imagined. He dashed himself against this first stone which the erring spirit of man had just thrown in his way; he mourned and was afflicted. He desired, in his agony, and at the price of his life, to take away this stumbling-block out of the road of his people, and he determined to return to Wittenberg.

Great dangers at this time surrounded his path. The enemies of the Reformation believed that they were about to ensure its destruction. George of Saxony, who had no regard for either Rome or Wittenberg, had written on the 16th of October 1521 to Duke John, the brother of the elector, in order to engage him to join the ranks of the enemies of the reform.

"Some," said the duke, "deny that the soul is immortal. Others (and these are the monks) drag along the relics of St Anthony with rattles and pigs, and cast them into the mud. And all this folly proceeds from the doctrine of Luther! Entreat your brother the elector either to punish the authors of these innovations or to make his thoughts on this subject publicly known. Our beards and hair, which have become grey, apprise us of our having reached the last quarter of life, and urge upon us the necessity of putting an end to so many evils."

George then departed to take his seat in the heart of the imperial government then established at Nuremberg. Immediately upon his arrival there, he commenced his endeavours to press upon that government the adoption of severe measures; and, in truth, the same public body issued, on the 21st of January, an edict wherein it complained bitterly against the practices of priests who repeated mass in other clothing than that of the priesthood, who celebrated the holy sacrament in the German language, who distributed this rite without having received the necessary confession, placed the symbols in the hands of the laity, and did not even use the precaution to ascertain whether or not those who presented themselves at the altar were observant of the requisite fastings.

The imperial government, in consequence, solicited the bishops to seek out and punish, with the rigours of the law, all the innovators who were to be found within their respective dioceses. The bishops hastened to comply with the injunctions contained in these orders.

Such was the moment in which Luther determined to make his re-appearance upon the scene. He saw the danger, and feared the approach of immense disasters. "There shall very soon happen in the empire," said he, "a tumult which shall drag into its vortex princes, magistrates, and bishops. The people have eyes, they neither wish nor can be led by means of force. Germany shall be seen to swim in its own blood. Let us place ourselves as a wall to save our nation in that terrible day of the grand fury of the Eternal."

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Wartburg—New Position—Luther and Primitive Catholicism—Encounter at the Black Bear—Luther to the Elector—Return to Wittenberg—Discourse at Wittenberg—Charity—The Word—How the Reformation Proceeded—Faith in Christ—Effect—Didymus—Carlsbad—The Prophets—Conference with Luther—End of that Struggle.

These were the opinions of Luther, but he saw before him a danger yet more urgent. At Wittenberg the fanatic fire, far from being extinguished, became each day more violent. From the heights of Wartburg, Luther could discover on the horizon, with fearful distinctness, signs of devastation, gleaming in rapid succession across the firmament. Was it not he alone who could afford help in such extremity? Shall he not then throw himself into the middle of the flames, in order to smother the conflagration? In vain were his enemies prepared to strike the finishing blow; in vain the elector entreated him not to leave Wartburg, but to arrange the cause of his justification before the ensuing diet. He had a more important duty to perform, namely, to justify the cause of the gospel. "More serious news reach me here every day," he wrote. "I desire to take my departure; existing circumstances require me to take such a step."

In short, upon the 3d of March, he rose with the resolution to quit the castle of Wartburg for ever. He bade adieu to these ancient towers and dark forests. He issued forth beyond those walls behind which neither the excommunications of Leo X. nor the sword of Charles V. were able to restrain him. He descended the mountain; and that world which lay before him, and in the middle of which he was about to reappear, shall, perhaps, very soon accost him with denunciations of death. But did this signify? He prosecuted his march joyfully; for it was in the name of the Lord he returned to the haunts of men.

Time had worked changes in its progress. Luther came out from Wartburg on another account than that which had led to his incarceration within these walls. He had been sent there as the aggressor against ancient traditions and ancient teachers, and he appeared again in the world as the defender of the words of the apostles against a host of new adversaries. He entered into confinement as an innovator, and for having made attacks upon the rights of the ancient hierarchy; he escaped from the restraints of prison as a conservative, and to defend the truths of Christian faith. Until this hour Luther had regarded but one object in his work, the triumph of justification by faith; and with that purpose in view he had overthrown many powerful superstitions. But if there had been a time to destroy, there must also come a time to build. Behind these ruins with which his arm had covered the ground, behind those torn letters of indulgences, these broken tiaras and rent hoods; behind such an accumulation of the abuses and errors of Rome, scattered in confusion upon the field of battle, he discerned and discovered the primitive Catholic church, in appearance always the same, and issuing forth as from a long trial, with its immutable doctrines, and its celestial acclamations. He knew how to distinguish this structure from that of Rome, and he saluted and embraced its appearance with joy. Luther did not, as he has been falsely accused of doing, raise up some new spectacle on the earth; he did not erect for future ages an edifice without any connection with the times of former centuries; he, in fact, discovered and laid open to review the ancient foundations upon which briars and thorns had grown, and, continuing the structure of the temple, he simply built upon the original work the apostles had begun. Luther perceived clearly that the ancient and primitive churches of the apostles must, on the one hand, be reconstituted in opposition to the deeds of Popery, which had for so long covered its face with opprobrium; and, on the other hand, be defended against incredulous and enthusiastic individuals, who pretended to despise its authority, and who, taking no notice of what God had done in the times that were past, exhibited a desire to commence the establishment of a work entirely new. Luther was no longer exclusively the man of the single doctrine of justification; although he persisted in maintaining for it its first rank, he became an advocate of the whole of Christian theology; and while believing that the church is essentially the congregation of the saints, he took care not to despise the visible church, and acknowledge the assembly of all those who are called as the kingdom of God. In this manner a grand movement was accomplished at this time in the soul of Luther, in his theology, and in the work of revival which God carried on in the world. The hierarchy

of Rome had, perhaps, driven the reformer to an extreme point; but the sects which now so boldly raised their heads were the means of leading him back into the just track of the truth. The sojourn at Wartburg separated into two periods the history of the Reformation.

Luther travelled to Wittemberg on horseback, and the second day of his journey happened to be that of Shrove Tuesday. A terrible storm occurred as evening approached, and deluged the roads. Two young Swiss gentlemen, who proceeded on the same route, quickened their pace in order to find shelter within the city of Jena. These youths had formerly studied at Basil, but the great reputation acquired by the university of Wittemberg had attracted their notice, and determined them to join the number of its students. Journeying on foot, although fatigued and wet, John Kessler of St Gall and his companion advanced at an increased speed. The city was crowded with the gay revellers of the carnival; dances, masquerades, and noisy feasts occupied the time of the inhabitants of Jena, so that when the two travellers arrived, they were unable to find room in any of the inns of the place. At last they were recommended to apply for lodgings at the tavern of the *Black Bear*, in front of the gate of the city. Distressed and wearied, they proceeded to the quarters indicated, where the landlord received them with kindness.* They sat down close to the half-open door of the common hall, ashamed of the condition to which they were reduced by the pelting of the storm, and did not dare to enter within the room. At one of the tables there was seated a single individual, clad in the garment of a knight, his head covered with a red bonnet, and wearing long boots, over the tops of which the skirt of his doublet loosely fell; his right hand rested upon the pommel of his sword, of which his left grasped the handle, while a book lay open before him, whose contents he seemed to scan with great eagerness. At the noise made by the movements of the Swiss youths, this person raised his head, nodded to them with a familiar air, and invited them to take a seat at the table where he sat; afterwards, offering them a glass of beer, and making an allusion to their accent, he said, "You are from Switzerland, I see, but from which canton?" "From St Gall." "If you go to Wittemberg, you shall there find one of your own countrymen, Dr Schurf." Encouraged by this frank reception, the young men added, "Sir knight, can you tell us where Martin Luther is at present?" "I know for certain," replied the knight, "that Luther is not at Wittemberg, but it is likely he will be there soon. Philip Melancthon is there. Study you earnestly Greek and Hebrew, in order fully to understand the writings of the Scriptures." "If God preserves us in life," replied one of the young Gallians, "we will not return home without having seen and heard Dr Luther; for it is on his account we have undertaken this long journey. We know that he is anxious to overturn the priesthood and the mass, and as our parents, from our infancy, have destined us for the ministry, we would like much to know upon what grounds he prosecutes his enterprise." The knight remained for a moment silent, and then said, "Where have you studied up to this pre-

* This story of Kessler, with all its details, and in the native language of the times, is to be found in Bernet Johann Kessler, p. 27. Hanhard Erzählungen, iii. p. 300, and Marheinecke Gesch. der Ref. ii. p. 321. 2d ed.

sent time?" "At Basil." "Is Erasmus of Rotterdam still in that city? What does he in that place?" These two questions were answered, when another period of silence ensued. The two Swiss youths knew not on what subject to continue the conversation. "Is it not a strange thing," said they to themselves, "that this knight should speak to us of Schurff, of Melancthon, of Erasmus, and of the necessity of learning Greek and Hebrew?" "My dear friends," suddenly said the unknown knight to them, "what is thought of Luther in Switzerland?" "Sir knight," replied Kessler, "there, as everywhere else, very diverse opinions are held of him. Some cannot too highly applaud his conduct, while others regard him as an abominable heretic." "Ah! the priests, without doubt," said the unknown.

The cordial manner of the knight had imparted a pleasant assurance to the feelings of the two students; they burned with a longing desire to know the name of the book he was reading at the time of their arrival. The knight had closed the volume and laid it down beside himself; the companion of Kessler, however, became so bold as to take up the book, and what was the astonishment of the two youths to find in their hands a Hebrew copy of the Psalms. The student immediately returned the book to its place, and, eager to throw his indiscretion into oblivion, he said—"I would willingly give one of the fingers of my right hand in order to acquire a knowledge of that language." "You might certainly obtain your wish," said the unknown, "if you are equally desirous to take the necessary trouble of learning the Hebrew."

A few minutes later, Kessler went to speak to the landlord who called him from the table; the poor young Swiss was afraid of some mishap in their adventure, but the landlord said to him in a low voice, "I perceive that you have a great desire to see and hear Luther; very well, the person beside your friend is the man whom you seek to know." Kessler regarding this report as a piece of raillery, said; "Ah, my good landlord, you wish to make sport of me." "It is certainly Luther," replied the landlord, "only do not disclose your acquaintance with his person." Kessler said no more, but returned to the room and resumed his seat at the table, most solicitous to repeat to his comrade the news he had just received. But how accomplish such a purpose? At last he thought of bending forward in the attitude of looking towards the door, and with his mouth thus placed close to the ear of his friend, he said in a whisper—"The host declares that that man is Luther." "He has perhaps said he was Hutten," replied the Swiss comrade. "You have misunderstood the landlord." "Very likely," replied Kessler. "The host must have said it is Hutten, these two names sound much like each other, I must have taken the one for the other."

At this moment the noise of horses' feet was heard in front of the inn; two merchants requested to have lodgings in the house, and were soon admitted into the common parlour. They took off their spurs, laid aside their riding cloaks, and one of them put down on the table beside him an unbound book, which immediately attracted the notice of the knight. "What book is that?" said he. "It is an explanation of some of the evangelists and epistles by Doctor Luther," replied the merchant; "it has just come out." "I will have a copy of it soon" said the knight.

The host now came to say, "Supper is ready, let us sit down to table." The two students, fearing the expense of an 'entertainment' in company with the knight, Ulric Hutten, and two rich merchants, drew the landlord aside, and begged him to supply them with some provisions at another table. "Come along, my friends," said the master of the *Black Bear*, "place yourselves at once beside that honourable gentleman : I will not charge too high a price." "Come," said the knight, "I will settle the account."

During the repast, the unknown knight often expressed himself in simple but instructive language. The students and the merchants were ravished with the subjects of his discourse, and gave more heed to his words than to the meat before them. "Luther must either be an angel from heaven or a devil from hell," said one of the merchants, in the course of the conversation. Then he added, "I would willingly give ten florins if I could meet with Luther and confess myself to him."

The supper ended, the merchants left the table, and the two Swiss youths, with the knight, remained on their seats. The knight then, taking a large glass of beer, raised it to his head, saying gravely, according to the custom of the country, "Swiss gentlemen, another glass in thanksgiving." As Kessler stretched out his hand to take the glass, the knight stopped him, and offered him a glass filled with wine; "You are not accustomed to drink beer," said he.

Then he rose, threw a military cloak over his shoulders, and holding out his hand to the students, he said, "When you reach Wittemberg, present my compliments to Doctor Jerome Schurff." "Willingly," said the youths, "but in whose name shall we pay these respects?" "Say simply to the doctor," replied the knight, "from him who must soon salute you himself." Having uttered these words, the knight left the room, leaving the students in admiration of the grace and sweetness of his deportment.

Luther, for it was indeed he, continued his journey. It will be remembered that he was now under the ban of the empire, and that, whoever met him and recognised him, were in a condition to lay hold upon him. But at a moment when he thus exposed himself before all, during the event of a bold enterprise, he was calm and serene, and cheerfully conversed with those whom he encountered in the course of his journey.

It was not because he deluded himself on the real nature of his position that his spirits were thus sustained. He beheld the future overcast with storms. "Satan," said he, "is transported with rage, and everything around me speaks but of death and hell. I prosecute my purpose nevertheless, and I throw myself in the way of the emperor and the pope, having no person to take care of me, unless it be God in the heavens. He has given power to all in the name of men to slay me wherever I may be found. But Christ is the Lord of all, if he wishes that any one should kill me, let it be so."

On Ash Wednesday, Luther arrived at Berne, a small town near to Leipsic. He felt convinced that he ought to acquaint his prince with the intrepid act he was about to complete : he therefore addressed to the elector the following letter, from the inn of the Guard where he had stopped.

"Grace and peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Most serene Elector and gracious Lord! the things which have happened in Wittenberg to the great shame of the gospel have filled me with such sorrow that, if I were not certain of the truth of our cause, I would be driven to despair.

"Your Highness knows, or, if you do not know it, let me tell you, I have received the gospel, not from men, but from Heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ. If I have demanded certain conferences, it was not because I entertained doubts of the truth, but it was through humility, and in order to bring others to a knowledge thereof. But since my humility turns against the gospel, my conscience now commands me to act in another manner. I have far enough yielded to the wishes of your Highness in keeping myself at a distance from the world during the course of this year. The devil knows that it was not for fear I did this. I would have entered Worms although there had been in that city as many devils as there were tiles on the house tops. Now Duke George, of whom your Highness urged me to be so much afraid, is nevertheless much less to be feared than one devil. Were it even at Leipsic (the residence of the duke) the things which have occurred at Wittenberg had taken place, I would immediately have mounted my horse to ride towards that city, even although, (may your Highness pardon this expression,) even although for the space of nine days it were seen to rain nothing but dukes, and that each one of them should be found nine times more furious than Duke George himself. Wherefore does he dream of attacking me? Does he then consider Christ, my Lord, as a mere man of straw? Lord, be pleased to turn from him the terrible judgment that threatens to overtake him.

"It is proper that your Highness should know that I am on my way to Wittenberg, under a protection more powerful than that of any elector. I have no desire to solicit the assistance of your Highness, nay, far from seeking your help, I am myself the rather anxious to protect you. If I knew that your Highness either could or was willing to protect me, I would not go to Wittenberg. No sword is fitted to become of use in such a cause as this. God alone must accomplish all, alike without the succour or concurrence of men. He who is possessed of most faith is the person who can afford the most efficient aid. Now I observe that your Highness is still very weak in the faith.

"But, since your Highness is anxious to know what you should do, I will very humbly reply to that question—Your Electoral Highness has already done too much, and ought to remain in a state of perfect inaction. God does not wish, nor can suffer, the interference of either your cares or your labours, nor of mine. Let your Highness, therefore, conform to the spirit of this advice.

"With regard to what concerns myself, your Highness ought to act as an elector. You ought to allow the orders of his imperial majesty to be fulfilled in your cities and country districts. You ought to throw no difficulties in the way against any wish to lay hold on me, or to kill me; for no person ought to set himself in opposition to the powers that be, unless it be him who has established them.

"Let your Highness, therefore, leave the gates open. Let him respect their safe-conduct, should my enemies themselves or their envoys come to seek me in the states of your Highness. All shall be done without disturbance or peril to your Highness.

"I have written this letter in haste, to prevent you from being distressed at the news of my arrival. I have business with another man than Duke George. He knows me well, and I am not ill acquainted with his character.

"Given at Berne, in the inn of the Guard, on Ash Wednesday, 1522, by the very humble servant of your Electoral Highness,

"MARTIN LUTHER.

It was in this manner Luther made his approach towards Wittemberg. He wrote to his prince, but not with the view of framing an excuse for his proceedings. An unshaken confidence filled his heart. He discerned the workings of the hand of God in this cause, and that perception satisfied his soul. The heroism of faith was perhaps never so manfully maintained before. One of the editions of Luther's works has the following note marked on the margin of this letter:—"This is a marvellous writing of the third and last Elias."

It was on Friday the 7th of March Luther again entered the city of his habitation, after having spent five days on his journey from Isenach. Doctors, students, and citizens all gave vent to their feelings of joy; for they had recovered the pilot who could alone direct the ship off the rocks on which she had been cast.

The elector, who was with his court at Lockau, was greatly moved by the perusal of the letter from the reformer. He wished to justify him in the presence of the diet. "Let him address me a letter," wrote the prince to Schurff, "in which he may expose the motives of his return to Wittemberg; and let him affirm therein that he has come back to that city without my permission." Luther gave his consent to this proposal.

"I am prepared," he wrote to the prince, "to bear the displeasure of your Highness and the anger of the whole world. Are not the inhabitants of Wittemberg my sheep? Has not God intrusted them to my care? And must I not therefore expose myself for their sakes, if necessary, even to the penalty of death? I fear, moreover, to witness in Germany the breaking out of a great rebellion, through means of which God shall punish our nation. Let your Highness be assured of this fact, without a doubt, that matters have been arranged in heaven quite differently from the counsels avowed in Nuremberg." This letter was written on the very day of Luther's arrival at Wittemberg.

The next day, on the evening before the first Sunday of Lent, Luther went to the house of Jerome Schurff. Melancthon, Jonas Amsdorff, and Augustine Schurff, the brother of Jerome, were also present in the same place. Luther interrogated these persons with eager scrutiny, and they gave him a detailed account of all that had happened, when, at this moment, a servant announced the arrival of two foreign students, who wished to speak with Jerome Schurff. On being admitted into the company of the doctors above named, the two St Gallians felt at first intimidated, but very soon recovered their presence of mind upon beholding the knight of the *Black Bear* seated in this assembly. The knight himself at once walked up to his Swiss companions, accosted them as old acquaintances, and with a smile he pointed one of his fingers towards a doctor in the room, and said to the foreigners, "Behold Philip Melancthon, of whom I

have already spoken to you." The two young students remained the whole day, in remembrance of the encounter at Jéna, with the doctors of Wittemberg.

A grand thought occupied the mind of the reformer, and caused him to forget the joy of finding himself once more in the society of his friends. Without doubt the theatre on which he appeared was obscure, it was in a small town of Saxony he was about to raise his voice, and still his enterprise was clothed with all the importance of an event which must impart its influences to the destinies of the whole world. Many nations and many ages were doomed to be affected by its consequences. He was concerned to know whether that doctrine, which he had extracted from the word of God, and which was fated to exercise so great an influence upon the future developement of humanity, should be found more powerful than the principles of destruction which threatened its existence. He was interested to know whether it were possible to reform without destroying, and to prepare the issues of new without annihilating the appearances of ancient developements. To reduce to silence the voice of fanatics, whom the ardour of a first enthusiasm animated, to seize upon a whole multitude let loose in thought, to appease their fury, and to lead them back to order, peace, and truth; to check the violence of that impetuous torrent which threatened to overthrow the structure of the new-born reform, and to scatter to a distance the broken remains.

Such was the work to undertake which Luther had returned to Wittemberg. But would his influence prove sufficient for such a task? Future events could alone suffice to give him an answer to this question.

The soul of the reformer trembled at the thought of the combat in which he was about to engage. He, however, roused his spirit like a lion provoked to do battle, and which causes to stand erect the long hairs of his flowing mane. "It is necessary at this hour," said he, "to trample Satan under foot, and to fight with the angel of darkness. If our adversaries do not retire of their own accord, Christ shall know how to constrain them. We are masters of life and death, we who believe in the Master of life and death."

But at the same time the impetuous reformer, as if he had been overcome by a superior power, refused to make use of the anathemas and threatenings of the word, and became an humble pastor, a mild shepherd of souls. "It is with the word we must fight," said he, "with the word we must overthrow and destroy whatever has been established by violence. I have no wish that force should be employed against either the superstitious or the incredulous. Let he who believes come forward, and let he who believes not remain at a distance. Liberty is the essence of faith."

The next day was Sunday. It was on this day, in the church and in the pulpit, the same doctor re-appeared before the eyes of the people, whom the high walls of Wartburg had for a year hidden from their view. Luther, it was reported in Wittemberg, has returned to town, and he is going to preach! This very sentence, which was passed from mouth to mouth, caused in itself a powerful diversion in the ideas, which now misled the people. They were about to look upon the hero of Worms. Great haste was made to accomplish this object, while many different reasons were in operation, and, on the

Sunday morning the temple was filled with an interested and attentive crowd.

Luther understood all the various dispositions of his hearers. He mounted the pulpit, and appeared in the presence of that flock which of old he had conducted as docile sheep, but who had been seen to escape in the spirit of an untamed bull. His speech is simple, noble, full at once of strength and mildness; we should liken him to a tender father on his return to his family, who had inquired into the conduct of his children, and undertaken to represent to them with kindness the reports made respecting their behaviour. He acknowledged with candour the progress which had been made in the acquirements of faith; in this manner he prepared and captivated the minds of his hearers, and then he continued in the following strain:—

“But something more is requisite than faith; charity must be added thereto. If a man having a sword in his hand is standing alone, it is of little consequence whether he keep the sword in the scabbard or not; but if he be placed in the middle of a crowd, he must take care to carry his weapon in such a manner as not therewith to wound any of his neighbours.

“How does a mother act towards her infant? She at first feeds it with milk, and afterwards with a very simple diet. Were she to begin by giving her child meats and wine, what would be the result of such treatment?

“In this manner we should act with our brethren. Have you had enough of the breast? O my friend! it is well; but permit your brother to continue this nourishment as long as you did yourself.

“Behold the sun. . . . He bestows on us two valuable gifts, light and heat. There is not a king sufficiently powerful to dissipate his rays. They descend in a straight line to our earth; but the heat beams and communicates its warmth in every sense. In this manner faith, like to the light, must always remain straight and inflexible; but charity, like the heat, must radiate itself on every side, and accommodate itself to the wants of all our brethren.”

Luther having thus prepared his audience, presses them afterwards more closely.

“The abolition of the mass you say is in agreement with the language of Scripture; granted, but what order and what propriety have you observed? There is need to present to the Lord many ardent prayers, there is need to address yourselves to the proper authority; then every one would be enabled to perceive that the answer came from God.”

Such were the words spoken by Luther. That man of mighty courage, who had resisted in Worms the princes of the earth, made upon the minds of his hearers a profound impression, by the use of words of wisdom and of peace. Carlstadt and the prophets from Zwickau, so great, so powerful, during the course of several weeks, and who had governed and excited the inhabitants of Wittemberg, were reduced to small importance beside the efforts of the prisoner of Wartburg.

“The mass,” continued Luther, “is a bad thing. God is its enemy. It must be abolished; and I wish that it were, throughout the whole world, replaced by the Lord’s Supper of the gospel. But

no one must be dragged away by means of violence. It is to God all things must be referred. It is his word which must direct and not us. And wherefore? you say. Because I do not hold the hearts of men in my hand, as the potter holds the clay in his. We have the right to speak, but we have not the right to act. Let us, therefore, preach: the rest belongs to God. Should I employ force, what shall I obtain? A number of grimaces, outward show, imposture, human ordinances, and hypocrisy. . . . But there shall be found neither sincerity of heart, nor faith, nor charity. Everything is awaiting in a work which comprehends not these three essential properties, and I would not value such a work, . . . at the stalk of a pear.

"What must first of all be gained from people is their heart, and in order to secure this, the gospel must be faithfully preached. In this way the word shall fall to-day into one heart, to-morrow into another, and it will agitate in such a manner that every one shall withdraw themselves from the mass and abandon its observances. God effects more by his single word than could be accomplished by you or me, or the whole world, with all our strength joined together. God seizes upon the heart, and the heart taken, all is secured.

"I do not say this in order to re-establish the mass. Seeing that it is done away with, in the name of God let it remain on the ground. But is there a necessity for doing again what already has been done in this respect? Paul, having on one occasion arrived within the city of Athens, a powerful place, found therein altars raised to many false gods. He visited these altars one after the other, contemplated them closely, but put hands on none of them. Still, after this, he went quietly into the middle of the market-place, and declared in the hearing of the people that all these gods were nothing more than idols. These words laid hold upon the hearts of his hearers, and the idols were cast down without the slightest interference on the part of Paul.

"I am willing to preach, I desire to speak and to write; but I have no wish to constrain any person: for faith is a voluntary deed. Look to what I have done! I have set myself in opposition to the pope, indulgences, and the papists, but without any tumult or violence. I have placed in front the word of God, I have preached, I have written, and I have done nothing else. And whilst I have slept, or sat familiarly at table with Amsdorff and Melancthon, we drinking, while we spoke, the beer of Wittenberg, that word which I had preached has succeeded in overthrowing Popery in such a manner, that never before has any prince or emperor caused the pope so much disaster. I have done nothing. The word alone has accomplished every purpose. Had I been willing to appeal to force, Germany might perhaps have been bathed in blood. And what would have been the result of such a choice? Ruin and desolation for both soul and body. I have therefore remained tranquil, and have allowed the word itself to run through the world. Do you know what the devil thinks when he sees recourse being had to force in order to spread the gospel among the dwellings of man? Seated, with crossed arms, behind the fire of hell, Satan says with a malignant glance and hideous smile, 'Ah, how these fools act like wise men in thus playing the game for me!' But when he sees the word having free course and struggling on the field of battle, then he is troubled, his knees knock against each other, he trembles, and faints with affright."

Luther again appeared in the pulpit on the following Tuesday, and his convincing words again resounded in the ears of an interested multitude. He, in fact, preached on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. He took into consideration the subjects of the destruction of images, the distinction of meats, the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, the restitution of the cup, and the abolition of confession. He shewed that these various points were still more indifferent than the mass, and that the authors of the disturbances which had taken place in Wittemberg had made a great abuse of their liberty. He, by turns, gave vent to the expressions of a charity truly Christian, and the bursts of a holy indignation.

He especially directed his anger against those who took part lightly in the Lord's Supper of Jesus Christ. "It is not the outward appearance of eating which constitutes the character of the Christian," said he, "it is the inward feasting and spiritual nourishment which operates by faith, and without which all forms are nothing more than so many appearances and vain dissimulation. Now, this faith consists in believing that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who, having taken upon himself our sins and iniquities, is himself of them the only, the all-powerful expiation; that he stands continually before God, that he reconciles us with the Father, and that he has given us the sacrament of his body in order that we may avow our faith in his ineffable mercy. If I believe these truths, God is my defence, with him I can brave sin, and death, hell and its demons; they can do me no sort of evil, nor even destroy a single hair of my head. This spiritual bread constitutes alike the consolation of the afflicted, the cure of the sick the life of the dying, the nourishment of those who are hungry, and the treasures of the poor. He, therefore, whose sin do not grieve him, ought not to come near this altar. What can he do there? Ah, let our own consciences accuse us, let our hearts be pierced at the recollection of our transgressions, and we will not approach the holy sacrament with so much imprudence."

The people did not cease to hurry in crowds towards the temple; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities increased the numbers who waited upon the preaching of the new Elias. Capito, among the rest, visited Wittemberg, where he remained two days, and heard two of the sermons delivered by the doctor. Never were Luther and the chaplain of the cardinal Albert more united in their opinions. And Melancthon, the magistrates, the professors, and the whole body of the people, joined their protestations of sincere delight. Schurff, transported with joy at the happy issue of an affair so mournful, made haste to communicate the circumstances to the elector. On Friday the 15th of March, the day on which Luther delivered his sixth discourse, Schurff wrote to the elector—"Ah! what gladness the return of Doctor Luther has diffused among us! his words, with the help of divine grace, lead back more and more into the paths of truth our poor wandering souls. It is clear as the sun that the Spirit of God dwells in him, and that it is by his special dispensation Luther has come back to Wittemberg."

In fact, these discourses are patterns of popular eloquence, but not of that kind which, in the times of Demosthenes, or even of Savonarola, inflamed the temper of the people. The task undertaken by the orator of Wittemberg was more difficult to fulfil. It is more easy to

excite the passions of a wild beast than to calm his spirit when in a state of phrenzy. The reformer endeavoured to appease the ravings of a multitude of fanatics, and to tame their unbridled fury, and he accomplished his purpose. In the course of his eight sermons, Luther did not make use of, against the authors of the tumult, one painful allusion, or a single word calculated to wound their feelings. But the more he moderated his declamations the more powerful was their influence; the more he persuaded those who had gone astray the more he avenged the cause of offended truth. How could the people of Wittemberg resist the powers of his commanding eloquence? In general, the discourses which commend moderation are attributed to the emotions of timidity, prudence, or fear. In this instance no such imputation can apply. Luther presented himself to the people of Wittemberg by braving the excommunication of the pope and the proscription of the emperor. He returned home in spite of the prohibitions of the elector, who declared himself unable to protect the person of the reformer. Luther, at Worms even, had not exhibited so much courage. He had confronted the most formidable dangers, and his voice was not despicable or ungrateful; for the man who had braved the funeral pile had a right to exhort the observance of submission. He could boldly speak of obedience to God; for he himself, in order to manifest this obedience, had violated all the persecutions of men. At the command of Luther, objections vanished, tumult was appeased, sedition ceased to vociferate her clamour, and the citizens of Wittemberg resumed the tranquil occupations of domestic life.

The member of the Augustine monks who had displayed the most ardent enthusiasm, namely, Gabriel Didymus, had listened with profound attention to the discourses of the reformer. "Do you not think that Luther is an admirable teacher?" said one of the congregation in ecstasy to Gabriel. "Ah!" replied he, "I believe I hear, not the voice of a man, but of an angel." Didymus very soon openly acknowledged that he had been deceived. He has become another man, said Luther.

Such, however, was not at first the case with Carlstadt. Still despising the labours of study, and affecting to visit the shops of the artisans in Wittemberg, there to receive an acquaintance with the Scriptures, he was offended when he beheld his visions vanish at the sight of Luther. In his opinion this change put a stop to the proceedings of the reform itself; besides, he always exhibited a dull, discontented, and dejected look. Nevertheless he made the sacrifice of his self-love to the cause of peace, repressed his desires after vengeance, became reconciled, at least in appearance, to his former colleague, and renewed, soon afterwards, his lectures in the university.

From the time of the arrival of Luther, the new prophets were no longer to be seen at Wittemberg. Nicolas Storck had fled the country, while Mark Stubner had gone from under the hospitable roof of Melancthon. Perhaps their prophetic spirit had left them, and they neither received a *voice* nor *answer* from the moment they had heard that the new Elias was directing his steps towards this new Carmel. The former schoolmaster, Cellarius, alone remained in Wittemberg. Nevertheless Stubner, having been informed that the

sheep of his flock had dispersed, returned speedily to his old haunts. Those who had remained constant to "the *celestial prediction*" surrounded their master, recounted to him the substance of Luther's discourses, and impatiently inquired of him what course they ought in conscience to pursue. Stubner exhorted them to remain firm in their faith. "Let him come forward," exclaimed Cellarius, "let him grant us a conference, let him allow us to explain our doctrine, and we shall see how matters stand."

Luther was little anxious to enter into correspondence with these men; he knew that there was in them a violent, impatient, and haughty spirit, which could not suffer the voice of admonition, even in charity, and which pretended that every one should submit to its first assertions as to the dictates of sovereign authority. Such is the character of enthusiasts in every age. Since, however, an interview had been demanded on their part, it was impossible for the doctor to refuse compliance with their request. Besides, it might be useful to the simple of the flock that he should take the mask away from the imposture of the prophets. The conference, consequently, took place. Stubner was allowed to speak first. He explained how he wished to renew the church and to change the world. Luther listened to this harangue with great calmness. At last, with great gravity, he replied, "Nothing of what you have said is founded upon the Holy Scriptures; all your affirmations are made up of fables." When these words were uttered, Cellarius was unable longer to restrain his fury. He commenced to speak; he made violent gestures; stamped with his feet, and struck with his hand the table which stood before him. He worked himself into a passion, and exclaimed it was shameful to dare in this manner to speak to a man of God. Then Luther quietly added, "St Paul declares that the proofs of his apostleship have appeared through the working of wonders, prove yours by the performance of miracles." "We will do so," responded the prophets. "The God whom I adore," said Luther, "shall well know how to hold your gods in check." Stubner, who had preserved a larger portion of self-possession, fixing at this moment his eyes upon the reformer, said, with the air of one inspired, "Martin Luther, I am about to declare to you the thoughts which are now passing in your soul! . . . You begin to believe that my doctrine is true." Luther, having for a few minutes remained silent, replied, "God reprove thee, Satan." . . . "At these words all the prophets became furious. "The Spirit, the Spirit!" they bellowed out. Luther, adopting, with a cold tone of disdain, the cutting and familiar language peculiar to himself, said, "I have hit your *spirit* on the snout." The clamour now increased twofold, and Cellarius especially distinguished himself by his ravings. He became frantic, he shook and foamed at the mouth. No one could at this time be heard in the chamber of the conference. At last the three prophets abandoned the place, and on the same day quitted the city of Wittenberg.

In this manner Luther had completed the work to accomplish which he had left his forest retreat. He had confronted the spirit of fanaticism, and had driven from the bosom of the renewed church that enthusiasm and disorder which had dared to invade its sacred precincts. If, with the one hand, the Reformation threw down the dusty decretals of Rome, with the other she repelled the pretensions

of the Mystics, while she confirmed in the territories she had conquered the living and immutable word of God. The character of the Reformation was thus surely established. She was ordained constantly to move forward between these two extremes, equally distant from the ranks of fanatics and the dead body of Popery.

Now an impassioned populace, led from the right path, and who had broken through all restraints, was appeased, calmed, and rendered submissive; while the most perfect tranquillity was restored to that city which, but a few days before, resembled the sea agitated by furious winds.

Complete liberty was equally established within the confines of Wittenberg. Luther continued to dwell in the convent, and to wear the monkish costume; but all the indwellers of the same place were free to act otherwise if they pleased. In taking the Lord's Supper, it was enough to observe the general, unless a private absolution was requested. A principle was formed to reject nothing, but what was positively opposed to a clear and formal declaration of the Holy Scriptures. This resolution was not the effect of indifference; on the contrary, religion was, in this manner, brought back to a sense of its essence; and religious feeling was withdrawn from those accessory forms in which it must have totally expired, and settled upon objects which confirmed its native strength.

Thus the Reformation was saved, and the true doctrine enabled to continue its developement in the bosom of the church according to the dictates of charity and truth.

CHAPTER IX.

Translation of the New Testament—Faith and the Scriptures—Opposition—Importance of the Publication of Luther—Need of a Systematic Exposition—Common-Places—Original Sin—Salvation—Free Will—Effect of the Common-Places.

Scarcely had this calm been restored, before Luther directed his steps to the house of his dear Melancthon, and requested him to afford his assistance in completing the version of the New Testament which the reformer had brought from Wartburg. Melancthon, since the year 1519, had established the grand principle that it was necessary to explain the fathers from the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures from the fathers. Searching always more deeply into the writings of the New Testament, he felt himself at once ravished with their simplicity and struck with their profoundness. "It is only here," said this man boldly, so conversant with the whole subject of ancient philosophy, "that is to be found the true nourishment of the soul." Thus he resigned himself with pleasure to the invitation of Luther; and from that time these two friends passed together many hours in the study and translation of the inspired word.

Often they stopped in their delightful labours to give vent to the sentiments of their admiration. "Reason thinks," said Luther, "Oh, if I could only for once understand or hear God, I would run for such a purpose to the end of the world. . . . Listen, then, O man, my brother! . . . God, the creator of the heavens and the earth, speaks to you."

The labour of printing this impression of the New Testament was also undertaken with a zeal that has no equal. It has been said that

the tradesmen themselves were deeply convinced of the importance of the work they had to prepare. Three printing presses were employed in this operation, and ten thousand pages were printed every day.

At last, on the 21st of September, the complete edition, consisting of three thousand copies, appeared in two folio volumes, bearing this simple title :—*The New Testament—German—Wittenberg*. There was no appearance of the names of men. Every German could, from that time, procure the word of God at a moderate price.

This new translation, written in the very spirit of the holy books, in a language still young, and which displayed for the first time its great beauties, seized, entranced, and moved the spirits of the meanest of the people, as well as those of the most elevated rank.

It was, in fact, a national work ; it was the book of the people : it was more, it was really the book of God. Certain adversaries even were unable to refuse the testimony of their admiration of this admirable work ; while some indiscreet friends of the Reformation were found, struck with the beauty of these writings, to imagine and acknowledge the production of a second inspiration. This translation served to propagate Christian piety more than all the writings of Luther. The work of the sixteenth century was thus placed on a basis where nothing was able to shake its firm structure. The Bible, given to the people, led back the human mind, which for many centuries had wandered in the tortuous labyrinths of scholastic divinity, to the Divine source of salvation. The success of this labour was, at same time, prodigious, and in a short time all the copies of the work were disposed of, so that in the month of December a second edition appeared. As early as the year 1533, seventeen editions of the New Testament, translated by Luther, were printed in Wittenberg, thirteen in Augsburg, twelve in Basil, one in Erfurt, one in Grimma, one in Leipsic, and thirteen in Strasburg. Such were the powerful springs which moved and transformed the church and the world.

The first edition of the New Testament was still in progress at the printing office when Luther at once undertook to translate the Old also. Begun in 1522, that work was continued without interruption. The translation now referred to was published in parts, in proportion as the work advanced, in order more speedily to satisfy the impatience everywhere manifested, and to facilitate to the poor their acquisition of the valuable volume.

It is from the Scriptures and from faith, two sources which at the fountain-head are united into one, evangelical life hath proceeded, and still flows over the face of the world. These two principles warred against two fundamental errors. Faith was opposed to the heathenish or Pelagian tendency of Catholicism, while the Scriptures resisted the theory of tradition and of the authority of Rome. The Scriptures pointed to faith, and faith pointed back to the Scriptures. "Man cannot perform any meritorious work, the free grace of God which he receives through faith in Christ, alone brings salvation." Such was the doctrine proclaimed throughout the districts of Christendom. Now this doctrine must force Christianity towards the Scriptures. In short, if faith in Christ is all in all in Christianity, and if the practices and ordinances of the church are nothing therein, it is not to the dictates of the church, but to the word of Christ, one

must adhere. The bond which binds us to Christ shall become everything to the faithful soul. Of what importance is to it the outward bond which unites it to an exterior church, brought into subjection to the opinions of men? . . . In this manner, as the words of the Bible had driven the contemporaries of Luther towards Jesus Christ, so the love they experienced for Jesus Christ drove them back in its turn towards the Bible. It was not, as has been imagined in our day, through a philosophical principle, in consequence of a doubt, or by a spirit of inquiry, that these men were led back to the Scriptures; it was because they found therein the word of him whom they loved. "You have proclaimed Christ to us," said they to the reformer, "allow us now to listen to himself." And they seized with assiduity upon the pages made clear to their understanding, as upon a letter received from heaven.

But if the Bible was accepted with so much joy by those who loved Christ, it was refused with disdain by those who preferred the traditions and practices of men. A violent persecution awaited this work of the reformer. On hearing of the publication issued by Luther Rome trembled. The pen which transcribed the sacred oracles was truly that which the elector Frederick had seen in his dream, and which, reaching even to the seven hills, had caused the fura of Popery to shake. The monk in his cell and the prince on his throne simultaneously avowed their purposes of vengeance, and the ignorant priests trembled at the thought that all citizens, and even every peasant, would now be put in a condition to discuss with them upon the subject of our Lord's instructions. The king of England denounced this work to the elector Frederick and to Duke George of Saxony. But as early as the month of November this duke had given an order to his subjects to hand over all their copies of the New Testament, translated by Luther, into the hands of the magistrate. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Austria, and all the states devoted to the cause of Rome, issued commands of a similar description. In some places these holy books were converted into the materials of a sacrilegious bonfire in the market-places. In this manner Rome renewed, in the sixteenth century, the attempts made by Paganism itself, in order to destroy the religion of Jesus Christ, at the moment when the empire escaped to the shelter of the priests and their idols. But what power could stop the triumphant march of the gospel? "Even after my prohibitions," wrote Duke George, "several thousands of copies have been sold and read in my states."

God even made use, in order to spread abroad his own word, of the very hands which pretended to destroy it. The Catholic theologians, seeing that they could not arrest the work of the reformer, published themselves a translation of the New Testament. This production was nothing more than the translation of Luther corrected here and there by the editors, but no difficulties were placed in the way of its being read. Rome was not yet aware that wherever the word of God was established her power was visibly shaken. Joachim of Brandenburg permitted all his subjects to read every translation of the Bible, whether in Latin or German, provided that it did not come from Wittemberg. The people of Germany, and particularly those of Brandenburg, made, in this manner, great progress in their knowledge of the truth.

The publication of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue forms an important epoch in the history of the Reformation. If the marriage of Feldkirchen had composed the first advance which the reform had made in passing from the substance of doctrine into the practices of life, if the abolition of monastic vows may be considered the second, and if the establishment of the Lord's Supper constituted the third, the publication of the New Testament was perhaps the most important performance yet attained. It produced a total change in the being of society, not only in the presbyteries of the priests, in the cells of the monks, or in the sanctuary of the Lord, but also in the houses of the great, the dwellings of the citizens in towns, and the abodes of the inhabitants of the country. When the reading of the Bible was commenced in the families of christendom, christendom itself was changed. There was from that time instituted a new order of customs, of manners, and of conversation, which ensured a new life. With the publication of the New Testament, the Reformation went out from the school and the church, and took possession of the homes of the people.

The effect produced was immense. The Christianity of the primitive church, dragged, by the publication of the Holy Scriptures, out of the forgetfulness into which it had fallen for centuries, was thus presented to the view of the nation, and that spectacle was sufficient to justify the attacks of which Rome had been the object. The most simple men, provided that they knew the German letters, as well as women and tradesmen, (it is a contemporary, a decided enemy to the Reformation, who tells this story,) studied eagerly the New Testament. They carried this book everywhere along with them; they very soon knew its contents by heart, and the pages of this work disclosed openly the perfect union that existed between the Reformation prosecuted by Luther and the Revelation sent from God.

Nevertheless it was only by fragments that the doctrine of the Bible and of the Reformation had been until now established. Such a truth had been exposed in one writing, and such an error attacked in another. Over a vast extent of ground were seen scattered and confused alike the rubbish of the old and the materials of the new edifice, but the building itself was still to be raised. The publication of the New Testament corresponded, no doubt, with the want experienced. The Reformation was enabled to say, in presenting this volume—Behold the substance of my system. But as every one was free to pretend that he had no other system than that of the Bible, the Reformation was constrained to give a description of the things she had found in the Scriptures. This was the work which Melancthon accomplished in her name.

He had always proceeded at a considerate but certain pace in his theological development, and had constantly published with determination the fruits of his researches. So early as the year 1520, he had discovered in many of the seven sacraments nothing more than a servile imitation of the Judaic ceremonies, and in the infallibility of the pope the mere shadow of a proud pretension, equally opposed to the Holy Scriptures and to common sense. "To fight against these doctrines, we would require," he had said, "more than the strength of Hercules."

Thus Melancthon had arrived at the same point with Luther

although through a path more scientific and peaceful. The moment had arrived, however, when he too must in his turn confess his faith.

In the course of the year 1521, during the captivity of Luther, Melancthon's celebrated work *Upon the Theological Common-places* had presented to Christian Europe a body of doctrine whose foundation was solid and whose proportions were admirable. A simple and majestic description was exhibited to the astonished eyes of the new generation. The translation of the New Testament justified the Reformation in the sight of the people, *The Common-places* of Melancthon justified her in the opinion of learned men.

The church had existed for a term of fifteen hundred years, and had not yet witnessed a work equal to the one we now speak of. Abandoning the ordinary developements of scholastic theology, the friend of Luther produced at last to the notice of christendom a theological system drawn entirely from the writings of the Scriptures. There was perceived in this work a breath of life, a movement of intelligence, a force of truth, and a simplicity of exposition, which formed a striking contrast to the subtle and pedantic systems of the schools. Minds the most philosophical, as well as those of the most austere theologians equally confessed their admiration of this production.

Erasmus designated this writing a marvellous army ranged in battle against the pharisaical tyranny of false doctors; and, while declaring that he was not agreed in opinion with the author on every point, he added that, although he had always loved the said author, he had never so much loved him as after having read this work. "So true is it," said Calvin, in presenting the book in France, "that the greatest simplicity is the greatest virtue in treating the Christian doctrine."

But no one experienced a joy equal to that of Luther. This work was all his after life the object of his admiration. Those lone sounds which his agitated hand had extorted, in the lively emotion of his soul, from the harps of the prophets and apostles, were here recognised as struck in admirable harmony. Those detached stones which he had forced with strong exertions from the quarry of the Scriptures, were now put together in the structure of a majestic edifice. He, moreover, never ceased to advise the perusal of this book to the young people who came to obtain knowledge in Wittenberg, saying to them, "If you wish to become a theologian, read Melancthon."

In the opinion of Melancthon, the profound sentiment of the misery to which man finds himself reduced by sin is the basis upon which must be raised the edifice of Christian theology. This immense evil is the primitive fact, the genuine idea whence the science proceeds, it is the character which distinguishes theology from all the sciences that have only reason for their guide.

The Christian theologian, plunging to the bottom of man's heart, exposes thereof the laws and mysterious attractions, in the same manner as another learned man, at a later period, exposed the laws and attractions of the body. "Original sin," says Melancthon, "is an inclination born with us, a certain transport which is agreeable to us, a certain force which compels us to sin, and which has been

diffused by Adam into the bosom of all his posterity. In the same manner as there is in the fire a native strength which carries it above, there is also, in like manner, in man a first force which drives him to evil. I am willing to admit that in Socrates, in Xenocrates, and in Zeno there may be found constancy, temperance, and chastity: these shadows of virtue were visible in many impure spirits, and proceeded from the love of one's self; and it is for this reason they must be regarded, not as true virtues, but as vices." These words may appear harsh; but they are only so when the sense attributed to them by Melancthon is forgotten. No person was more disposed than him to acknowledge in Pagans some virtues worthy of men's esteem; but he establishes this grand truth, that the sovereign law, given by God to all his creatures, is to love himself supremely, above all things. Now, if man, in doing what God commands, does so, not for the love of God, but for the love of himself, could God allow of this daring on man's part to substitute himself in the place of his own (God's) infinite majesty; and must there not be vice in an act wherein is conspicuous an express rebellion against the sovereign God?

The theologian of Wittenberg afterwards shews how man is saved from this misery. "The apostle," says he, "calls upon you to contemplate at the right hand of the Father, the Son of God, the powerful Mediator, who intercedes for us, and he asks you to be assured that your sins are remitted or forgiven, and that you are reputed just and received by the Father on account of that Son, the sacrificed victim upon the cross."

What especially renders the first edition of the *Common-places* remarkable, is the manner in which the theologian of Germany thereon speaks of free will. He recognised, still better, perhaps, than Luther did, because he was more of a theologian than him, that this doctrine could not be separated from that which formed the essence of the Reformation. The justification of man in the sight of God proceeds alone from faith, such is the first proposition; this faith proceeds in the heart of man only from the grace of God, and such is the second point. Melancthon clearly perceived that, if some natural ability were granted to man whereby he could believe, this grand doctrine of the grace of God, which was established in the first, would be overthrown in the second point. He was possessed of too much discernment and too intimate knowledge of the Scriptures to allow himself to be deceived on a matter of such grave import. But he went too far. In place of confining himself within the boundaries of the religious question, he resorted to the question in metaphysics. He established a fatalism which might cause God to be regarded as the author of evil, and which, consequently, has no foundation in the Scriptures. "Everything that happens," said he, "necessarily happening in conformity with Divine predestination, it is evident that our will is not possessed of any liberty."

But that which Melancthon, above all, proposes to do, is to present theology as a system of piety. The schools had dissected the dogma so minutely as to occasion its death: and the task of the Reformation was to bring life back into the body of the murdered dogma. In subsequent editions Melancthon felt the need of exposing with great exactness the doctrinal truths. But he was not so thoroughly con-

vinced of this in 1521.* "What is it to know Christ," said he, "but to know his gifts? Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, wishing to give a summary of the Christian doctrine, does not philosophize upon the mystery of the trinity, upon the method of incarnation, or upon the works of creation, either active or passive. Of what then does he speak?—Of the law, of sin, and of grace. It is upon these that the knowledge of Christ depends."

The publication of this dogmatic writing was of great value to the cause of the gospel. Calumnies were refuted and prejudices were seen to disappear. In churches, courts, and universities, the genius of Melancthon was admired, and the graces of his character esteemed. Those even who were unacquainted with the author were brought over to his opinions by means of this work. The rudeness and sometimes the violence of Luther's language had offended many inquiring minds. But we here behold a man who, with great elegance of style, exquisite taste, admirable perspicuity, and perfect order, exposed those powerful truths whose sudden explosion must have distracted the world. The work was eagerly sought for and perused with avidity, nay, studied with ardour. So much mildness and modesty gained the approval of every heart, while so much nobleness and energy convinced the reason, and the superior classes of society, until then undecided, were led captive by the force of a wisdom which adopted language so becoming and persuasive.

On the other hand, the enemies of the truth, whom the terrible blows of Luther had not vanquished, remained for some time silent and disconcerted after the appearance of this writing composed by Melancthon. They acknowledged that there was still another man equally deserving of their hatred besides Luther. "Alas," exclaimed they, "unhappy Germany, to what extremities is this new-born enthusiasm about to drive you?"

The *Common-places* went through, from 1521 to 1595, sixty-seven editions, without reckoning the number of translations. This book is perhaps, after the Bible, the one which has most contributed towards the establishment of the evangelical doctrine.

CHAPTER X.

Opposition—Henry VIII.—Woolsey—The Queen—Fisher—Thomas More—The Books of Luther Burned—Henry Attacks Luther—Presentation to the Pope—Effects upon Luther—Force and Violence—His Book—Reply of the Bishop of Rochester—Reply of More—Conduct of the King.

While the "grammarian," Melancthon, afforded, by such harmonious efforts, powerful assistance to the cause of Luther, some formidable individuals, hostile to the views of the reformer, turned with violence against his party. Escaped from Wartburg, he had again appeared upon the theatre of the world; and on receipt of this news, his former adversaries had resumed their ardent spirit of revenge.

About three months and a half after the return of Luther to Wittenberg, a noise, which engaged all the voices of the great, carried to him the news that one of the most mighty kings in

* See edition of 1561, reprinted in 1829, pages 14-44, the various chapters—*De tribus personis—De divinitate Filii—De duabus naturis in Christo—Testimonia quod Filius sit persona—Testimonia refutantia Arianos—De discernendis proprietatibus humane et divine nature Christi—De Spiritu Sancto.*

christendom had become his enemy. The head of the house of Tudor, a prince the issue at once of the Yorks and Lancasters, and upon whose crown, after the shedding of so much blood, the red and white roses were at last blended together, the powerful King of England, who pretended to re-establish on the continent, and especially in France, the ancient influence of his sceptre, Henry VIII. had just composed a book in opposition to the cause of the poor monk of Wittenberg. "Much boasting is made," wrote Luther to Lange, on the 26th June 1522, "of a small book written by the King of England."

Henry VIII. was at this time thirty-one years of age; he was tall, well made, and had an air of majesty and command which distinguished the whole figure of his person,* while his physiognomy evinced the sprightliness of his mind. He was, however, vehement in his actions, endeavouring to make all things succumb under the violence of his passion, and having a thirst for glory, he hid his faults at first with an assumption of courage which is natural to youth, and was not left without flatterers who encouraged him to cherish these primary failings. Often he visited, with his troop of favourites, the house of his chaplain, Thomas Wolsey, the son of a butcher in Ipswich. Endowed with excellent abilities, and encouraging excessive ambition, with an impudence that had no bounds, this person, protected by the bishop of Winchester, the chancellor of the kingdom, had rapidly advanced in the favour of his master, and attracted him to his mansion by the seduction of pleasures and irregularities, to the enjoyment of which the young prince dared not to have yielded in the apartments of his own palace. Polydorus Virgil, at the time sub-collector to the pope in England, relates these stories. During the time of these mad meetings, the chaplain exceeded in license the young courtesans who accompanied Henry VIII. He (Wolsey) was then seen to forget the gravity becoming a minister of the church, to join in songs, dancing, laughter, and indecent merriment, enhanced by the obscenity of his language, and was also accustomed to fence.† By such means the chaplain succeeded in obtaining very soon the first place in the council of the king, and governing entirely the affairs of the kingdom, he caused all the princes of christendom to purchase with money the advantages of his good graces.

Henry lived in the midst of balls, feasts, and tournaments, and foolishly dissipated the treasures which the avarice of his father had slowly accumulated. Magnificent exhibitions of the tilt-yard succeeded each other without interruption; and the king, in consequence of his manly beauty, distinguished himself as the leader in all these vain combats, and gained their rewards. If the struggle appeared a moment doubtful, the address and strength of the prince, or the politic agility of his adversary, assured the king of victory, and the gay circle resounded with shouts and exclamations of praise in honour of the conqueror. The vanity of the young prince was egregiously elevated by his success in these easy triumphs, and there was no conquest in the world he did not believe himself able to achieve. The queen at times appeared among the spectators of these spectacles. Her grave countenance, and melancholy look, which were rendered more so-

* He was tall, strong built, and proportioned, and had an air of authority and empire. (Collier Eccl. His. Gt. Brit., in fol. 2 p. 1.) † Polydorus Virgil seems to have suffered from the pride of Wolsey, and to be rather inclined to exaggerate the faults of that minister.

lenn by an air of deep meditation and dejection, contrasted curiously with the turbulent joy of such festivals. Henry VIII. shortly after his ascension to the throne, had married, for reasons of state, Catherine of Aragon, a lady five years older than himself, the widow of his brother Arthur, and the aunt of Charles V. While her husband joined in the gaieties of fashion, the virtuous Catherine, impressed with a piety altogether Spanish in its origin, was accustomed to rise in the middle of the night, in order to take a part in the prayers of the monks. She was wont to throw herself upon her knees, without the convenience of either cushion or carpet. At five o'clock in the morning, after having taken a short rest, she again left her bed, and was in the practice of clothing herself in the habit of St Francis, because she had entered herself in the third order of that saint; then, soon afterwards, resuming in haste her royal garments, she went to church at six o'clock in the morning, to attend the ordinances of public worship.

Two beings living in two worlds so unlike each other could not for any length of time remain united.

Roman piety had, however, other representatives besides Catherine at the court of Henry VIII. John Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, who had almost attained his seventieth year, equally distinguished by his acquirements and by the severity of his manners, was an object of general veneration. He had been the oldest counsellor of Henry VII.; and the Duchess of Richmond, the grandmother of Henry VIII., calling him to her bedside when she was about to die, had recommended to his attention the youth and inexperience of her grandson. And for many years the king, in the midst of the extravagances we have noticed, manifested his veneration for the old bishop as towards his father.

A man much younger than Fisher, a layman and a lawyer, had, as early as the period we refer to, attracted by his genius and the nobleness of his character the favourable consideration of all. This individual's name was Thomas More. He was the son of one of the judges of the King's bench, poor, austere, arduous in labour, and had striven, when twenty-one years of age, to subdue the passions of youth by wearing a shirt of hair, and following the observances of the most severe discipline. Called on one occasion to attend upon Henry VIII., at the time he was waiting upon the performance of mass, he replied that "the service of God must be complied with before the service of the king." Wolsey presented More to Henry VIII., who employed him in several embassies, and expressed great affection for his character. He often sent for him to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation upon the subjects of planets, Wolsey, and theology.

In truth, the king himself was not a stranger to Roman doctrines. It even appeared that, if his brother Arthur had lived, Henry would have been promoted to the archepiscopal see of Canterbury. Thomas d'Aquin, St Bonaventure, the tournaments, feasts, Elizabeth Blount, and other mistresses besides, were all mixed together in the thoughts and the life of this singular prince, who caused masses to be sung in his own chapel, of which he was himself the composer.

From the moment that Henry VIII. was told of the proceedings of Luther, he became enraged against the monk; and scarcely was the decree of the diet of Worms known in England, before the king

commanded the bull of the pontiff against the books of Luther to be rigorously executed. On the 12th of May 1521, Thomas Wolsey, who to the office of chancellor of England united those of a cardinal and legate of Rome, proceeded to St Paul's cathedral in solemn procession. This dignitary, arrived at the highest degree of pride, believed himself to be equal in rank with kings. He constantly sat upon a gold chair, he slept upon a bed whose frame was gold, and a gold-wrought cloth covered the table upon which his food was placed. He displayed on the occasion we now refer to a pomp truly magnificent. His retinue, composed of eight hundred persons, among whom were included barons, knights, and the sons of the most distinguished families, who hoped, by serving him, to obtain the possession of public offices, surrounded the superb prelate. Gold and silk shone, not alone upon his own vestments, (he was the first ecclesiastic who had dared to put on such sumptuous attire,) but also upon the housings and harness of his horses. Before him, a priest, chosen for the elegance of his appearance, carried a silver staff, terminated by a cross. Behind him, another priest, equally handsome, held in his hand the archepiscopal cross of York, while a nobleman, who walked at his side, had charge of his cardinal's hat. Many nobles, prelates, and ambassadors of the pope and the emperor accompanied Wolsey, followed by a long train of mules, having on their backs chests covered with stuff of the most rich and brilliant texture. It was in the centre of this splendid array the writings of the poor monk of Wittemberg were conveyed in London to their funeral pile. Arrived within the stately edifice, the proud priest caused his cardinal's hat to be placed on the very altar. The amiable bishop of Rochester went up to the foot of the cross, and, in a tremulous voice, preached energetically against the wicked heresy. Then the impious writings of the author of this heresy were brought forward, and were devoutly burned in presence of an immense crowd of spectators. Such was the first intelligence imparted to England concerning the Reformation.

But Henry did not wish to stop at this point. "It is the devil," wrote, to the elector-palatine, that prince whose sword never ceased to be drawn upon his adversaries, his wives, and his favourites, "it is the devil who, through Luther, has kindled this hideous conflagration. If Luther does not choose to be converted, let fire consume him as well as his writings."

Nor was this sufficient, Henry, convinced that the progress of the heresy proceeded from the extreme ignorance of the German princes, believed that the moment had arrived wherein it was necessary for him to exhibit all his own wisdom. The victories he had gained by his spear assured him of equal success in the efforts of his pen. But another passion yet, always great in little souls, incited the feelings of the king, namely, vanity. He supposed it humiliating not to be distinguished by some title or reference similar to those of "Catholic and very Christian" enjoyed by the kings of Spain and France, and he had entreated for some time with the court of Rome to bestow on him a similar distinction. What, therefore, could be more becoming in him than an attack upon the reigning heresy? Henry thus threw aside the purple robe of royalty, and descended from the heights of the throne to the arena of the theologians. He vied with Thomas d'Aquin,

Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hale, and Bonaventure, and the world was graced with the appearance of the *Defence of the seven sacraments, against Martin Luther, by the most invincible King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, Henry, the Eighth of the name.*

"I will throw myself in front of the church in order to save her," said the King of England in these writings; "I will receive in my breast the empoisoned arrows of the enemies who assail her. The present condition of affairs calls upon me to perform this duty. It is requisite, that all the servants of Jesus Christ, whatever be their age, sex, or station, should confront the common enemy of christendom. Let us, therefore, arm ourselves with a double armour, with a celestial shield, in order to conquer by the weapons of truth, he who wars with those of error, but at the same time with a terrestrial instrument of offence, so that, if this adversary should shew himself obstinate in his malice, the hand of the hangman may reduce him to silence, and that for once at least he may become useful to the world, through the terrible example of his death."

Henry VIII. could not hide the contempt he bore for his weak opponent. "This man," said the crowned theologian, "appears as if in the labour of childbirth; he makes desperate efforts, and then is delivered of nothing but wind. Take away the audacious covering of superb words, with which he surrounds his absurdities like a monkey clothed in purple, and what shall you see? . . . a miserable and empty sophism."

The king defended successively mass, penance, confirmation, marriage, precepts, and supreme unction. He did not spare a profusion of injurious epithets in reference to his adversary—he called him by turns an infernal wolf, an empoisoned viper, and a member of the devil. The very honesty of Luther was attacked. "Henry VIII. crushes the mendicant monk to pieces with his royal displeasure, and writes as with his sceptre," said an historian of the time.

Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the work was not bad as coming from such an author and in such an age; for the style is far from deficient in force. But the public of that day were unable to restrict their sense of justice. An explosion of praise received the theological treatise of the powerful King of England.

"Never has the sun given witness before to a book equally wise," said the public voice. "It can only be compared," said some, "to the works of St Augustine. He is another Constantine, or Charlemagne! He is even greater," said others, "he is a second Solomon."

These exclamations very soon exceeded the limits of England. Henry, anxious that the dean of Windsor, John Clark, his ambassador at the court of the pope, should present his book to the sovereign pontiff, sent a copy to Rome for this purpose. Leo X. received the ambassador in a full meeting of presbytery. Clark presented to him the royal work, saying, "The king, my master, gives you the assurance that after having refuted the errors of Luther with his pen, he is equally prepared to fight with his adherents with the sword." Leo, touched with the frankness of this promise, replied that the book in question could only have been composed with the aid of the Holy Spirit; and designated Henry the *Defender of the Faith*, a title still borne by the sovereigns of England.

The reception accorded in Rome to the work of the king contributed much to enhance its original popularity. In the course of a few months there were issued, from several printing presses, many thousands of copies. "The whole Christian world," says Cochleus, "was filled with admiration and joy."

Such extravagant praises increased the already insufferable vanity of the head of the Tudors. He did not himself doubt of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit ascribed to him, and from that time he could not brook the appearance of contradiction. Popery no longer existed, in his view, at Rome, but at Greenwich: infallibility now rested upon his own head; but these events contributed greatly, at an after period, to the advancement of the Reformation in England.

Luther read the production of Henry with a disdainful smile, expressive alike of impatience and indignation. The falsehoods and the offensive language made use of, and, above all, the air of contempt and compassion which the king affected towards him, irritated to the highest degree the feelings of the doctor of Wittenberg. The thought that the pope had dignified this work, and that everywhere the enemies of the gospel accosted both the reform and the reformer as already overthrown and vanquished, added mightily to his sense of indignation. Moreover, what had he to disguise? Did he not fight for a King greater than all the kings of the earth? The mild precepts of the gospel appeared unseasonable to him—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—such were his outrageous conceptions. Pursued, enraged, tracked, and wounded, the furious lion turned himself round and erected his body with pride to crush his enemy. The Elector, Spalatin, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, all endeavoured, but in vain, to appease his wrath. They wished to prevent him from making any reply; but nothing could arrest his determination. "I will not be mild with the King of England," said he. "It is in vain for me, I know, to strive to humble myself, to yield, to conjure, or to adopt the ways of peace. I am about, in short, to shew myself more terrible with these furious creatures which every day hurt me with their horns. I will push my horns against theirs. I will even provoke, nay, I will irritate Satan, until, exhausted, he shall fall down reduced to absolute weakness." "If this heretic does not retract," says this new Thomas, Henry VIII., "he must be burned! Such are the arms they would employ against me. The fury of a stupid ass, and of swine in the fashion of Thomas d'Aquin; and then the fire.* Ah, well, let it be so! Let these swine advance, if they dare, and let them burn me! I wait for them here. I wish that my ashes, thrown after my death into a thousand seas, may rise up, pursue, and swallow that abominable herd. Living, I will be the enemy of Popery, and burned I shall be its ruin. Come then, swine of St Thomas, do whatever appears right in your eyes. You shall always find Luther like a bear in your road or a lion in your path. He will thunder upon you from every quarter, and will never allow you a moment's

* *Ignis et furor insulsiſſimorum aſinorum et Thomisticorum porcorum.* (Centra Henricum Regem Opp. Lat. ii. p. 331.) There is in these speeches something that reminds us of the language used by the great agitator of Great Britain. There is, however, more force and nobleness in the orator of the sixteenth than in the orator of the nineteenth century. (See British Review, Nov. 1835. The reign of O'Connell.) "The washed swine of civilized society," etc. p. 30.

peace until he shall have pounded your iron brains, and reduced your brass foreheads to powder."

Luther first reproaches Henry VIII. with having rested his doctrines alone upon the decrees and arguments of men. "For me," said he, "I do not cease to cry, The Gospel! the Gospel! Christ! Christ! . . . And my adversaries never stop replying, Customs, Customs! Ordinances, Ordinances! The Fathers, the Fathers! Let your faith, says St Paul, be founded, not upon the wisdom of men, but upon the power of God. And the apostle, by this clap of thunder which comes from heaven, overthrows and disperses, as the wind scatters the dust, all the foolish fancies of this Henry." Confused and terrified, the Thomasites, the Papists, and the Henrites, fall prostrate before the thunder of these words.

He afterwards refutes in detail the writing of the king, and upsets one after another all his arguments, with a precision, a spirit, and a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the history of the church, but at same time with an assurance, a disdain, and a violence, which ought not to surprise us.

Arrived at the end of his discourse, Luther becomes again indignant to find that his adversary still draws all his reasonings from the fathers; for this formed, in fact, the real basis of the controversy. "To all the words of the fathers, of men, of angels, or of devils," said he, "I oppose, not the antiquity of customs, nor their multitude, but the words of Eternal Majesty, the gospel of which they themselves are constrained to approve. It is to it that I cling; it is upon it I rest; it is in it I glory, and triumph, and give offence to the Papists, to the Thomasites, to the Henrys, or to the Sophists, and all the swine in hell. The King of Heaven is on my side, and it is for this reason I fear nothing, even although a thousand Augustines, a thousand Cyprians, and a thousand of those churches of which Henry is the defender, were to rise up against me. It is a small matter for me to despise and crush a king of the earth, seeing that he himself has not been afraid to blaspheme in his discourses the King of Heaven, and to profane its holiness by the most audacious lies."

"Papists," exclaimed he, in conclusion, "shall you not put a stop to your vain pursuits? But do whatever you please. It must happen, however, that before this gospel that I, Martin Luther, have preached, shall fall and perish popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, and sin, and all that is not Jesus Christ or in Jesus Christ."

Such was the manner in which the poor monk replied to the king. His violence certainly cannot be excused, if it be judged according to the rule he himself invokes, namely, according to the word of God. It cannot even be justified either by an allusion to the rudeness of the age; for Melancthon knew how to observe the laws of propriety in his writings; or by a reference to the energy of Luther's character, for if this energy can be to some extent recognised in his language, passion must likewise be acknowledged in a far greater degree. It is much better, therefore, to grant that censure was due to the production in question. Nevertheless, to be just, let us remark that in the times of the sixteenth century such violence did not appear so strange as it does at the present day. Learned men were then an instrument of power, as well as princes, and Henry had attacked Luther in

the character of an author: while Luther replied to him in accordance with that law in the republic of letters, which asserts that it is necessary to consider truth with reference to what is said, and not with respect to the quality of the person who speaks. Let us remember also that when that same king turned against the pope, the insults which were heaped upon him by the Roman writers, and the pope himself, far exceeded all that Luther had previously addressed to him.

Moreover, if Luther called Doctor Eck an ass and Henry VIII. a sow, he rejected with indignation the intervention of the secular arm, at the same time that Doctor Eck composed a dissertation in order to prove that heretics ought to be burned, and that Henry VIII. erected scaffolds with the view of carrying into effect the precepts of the chancellor of Ingolstadt.

The emotion experienced within the court of the king was extreme. Surry, Wolsey, and the multitude of courtesans, caused a diversion to be made in the feasts and gay amusements of Greenwich, in order to give vent to their indignation in the disposal of insults and sarcasms. The venerable bishop of Rochester, who had witnessed with joy the young prince, lately intrusted to his care, attempting to break a lance in the cause of the church, was deeply wounded by the attack of the monk. He, therefore, made, amongst the rest, a reply to Luther's remonstrance: and his words are very characteristic alike of his time and his church. "Lay hold upon the young fox which destroys the vineyard, says Christ, in the song of songs; which phrase means," says Fisher, "that hands must be laid on heretics before they grow big. Now Luther has become a large fox, so old, so cunning, and so mischievous, that it is very difficult to catch him. What! do I say a fox? . . . he is a mad dog, a ravishing wolf, a cruel bear, or rather all these animals at once; for the monster incloses several beasts within his bosom."

Thomas More also appeared in the arena with the purpose of confronting the monk of Wittemberg. Although a layman, he pushed his zeal against the cause of the Reformation the length of fanaticism, if he did not advocate the shedding of blood. When young nobles are found to support the cause of Popery, they are seen often to exceed in violence the members of the ecclesiastical body. "Reverend brother, father, drinker, Luther, fugitive from the order of St Augustine, bacchant instructed in both laws, learned doctor of sacred theology." Such is the style adopted in his address to the reformer by one of the most illustrious men of his age, who afterwards, in explaining the manner in which Luther had composed his book against Henry VIII. has said, "He collected together his companions, and invited them to go every one in his own direction to gather up sayings of buffoonery and insult. One hastened to meet with carriage drivers and boatmen, another paid a visit to the baths and gaming houses; this one went to barbers' shops and taverns, and that one to the mills and houses of prostitution. They took a memorandum of all they heard most insolent, most beastly, or most infamous; and, reporting all these injuries and indecencies, they composed therewith the impure sink which is termed the mind of Luther. If he will retract," continued he, "his falsehoods and his calumnies, if he will lay aside his follies and his furies, and if he will swallow his dregs, . . . he shall find some one who will

dispute greatly with him. But if he continues as he has begun, sneering, provoking, dallying, calumniating, and vomiting nothing but filth and offals, . . . let others then do as they choose, but for us, we will prefer to leave the little brother alone with his madness and his nastiness."* Thomas More had much better kept secret his own impurities; for Luther has never been known to pollute his style to such a pitch. The reformer made no answer to these sallies.

But this work increased the favour of Henry VIII. for his creature, More. The king went personally to visit the dependant in his modest dwelling at Chelsea. After dinner, with his arm resting upon the shoulder of his favourite, the king traversed the small garden, while the lady of More and her children, hid behind the window shutters, were unable to turn away their astonished eyes from such an unexpected sight. After a walk of this description, More, who knew his man, said one day to his wife, "If my head could purchase for him a single castle in France, he would not hesitate to allow its being cut off."

The king, thus defended by the bishop of Rochester and by his future chancellors, had no need to resume the labours of his pen. Confused at seeing himself treated, in the face of Europe, as a simple author, Henry VIII. abandoned the dangerous position he had taken up; and, casting to a distance the pen of the theologian, he returned to the more efficacious paths of diplomacy.

An ambassador was sent from the court at Greenwich, intrusted with a letter from the king to the elector and the dukes of Saxony. "A real viper fallen from heaven," said Henry in this epistle, "Luther, pours in plenty his venom upon the earth. He excites rebellion in the church of Jesus Christ; he abolishes the laws; he insults the ruling powers; he stirs up the laity against the priests, and both laity and priests against the pope, and the people against their kings, while he seeks for nothing but to see Christians fighting against and destroying each other, at the same time that the enemies of our faith are expected to welcome this scene of carnage with fearful shouts of laughter."

"What is this doctrine which he calls evangelical, if it be not the doctrine of *Wildlife*? Now, my much honoured uncles, I know what your ancestors have done to destroy that doctrine. They pursued it into Bohemia like a wild beast, and obliging it to run into a ditch, they therein barricaded and shut it up. You will not allow that it should again escape in consequence of your negligence, that it should creep into Saxony, or wander over the whole extent of Germany, and that its smoking nostrils should vomit forth the fire of hell, and spread far and wide the conflagration which your nation has so often desired to extinguish with its blood."

"It is for these reasons, very worthy men, I feel myself constrained to exhort you, and even to supplicate you, in the name of all that is most sacred, to smother quickly this cursed sect established by

* Cochleus triumphs in quoting these passages, which he selects from among what is most beautiful, according to his taste, in the writings of Thomas More. M. Nisard, on the contrary, acknowledges, in his work upon More, for whom he makes an apology with so much heat and erudition, that in these writings "the nastiness inspired by the transport of the Catholic are such that a translation of them is impossible." (Review of both Worlds, v. p. 592.)

Luther. Do not put any person to death if it be possible to avoid such extremes; but if the stubborn heretic continues in his opinion, shed blood without fear, so that this abominable sect may disappear from under the heavens."

The elector and his brother referred the king to a future council. Thus Henry VIII. was far from gaining his object. "So great a name mixed in the dispute," said Paul Sarpi, "served to render it more curious, and to conciliate the universal interest in favour of Luther, as it usually happens in combats and tournaments, in which the spectators have always a feeling for the weaker party, and take pleasure in enhancing the moderate value of its actions."

CHAPTER XI.

General Movement—The Monks—How the Reform Progresses—The Faithful Simple—The Old and New Teachers—The Art of Printing and Literature—Bookselling and Hawking them about.

In reality, an immense movement was accomplished. The Reformation, which it was supposed had been shut up, along with its first doctor, in the confines of a narrow chamber within a strong castle, burst forth with new vigour throughout the whole empire, and indeed, it may be said, throughout the whole extent of christendom. The two people, until now blended together in one common mass, began to separate from each other; and the partisans of a monk, who had no other weapon than his word, placed themselves without fear in front of the servants of Charles V. and Leo X. Luther had scarcely escaped from the enclosures of the walls of Wartburg, the pope had excommunicated all his adherents, the imperial diet had just condemned his doctrine, the princes used their endeavours to crush it in the greater number of the Germanic states, the ministers of Rome reviled it, in the hearing of the people, by their violent invectives, the rest of the states of christendom beseeched Germany to sacrifice an enemy of whom, even at a distance, they feared the attacks, and yet that new party, small in number, and among the members of which there was no method of organization and few ties; nothing, in short, which concentrates the power of a common force, gave alarm even now to the vast, ancient, and powerful domination of Rome, by the energy of its faith and the rapidity of its conquests. Everywhere, as with the warmth of the springtime, the seeds were seen to spring from the earth without effort, and as if by their own wish. Every day gave proof of farther progress; and individuals, villages, towns, and whole cities, were joined in associations to confirm the new confession of the name of Jesus Christ. There were encountered merciless resistance and terrible persecutions; but the mysterious force which impelled forward all this congregation of people was irresistible; and the persecuted, quickening their march, advancing through the perils of exile, prison, and the funeral pile, brought this force to bear in every direction upon their persecutors.

The monastic orders which Rome had extended over the whole surface of christendom, as a net destined to encompass the souls of men, and to hold them captives, were the first to break their bonds and to propagate speedily the new doctrine throughout all the churches of the west. The Augustines of Saxony had proceeded along with Luther, and experienced with him that intimate acquaint-

ance with the holy word which, affording as it were the possession of God himself, undeceived them with reference to Rome and all its superb pretensions. But in the other convents of the same order the light of evangelical truth had also appeared. Sometimes it was perceived by old men, who, like Staupitz, had preserved in the bosom of abused Christianity the healthful doctrines of the truth, and who now asked of God to let his servants depart in peace, for their eyes had seen his salvation. At other times the truth was discerned by young men who had received with the avidity of their age the teaching of Luther. At Nuremberg, at Osnabruck, at Ratisbon; at Dettingen, in Hesse, in Wurtemberg, in Strasburg, in Antwerp, the convents of Augustine monks turned their attention to Jesus Christ, and provoked by their bold conduct the anger of Rome.

But it was not solely within the Augustine convents the movement was confined. Some energetic men followed the example in the monasteries belonging to the other orders, and in spite of the clamours of the monks, who were unwilling to abandon their carnal observances; in spite of passion, contempt, judgments, discipline, and cloistral prisons, these men raised their voices without fear in support of that holy and precious truth which, after so much painful research, so many afflicting doubts, and so many inward struggles, they had at last secured. In the greater number of cloisters, the most spiritual of the religious members, as well as the most pious and best instructed, declared themselves in favour of the reform. Eberlin and Kettenbach attacked in the convent of the Franciscans at Ulm the servile works of monachism, and the superstitious practices of the church, with an eloquence capable of persuading the whole nation; and they insisted upon the abolishment at once of the houses inhabited by monks and those devoted to the purposes of debauch. Another Franciscan, Stephen Kemp, preached the gospel in purity at Hamburg; and opposed a front of brass to the hatred, the envy, the threats, the snares, and the open attacks of the priests, enraged at beholding the multitude to leave their altars and to wait upon the preaching of Kemp.

It was often even the very heads of the convents who were the first enticed to adopt the cause of the reform. The priors at Halberstadt, at Nenenwerk, at Halle, and at Sagan, were seen to shew the example to their friars, or at least heard to declare that, if a monk felt his conscience oppressed with the sense of his monastic vows, they, far from retaining him within the walls of the convent, would carry him upon their shoulders beyond the gates of the place.

In short, throughout all the provinces of Germany, monks were observed to put off at the doors of their monastery their gowns and hoods. Some were driven from these retreats by the violence of their brethren, or of the abbots; while others, of a more mild and pacific disposition, could no longer endure disputes continued without interruption, and the insults, accusations, and hatred, which were heaped upon them, even during their hours of sleep. The larger number of these converts were convinced that the monastic life was opposed to the will of God and the duties of a Christian, some of whom were brought by degrees to the assurance of this fact, while others had on a sudden been struck with its veracity when reading a particular passage of the Bible. The idleness, the grossness, the

ignorance; and meanness which constituted the essence of the mendicant orders, filled with inexpressible disgust the minds of men endowed with elevated souls, who could no longer endure the company of their vulgar associates. A Franciscan, going his rounds, presented himself one day with his begging-box in his hand, and asked for alms, in a smithy at Nuremberg. "Wherefore," said the master of the forge, "do you not rather gain your bread by the labour of your own hands?" At these words the robust monk cast off his gown, and, taking up the hammer, began to use it with dexterous force upon the anvil. The idle mendicant had become an honest artisan, and his gown and box were both sent back to the monastery.

Nevertheless it was not the monks alone who ranged themselves under the standard of the gospel; a still greater number of priests were found to proclaim the truths of the new doctrine. But this doctrine did not even stand in need of preachers to spread abroad a knowledge of its existence; often did it act directly upon the minds of men, and awaken them out of their sound sleep without the intervention of a human voice.

The writings of Luther were read in the cities, in the towns, and even in the villages, and this study was carried on in the evenings, by the fire-side at home, often in the house of the schoolmaster himself. Some men of the country were enraptured with these perusals; they had taken up the Bible with a desire to have their doubts resolved, and they were surprised to observe the astonishing contrast which the Christianity of the Bible exhibited in comparison with their own views. For a while they remained uncertain between the thoughts of the precepts of Rome and those of the Holy Scriptures, but they very soon sought refuge under the protection of that living word which spread abroad in their hearts a light so new and refulgent. While these things were passing in their minds, an evangelical preacher intervened, perhaps a priest, or it might be a monk. He spoke with eloquence and conviction. He proclaimed the truth that Christ had made full atonement for the sins of his people, and he demonstrated from the Scriptures the vanity of works and human penances. A terrible opposition was now formed, and the clergy, nay, even the magistrates, often exerted all their powers to bring back the souls they were about to lose. But there appeared in the new style of preaching an accordance with the contents of the Scriptures and a hidden energy which gained every heart and vanquished the most rebellious spirits. People adopted, at the risk of their goods, and, if necessary, at the risk of their lives, the side of the gospel, and abandoned the meaningless and fantastic orators of Popery. Sometimes the people, irritated at being so long abused by their priests, constrained them to leave their homes; but more frequently the priests, forsaken by their flocks, without offerings or tithes to supply their wants, migrated from their dwellings with sorrowful hearts, in order to find somewhere else the means of subsistence. And while the supporters of the ancient hierarchy withdrew from such places, in mournful mood, and sometimes parting from their former flocks with words of malediction as their expressions of adieu, the people, whom truth and liberty had transported with joy, accosted the new preachers with their acclamations of

delight, and, eager to listen to the word, carried them as in triumph into the churches, and placed them in the pulpits.

A powerful word which came from God at that time renovated the feelings of society. In many instances the people, or their leaders, wrote to certain men, known for the rigour of their faith, to come and instruct them in the ways of truth ; and immediately these men, for the love of the gospel, abandoned alike their personal interests, their families, friends, and country. Frequently, also, persecution obliged the partisans of the Reformation to quit their habitations. They thus were driven to seek shelter in places where they were formerly unknown, and where they were received into some house which offered an asylum to the needy wanderer. In such abodes they spoke of the gospel, and, by reading a few pages to the attentive citizens, they obtained, perhaps at the request of their new friends, permission to preach for once publicly in the temple. . . . In this manner a vast fire was kindled in the city, and the most energetic efforts were insufficient to extinguish its flames. If leave could not be procured to preach in the church, these public discourses were delivered elsewhere. Every place was, in fact, regarded as a temple. At Husum, in Holstein, Herman Tast, who had returned from Wittenberg, and against whom the clergyman of the parish had shut the church-door, preached to an immense crowd in the church-yard, under the shadow of two large trees, not far from the place where, seven hundred years before, Anskar had proclaimed the gospel in the hearing of the heathens. At Arnstadt, Gaspard Guttel preached in the market-place ; while at Dantzic the gospel was declared from the top of a hill in the neighbourhood of the city. At Gosslar, a student from Wittenberg taught the new doctrine on a field planted with lime-trees, which circumstance gave rise to the appellation bestowed on evangelical Christians of the *Brethren of the Lime-trees*.

Whilst the priests displayed, in the eyes of the people, a sordid love of gain, the new preachers declared, " We have received the truth gratuitously, and we will gratuitously give it to you." The idea, often repeated by the new preachers from the pulpit, that Rome had of old sent to the Germans a corrupted gospel, and that Germany now for the first time listened to the word of Christ in its divine and primitive beauty, made a deep impression upon the minds of men. And the grand thought of the equality of all men, of an universal fraternity in Jesus Christ, invested the souls, which had been long weighed down by the yoke of the feudality and Popery of the middle ages, with confidence.

At times some simple Christians, with the New Testament in their hand, offered to justify the doctrine of the reform. The faithful Catholics of Rome retreated in affright ; because it, was to the priests and the monks alone was remitted the care to study and explain the holy writings. These expounders of the faith saw themselves thus obliged to come forward, and a colloquial contention ensued ; but very soon, overwhelmed with the declarations of the Holy Scriptures, quoted by the laymen, the priests and the monks were driven from their posts of opposition. . . . " Unhappily Luther had persuaded his followers," says Cochleus, " that it was unnecessary to add faith to anything saving to the oracles of the holy books." A cry

was now heard in the meetings of the assembly which proclaimed the shameful ignorance of these ancient theologians, who until this period had been considered so wise in the opinion of their party.

Men in the most humble stations, and members of the weaker sex, with the help of the word, were enabled to convince and bring hearts over to the cause of the truth. Extraordinary times are always productive of extraordinary works. A young weaver read the writings of Luther, at Ingolstadt, under the eyes of Doctor Eck, to a crowded congregation. In the same city, the university being anxious to compel a pupil of Melancthon to retract his opinions, a woman, Argala de Staufen, undertook his defence, and invited the doctors to dispute in public with her. Some women and children, as well as artisans and soldiers, were better acquainted with the truth from their knowledge of the Bible than the teachers of schools or the priests of the altar.

Two camps occupied the territories of christendom, and their aspects offered a singular contrast to each other. In front of the old supporters of the hierarchy, who had neglected all acquaintance with languages and the cultivation of literature, (it is one of themselves who thus instructs us,) were ranged ranks of generous youths, addicted to study, searching deeply into the Scriptures, and becoming familiar with the best works of antiquity. Endowed with quick apprehensions, with elevated spirits, and intrepid hearts, these young men speedily acquired a fund of knowledge which, for many ages past, had met with no parallel. It was not alone their faith, full of life, which rendered them superior to their contemporaries, but also an elegance of style, a perfume from antiquity, a true philosophy, with a knowledge of the world, completely strange to former theologians, *veteris farinae*, as Cochleus himself denominates them. Moreover, when these young defenders of the reform were encountered in certain assemblies by the doctors of Rome, they attacked their opponents with an ease and assurance so perfect, that these ignorant men hesitated, became afraid, and fell, in the eyes of the people, into well-merited contempt.

The old edifice was seen to tumble down under the weight of superstition and ignorance, while the new arose upon the firm basis of faith and knowledge. New elements penetrated within the domestic actions of the people. To dulness and stupidity there everywhere succeeded a spirit of research and a thirst after instruction. An active, enlightened, and living faith, took the place of superstitious piety and ascetic contemplations. The works of devotion followed hypocritical practices and penance. The pulpit was instituted instead of the ceremonies of the altar, and the ancient and sovereign sway of the word of God was at last restored to the bosom of the church.

The printing press, that powerful machine to which the fifteenth century had given birth, came to the assistance of such an accumulation of exertions, and its powerful projectiles waged continual war against the defences of the enemy.

The impulse which the Reformation gave to popular literature in Germany was immense. Whilst in the year 1513 there only appeared thirty-five new publications, and but thirty-seven in 1517, the number of books increased with astonishing rapidity after the

appearance of the theses written by Luther, we find, in 1518, seventy-one various writings; in 1519, one hundred and eleven; in 1520, two hundred and eight; in 1521, two hundred and eleven; in 1522, three hundred and forty-seven; in 1523, four hundred and ninety-eight. . . . And where were all these publications issued? Almost always at Wittemberg. And who was the author of these books? Most frequently Luther. The year 1522 brought to light one hundred and thirty works composed by the reformer, and the following year increased its number to one hundred and eighty-three. In the same year there did not appear upon the whole more than twenty Catholic publications. The literature of Germany was thus formed in the midst of combats, and contemporary with its religion. Before the period we speak of, this country had displayed herself as wise, profound, full of courage and agitation, as has been manifested also at an after period. But the national spirit was now discovered for the first time without mixture, and at the very moment of its true appearance, it received the baptism of the fire and enthusiasm of Christianity.

The works which Luther and his friends composed were spread abroad by other hands. Many monks, convinced of the illegality of their monastic ties, and longing to engage in active pursuits after their life of protracted idleness, but too ignorant to proclaim in their own strength the word of God, travelled over the various provinces, and sold in the hamlets and cottages even the books written by Luther and his companions. Germany was soon covered with these bold distributors, and the printers and booksellers received with eagerness all the writings which were consecrated to the cause of the Reformation; while they rejected the books issued by the opposite party, wherein there was usually nothing conspicuous but a display of ignorance and barbarism. If any one, however, was found hardy enough to offer for sale books written in support of Popery, and shewed himself in the fairs, at Frankfort or elsewhere, merchants, lawyers, and men of letters, showered upon him a torrent of mockery and abuse. In vain had the emperor and princes published severe edicts against the writings of the reformers. From the moment that an inquisitorial visit was announced, the merchants, who had received secret notice thereof, hid the books that were ordered to be proscribed; and the multitude, always eager to procure whatever is forbidden, afterwards carried away these books and read them with increased avidity. Nor was it alone in Germany these things happened; the writings of Luther were translated into French, Spanish, English, and Italian, and distributed among the people of these various nations.

CHAPTER XII.

Luther at Zwickau—The Castle of Freyberg—Worms—Frankfort—Universal Movement—Wittemberg, Centre of Reform—Sentiments of Luther.

If the meanest instruments inflicted upon Rome blows of peculiar violence, what must the consequence be when the word of the monk of Wittemberg shall be in many places audibly heard. Soon after the defeat of the new prophets, Luther traversed in a car, clothed in the dress of a layman, the territories of Duke George. His monk's habit was hid, and the reformer appeared to be nothing more than a

simple inhabitant of the country. Had he been recognised, or had he fallen into the hands of the enraged duke, perhaps his career might have been terminated. He was on his way to preach in Zwickau, the birth-place of the pretended prophets. The moment this news was heard in Schneeberg, Annaberg, and the neighbouring districts, crowds hastened towards the above-mentioned town. Fourteen thousand persons arrived in said city, and as there was no temple which could contain so vast a multitude, Luther mounted to the balcony of the town-house, and therefrom preached to a congregation of twenty-five thousand hearers, who covered the market-place, many of whom were mounted on building stones heaped up near the Guild-hall. The servant of Christ spoke energetically concerning the election by grace, when suddenly, from the middle of the assembly, loud cries were heard to proceed. An old woman, with eyes wildly roaming, extended her lean arms, from the top of the stone on which she stood, and seemed anxious, with her spare hand, to withhold that immense crowd which was about to prostrate itself at the feet of Jesus Christ. These savage cries interrupted the discourse of the preacher. "It is the devil," said Seckendorf, "who, assuming the form of an old woman, desires to excite an angry tumult." But this effort was made in vain, for the word of the reformer put to silence the shouts of the evil spirit, and enthusiasm engaged the minds of those many thousand listeners who acknowledged their common alliance with looks of recognition and the shaking of hands, while the disconcerted monks, not being able to raise the storm, very soon saw themselves forced to leave Zwickau.

In the castle of Freyberg resided Duke Henry, the brother of Duke George. His wife, the princess of Mecklenburg, had, in the preceding year, born him a son who had received the name of Morris. This Duke Henry joined to the love of good eating and pleasure the sprightliness and rudeness of the soldier. For the rest, pious according to the fashion of the times, he had made a journey to the Holy Land, and another to St James of Compostella. "At Compostella," he was wont often to tell, "I deposited one hundred florins of gold upon the altar of the saint, and I said to him, O St James! it is in order to please you I have come thus far; I make you a present of this money; but if these rogues (the priests) take it from you, I cannot help it; take good care, therefore, of the money."

A Franciscan and a Dominican, the disciples of Luther, had for some time been accustomed to preach the gospel in Freyberg. The duchess, whose piety had inspired her with a horror for heresy, listened to these preachers in complete astonishment, to find that this mild offer of a Saviour was the thing of which she had been so often admonished to stand in dread. By degrees her understanding was enlightened, and she found peace in Jesus Christ. Whenever Duke George was informed that the gospel was preached in Freyberg, he requested his brother to oppose the introduction of such novelties. The chancellor Strehlin and the canons seconded the representations of the duke with their fantastic opinions. Thus a great disturbance was raised in the court at Freyberg, and Duke Henry was induced to accost his wife in terms of severe reprimand and coarse invective, and on more occasions than one the pious duchess was seen to water

the cradle of her infant with a shower of tears. By degrees, however, her prayers and her mild disposition gained the heart of her husband, and this rude soldier was so much softened, as to enter into sweet harmony with the views of his spouse, and to join with her in prayers near the bed of their child. Upon this little boy a mighty destiny was reposed, and out of this cradle, over which a Christian mother had so often poured her lamentations, God prepared to raise hereafter the defender of the Reformation.

The intrepidity of Luther had greatly moved the inhabitants of Worms. The imperial arrest had caused the magistrates to tremble, and all the churches were closed; but upon a square, covered with an immense crowd, a preacher, from the elevation of a pulpit rudely constructed, proclaimed in impassioned words the truths of the gospel. Did the authorities appear willing to interfere, the crowd disappeared in a moment, and the pulpit was secretly carried away; but, the alarm over, the same pulpit was again reared in some more retired situation, to which the multitude ran to listen anew to the word of Christ. This temporary pulpit was, in fact, every day carried from one place to another, and became the means of confirming that people, still in agitation in consequence of the emotion produced by the grand scene enacted at Worms.

In one of the principal free cities of the empire, namely, at Frankfort on the Maine, all were in a state of commotion. A courageous evangelist, *Ibach*, therein preached the doctrine of salvation through Jesus Christ. The clergy, of whom *Coeheles*, so celebrated for his writings and his hatred, was one, full of anger against this audacious colleague, denounced him before the archbishop of Mentz. The council, although timid, undertook at the same time his defence, but in vain, for the clergy dismissed the evangelical minister and drove him from the place. Rome here triumphed, and everything seemed lost, in so much that the faithful few believed themselves for ever deprived of the word, but at the very moment when these citizens shewed themselves disposed to yield to the tyranny of the priests, several noblemen declared themselves in favour of the gospel. *Max* of Molnheim, *Harmuth* of Cronberg, *George* of Stockheim, and *Emeric* of Reiffenstein, whose properties were situated in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, wrote to the council, "We find ourselves constrained to rise against these spiritual wolves." And, afterwards addressing themselves to the clergy, they said, "Do you embrace the evangelical doctrine, and recall *Ibach*, or we will withhold the payment of tithes."

The people, who were enamoured of the reform, encouraged by the language of these noblemen, became intrepid; and one day, at the moment when the priest, the most opposed to the cause of the Reformation, the persecutor of *Ibach*, *Peter Mayer*, was proceeding on his way to the church to preach against the heretics, a great tumult speedily arose. *Mayer*, alarmed, fled from the temple in haste, and this movement imparted confidence to the council, who issued an ordinance, enjoining all preachers to preach purely the word of God, or to leave the city.

The light which was diffused from Wittenberg, as from the centre of the nation, was thus spread abroad throughout the whole districts of the empire. In the west, the countries of Berg, Cleves, Lippstadt,

Munster, Wesel, Miltenberg, Mentz, Deux-Ponts, Strasburg, received the gospel. In the south, Hof, Schlessstadt, Bamberg, Esslingen, Hall in Swabia, Heilbronn, Augsburg, Ulm, and many other places accepted of the same with joy. In the east the duchy of Liegnitz, Prussia, and Pomerania opened their gates to welcome the truth. In the north, Brunswick, Halberstadt, Gosslar, Celle, Friesland, Bremen, Hamburg, Holstein, and even Denmark, and other neighbouring countries, became animated at the sound of the new doctrine.

The elector had declared that he would allow the bishops to preach freely in his states, but that he would not deliver up to them a single individual. In consequence of this declaration, evangelical preachers, driven out of other countries, were soon seen to seek refuge in Saxony. Ibach from Frankfort, Eberlin from Ulm, Kauxdorf from Magdeburg, Valentine Mustens, whom the canons of Halberstadt had horribly mutilated, and several other faithful ministers, belonging to the different districts of Germany, hurried towards Wittemberg, as to the only asylum wherein they could find safety. They there entered into familiar converse with the reformers; they received additional strength to their faith, and they became joint partakers of the trials which they had severally undergone and of the knowledge they had individually acquired. It is in this manner the waters of many rivers return, through the clouds, from the vast expanse of the ocean, to supply the ice upon the mountains from which they descend at another time upon the plains.

The work now developing its force in Wittemberg, composed, in such a manner, of so many different elements, became always more decidedly the work of the nation, of Europe, and of christendom. This school, founded by Frederick, and enlivened by Luther, formed the centre of the immense revolution which then renovated the church, and there was impressed upon this revolution a real and living union, much superior to the apparent unity of Rome. The Bible reigned in Wittemberg, and its oracles were everywhere listened to. This new academy, the most recently established, had acquired in christendom the rank and influence which had belonged until this period to the ancient university of Paris. The crowds which hastened to Wittemberg, from every quarter of Europe, caused to be known there the wants of the church and the people; and quitting these walls, become sacred in the eyes of these visitors, they carried back to the church and the people that word of grace destined to cure and to save the nations.

Luther, in the prospect of such success, experienced an increase in the courage of his heart. He beheld that weak enterprise, begun in the midst of so much fear and so many agonizing thoughts, to change the face of the Christian world, and he was amazed at such extraordinary results. He had never contemplated similar effects at the time when he set himself in opposition to the frauds of Tezel. Prostrate before that God whom he adored, he acknowledged that this work was indeed the working of his hand, and he triumphed in the thought of a victory which could no more be taken from him. "Our enemies threaten us with death," said he to the knight, Harmut of Cronberg; "whereas, if they had as much wisdom as they have displayed folly, it would, on the contrary, be with life they menaced us. What mockery and what an outrage it is to pretend to threaten

with death Christ or Christians, those who are the masters and the conquerors of death? . . . It is as if I wished to frighten a man by saddling his horse for him and then helping him to mount upon his back. They do not seem to know that Christ has risen from the dead? He is still in their view lying in the sepulchre; what do I say! . . . He is still in hell. But we ourselves know he is alive." He waxed yet more angry at the thought of his being regarded as the author of a work in the smallest details of which he himself recognised the hand of his God. "Several persons believe on account of me," said he, "but those only are in the truth who shall remain faithful, although they were even to learn—which God preserve me from—that I had renounced Jesus Christ. The true disciple does not believe in Luther but in Jesus Christ. For myself, I am not anxious about Luther. Let him be a saint or a scoundrel, of what consequence can that be? It is not him I preach, it is Christ. If the devil can take him let him do so! But let Christ remain with us and we shall endure also."

In short, it is in vain to strive to explain this grand movement as connected merely with human events and circumstances. Learned men, it is true, sharpened their wits and hurled also bitter invectives against the monks and against the pope; the shout of liberty, so often uttered by Germany against the tyranny of the Italians, was heard ringing afresh within the walls of the castles and over the plains of the provinces, and the people rejoiced when they recognised the song of the "nightingale of Wittenberg," a presage of the spring which everywhere began to appear. But it was not an outward movement, similar to that required by the wants of a terrestrial liberty, which now progressed towards its accomplishment. Those who affirm that the Reformation was effected by offering to the princes the wealth of the convents, to the priests permission to marry, or to the people the enjoyment of liberty, strangely misunderstand the nature of that reform. Without doubt a useful employment of the funds devoted until then to the support of monastic idleness, without doubt marriage and liberty, the gifts of God, may have favoured the development of this reform; but the moving force was not found in these appliances. A minute revolution was then at work in the depths of the human heart. The Christian people were seen anew to learn to love, to pardon, to pray, to suffer, and even to die on account of a truth which promised them rest alone in heaven. The church was transformed. Christianity broke the cords with which it had been so long fettered, and walked abroad alive in the ways of a world which had forgotten its former power. The hand that made the world had again been laid upon it; and the gospel, re-appearing in the midst of many nations, increased the speed of its course, in spite of the powerful and repeated efforts of both priests and kings, in like manner as the ocean which, when the hand of God presses upon the billows, rises in awful grandeur along the shores, without the intervention of any human power being able to stay its progress.

BOOK X.

AGITATIONS, REVERSES, AND PROGRESS.—(1522-1526.)

CHAPTER I.

Political Element—Want of Enthusiasm at Rome—Siege of Pampeluna—Courage of Inigo—Transformation—Luther and Loyola—Visions—The Two Principles.

The Reformation, which had only at first existed within the hearts of a few pious men, had now entered into the worship and life of the church; and it was natural that it should thence pursue its progress, until it reached the interior of civil alliances and the life of nations. Its advance was always from within outwardly; and we are now about to behold that grand revolution to take possession of the political life of the people.

During the course of nearly eight centuries, Europe had formed one vast priestly union. Emperors and kings had existed under the patronage of the popes. And if there may have been instances, especially in France and Germany, of energetic resistance to audacious pretensions, Rome had finally acquired the superiority, and princes had been seen, the docile executors of her terrible judgments, to make war in order to ensure her empire against a few simple Christians submissive to their domination, and to shed on her account, with profusion, the blood of the children of their people.

No blow could be inflicted upon this vast ecclesiastical state, of which the pope was the head, without endangering the safety of existing political relations.

At the time we speak of two grand ideas agitated the public mind of Germany. On the one hand a wish was felt to renovate the faith in religion; while on the other a desire was entertained to establish a national government, wherein the Germanic states might be represented, and which might form a counterpoise to the power of the emperors.

The elector Frederick had insisted upon this latter point, at the time of the election which fixed the successor to the crown of Maximilian, and the youthful Charles had thereto given his consent. A national government, composed of the imperial governor and of representatives from the electors and assemblies, had been in consequence completed.

Thus it was Luther reformed the church and Frederick of Saxony reformed the state.

But whilst that, simultaneously with the religious reform, important political modifications were introduced by the heads of the nation, it was to be feared that the "commonalty" might also share in these lively feelings after amendment, and might compromise, by its religious and political excesses, the interests of both reformations.

Nor indeed was this violent and fanatical intrusion, which appears inevitable at the moment when society is in a state of agitation or transformation, wanting in the affairs of Germany at the time now under our consideration.

There were, besides, other causes sufficient to create these ardent commotions.

The emperor and the pope had become united in their opposition

to the cause of reform, and this cause appeared destined to fall beneath the assaults of such powerful adversaries. Policy, interest, and ambition imposed upon Charles V. and Leo X. an obligation to seek the destruction of the Reformation. But these selfish motives constitute bad champions in a conflict with the truth. Devotion to a cause which is regarded as sacred cannot be overcome by a contrary tendency. Now Rome, submissive to the impulsion of Leo X., was enthusiastic in its admiration of a sonnet or a piece of music, but was insensible to the religion of Jesus Christ; and if some thoughtless futile intervened, in place of becoming more pure, and returning to the Christianity of the apostles, she directed her attention to the affairs of alliances, wars, conquests, or treaties, which might assure her the possession of new provinces, while she left, with cold disdain, the Reformation to diffuse in every quarter the spirit of religious enthusiasm, and to march triumphantly towards the most noble conquests. The enemy which it had been sworn to crush, at the assemblies within the proud building at Worms, presented himself full of daring and strength; the struggle must therefore be animated; blood must in consequence be shed.

Nevertheless some of the most pressing dangers to which the Reformation was exposed appeared at this time to withdraw to a distance. The young Charles, standing one day, before the publication of the edict of Worms, at a window of his palace, in company with his confessor, had said, it is true, placing at sametime his right hand upon his heart, "I swear to order to be hanged from that window the first person who, after the publication of my edict, shall dare to declare himself a Lutheran." But very soon after this his zeal had greatly relented. His project of re-establishing the ancient glory of the holy empire, that is to say, of augmenting his own power, had been coldly received. Displeased with Germany, Charles quitted his residence on the banks of the Rhine, turned his steps towards the Netherlands, and took occasion, during his stay in that country, to afford the monks certain satisfactions which he had seen it impracticable to bestow within the confines of the empire. The works of Luther were consigned to the fire in Ghent, by the hands of the hangman, with all possible solemnity. More than fifty thousand spectators were present at the performance of the auto-da-fe, while the emperor himself assisted in the ceremony with a smile of approbation on his countenance. After this transaction, he set off for Spain, where wars and troubles constrained him, at least for a time, to leave Germany at rest. Seeing that he was refused in the empire the power he claimed, he was willing to let others pursue and combat there with the heretic of Wittemberg. Cares of a graver cast in his view now occupied his thoughts.

In fact, Francis I., impatient to begin the battle with his rival, had given the fatal challenge. Under the pretext of re-establishing in their patrimony the children of John of Albert, the King of Navarre, he had commenced a struggle, long and bloody, which was destined to last during the whole course of his life, by ordering the entrance into that kingdom, under the command of Lesparre, of an army whose rapid conquests were only terminated before the fortresses of Pampeluna.

Upon these strong walls an enthusiasm was fated to be kindled

which must afterwards be brought in opposition to the enthusiasm of the reformer, and to breathe into Popery a new spirit of energy, of devotedness, and of domination. Pampeluna was doomed to become, as it were, the cradle of the rival to the monk of Wittemberg.

The chivalric spirit which had so long animated the Christian world, was now only to be found in Spain. The wars against the Moors, scarcely finished in the Peninsula, and constantly renewed in Africa, in addition to distant and adventurous expeditions beyond the seas, had nursed in the Castillian youth that enthusiastic and ingenious valour of which Amadis had imagined the ideal.

Among the defenders of Pampeluna there was found a young gentleman named Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, the youngest of a family of thirteen children. Reared at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, Recalde, endowed with all the graces of a handsome exterior, and dexterous in the management of the sword and the lance, panted with ardour after the glories of knighthood. To clothe himself in shining armour, to mount a spirited charger, to risk the brilliant dangers of a tournament, to run the chances of hazardous adventures, to take a part in the impassioned debates of faction, and to display for St Peter as much devotion as for his mistress, constituted the life of a young knight.

The governor of Navarre having gone to seek for assistance in Spain, had intrusted to Inigo and a few noblemen the keeping of Pampeluna. The latter mentioned heroes, seeing the superiority of the French troops, resolved upon withdrawing from the scene of action. Inigo implored them to confront the army of Lesparre, but finding them immovable in their purpose, he regarded them with indignation, and accused them of cowardice and perfidy, after which, he threw himself alone into the citadel, determined to defend the place at the cost of his life.

The French, received with enthusiasm within the walls of this city of Pampeluna, and having proposed to the commander of the fortress to capitulate, "Let us suffer everything," said Inigo with vehemence to his comrades, "rather than resign." The French then began to batter the walls with their powerful machinery, and very soon they tried an assault. The courage and the words of Inigo had excited the courage of the Spaniards, who repulsed the assailants with their shafts, swords, and spears, while their intrepid leader fought at their head; standing upon the walls, with an eye flashing fire, he brandished his sword, and dealt heavy blows upon the enemy. Suddenly a cannon ball struck the wall, at the very place the knight defended, a detached stone deeply wounded his right leg, and the ball, sent back by the violence of the blow, severely bruised his left. Inigo fell down senseless on the spot, and immediately the garrison surrendered at discretion; but the French, full of admiration for the courage of their young adversary, had him conveyed in a litter to the house of his parents at the castle of Loyola. It was in this lovely mansion, of which he afterwards bore the name, that Inigo was born, eight years after Luther, of one of the most illustrious families belonging to these countries.

A mournful operation had become necessary; but in the midst of the most agonizing sufferings, Inigo shut together his fingers with strong emotion, but uttered not a single accent of complaint.

Forced to undergo a painful confinement, he had an opportunity of occupying in some degree his lively imagination. For want of the romances of knighthood, with which he had before amused his mind, he was supplied with the life of Jesus Christ and the legends, or the *Flowers of the Saints*. This description of reading, in his condition of solitude and sickness, made upon his mind an extraordinary impression. He believed he saw to withdraw from his vision, to vanish and become extinct, the noisy life of tournaments and battles, which until then had solely occupied his thoughts, and at the same time a more glorious career seemed to open to his astonished view. The humble deeds of the saints and their heroic sufferings appeared to him, on a sudden, as more worthy of praise than all the mighty feats of arms accomplished by knighthood. Stretched out upon his bed, and heated with fever, he abandoned himself to the influence of the most contradictory ideas. The world he determined to forsake and that in whose holy mortifications he longed to participate at once assailed his imagination; the one with its pleasures, the other with its rigorous observances, and these two worlds engaged within his mind in an obstinate conflict. "What would become of me," said he, "if I were to imitate the deeds of St Francis or St Dominic?" Then the image of the lady to whom he had betrothed his heart presented itself to his view. "She is not a countess," exclaimed he with ingenuous vanity; "she is not a duchess, she is more than all that." . . . But these thoughts left him full of sadness and impatience, while that his project of following the example of the saints filled his mind with peace and joy.

From that moment his choice was determined, and, scarcely recovered from his wounds, he resolved to bid adieu to the world. After having, like Luther, enjoyed a parting meal with his former companions in arms, he departed all alone, and with the utmost secrecy, in order to gain the solitary dwellings which the hermits of St Benedict had cut in the rocks at the mountains of Montserrat. Urged, not by a persuasion of his sins, or of the need of Divine grace, but by the desire of becoming the "knight of Mary," and of rendering himself illustrious by means of mortifications and pious deeds, like the whole army of saints, he made confession during the space of three days, gave his rich garments to a beggar, and dressed himself in sackcloth with a cord tied round his waist. Then calling to recollection the famous vigil at arms related by Amadis de Gaul, he hung up his sword before an image of Mary, passed the night in watching in his new and strange costume, and practised, sometimes on his knees, at other times in an upright posture, but always in the act of prayer, and with the pilgrim's staff in his hand, all the devout exercises which the illustrious Amadis de Gaul had of old performed. "It was in this manner," said one of the biographers of the saint, the jesuite Maffei, "that whilst Satan armed Martin Luther against every law human and divine, and that that infamous heresiarch appeared at Worms, and there declared an impious war with the apostolic see, Christ, by a call of his divine providence, raised up this new combatant, and binding him, and afterwards all his followers, to the services of the Roman pontiff, opposed him to the license and fury of the heretical perversity."

Loyola, still crippling with one of his legs, dragged himself along

the path of unfrequented and dreary roads to Manresa, where he entered into the convent of the Dominicans, in order to give himself over, in that obscure place, to the most austere acts of penance. Like Luther, he went every day to beg from door to door the means of subsistence. He remained for seven hours upon his knees, and flogged himself regularly three times a-day; at midnight he renewed his usages of prayer; he allowed his hair and his nails to grow without cutting them, and it was impossible to recognise in the pale and wan visage of the monk of Manresa the young and gallant knight of Pampeluna.

Nevertheless the moment had arrived when religious ideas, which had been little more until now, in the sight of Inigo, than a game of chivalry, were destined to assume in his mind a graver aspect, and to subject him to the influences of a power of which he was still ignorant. On a sudden, without the recognition of anything to which he could attribute the change, the joy which he had up till this period experienced entirely forsook his mind. In vain he had recourse to prayer and to the singing of psalms; he could find no repose in such exercises. His imagination had ceased to surround him with pleasing anticipations, and he was left alone to the warnings of his conscience. He could not comprehend the meaning of a state so unusual with him, and he asked in amazement whether God, after all the sacrifices he had made, could still be angry with him. Night and day, dark forebodings agitated his soul; he shed abundance of bitter tears; he conjured to return the peace he had lost; . . . but all such efforts were of no avail. He renewed, therefore, the long confession he had formerly made at Montserrat. "Perhaps," thought he, "I may have forgotten something." But this confession rather increased his agony; for it brought back to his recollection all his previous transgressions. He wandered about in melancholy mood, oppressed with sorrow, whilst his conscience continued to upbraid him with having done nothing during the whole course of his life but to heap sin upon sin, and the wretched man, abandoned to the sway of overwhelming fears, made the vault of his cell to ring with the hollow sounds of his groanings.

Strange thoughts then pressed upon his heart. Finding no relief from the operations of confession, or of divers ordinances of the church, he began, like Luther, to entertain doubts of their efficacy. But instead of turning his views away from the works of men to fix his regards upon the all-sufficient work of Christ, he asked of himself if it were not incumbent upon him to go again in search of worldly glory. His soul darted with eagerness towards that world from which he had fled, but immediately he drew back in a fit of alarm.

Was there, then, any difference between the monk of Manresa and the monk of Erfurt? In some secondary lineaments, without doubt, but the condition of their souls was the same. Both of them mournfully experienced the malignity of their sins. Both sought with eagerness reconciliation with God, and longed to receive within their heart an assurance of pardon. Had a second Staupitz, with the Bible in his hand, made his appearance in the convent of Manresa, perhaps Inigo might have become the Luther of the Peninsula. These two great men of the sixteenth century, these two founders of two spiritual powers, which for three hundred years have warred

against each other, were, therefore, brothers; and, perhaps, had they met together, Luther and Loyola might have fallen into each other's arms, and might have mingled their tears and their vows in concert.

But these two monks, from the moment we have reached, were destined to follow paths altogether different.

Inigo, in place of acknowledging that his remorse was intended to encourage him to throw himself down at the foot of the cross, persuaded himself that these inward revilings proceeded, not from God, but from the devil, and he adopted the resolution to think no more about his sins, but to wipe them from his memory, and to annihilate them in eternal oblivion. Luther directed his wishes towards Christ, Loyola only returned to place his confidence in himself.

Many visions speedily appeared to confirm Inigo in the conviction he had assumed. His own resolutions had usurped the place of the Saviour's grace; his own imagination had equally possessed the place of his word. Inigo had recognised the voice of God in his conscience as the voice of the demon, and so it is that the rest of his history shall represent him given over to the inspirations of the spirit of darkness.

On one occasion, Loyola had an encounter with an old woman, as Luther, in the time of his agony, had been visited by an old man. But the old Spanish woman, in place of announcing to the penitent of Manresa the remission of sins, predicted to him certain apparitions of Jesus. Such was the Christianity to which, like the prophets of Zwickau, Loyola had recourse. Inigo did not seek to find the truth in the Holy Scriptures; but he imagined, in their room, certain immediate communications with the kingdom of spirits. And very soon he lived alone in dreams of ecstasy and contemplation.

One day, on his way to the church of St Paul, situated beyond the gates of the city, he walked along, plunged in deep meditation, the banks of the Llobregat, and at last sat down upon the sward. His eyes were fixed upon the river whose deep waters glided past his position, and he became lost in thought. Suddenly he was entranced, and discovered with his eyes that which men scarcely comprehend only after much reading, watching, and labour. He arose, and stood upright upon the banks of the river, and appeared to himself to have become another man. He then threw himself upon his knees at the foot of a cross which appeared in the neighbourhood, determined to sacrifice his life to the service of that cause whose mysteries had just been revealed to him.

From this moment visions were offered more frequently to his view. Seated upon the stair of St Dominic at Manresa, he was singing one day some psalms to the Holy Virgin. On a sudden his soul was engaged in a trance; he remained in an immovable posture, plunged in contemplation; the mystery of the Holy Trinity was disclosed to his sight under some magnificent symbols. He shed a quantity of tears, he uttered heavy sobbings, and all that day he did not cease to speak of this ineffable vision.

These numerous apparitions had resolved all his doubts; he believed, not like Luther, because the objects of faith were described in the word of God, but on account of the visions he had seen. "Although there had been no Bible," say his apologists, "although these mysteries may never have been revealed in the Scriptures; he would

have believed in them, for God had declared himself to him." Luther, at the time he had received his doctor's degree, had taken an oath to believe the Holy Scriptures, and the authority, alone infallible, of the word of God had become the chief foundation of the Reformation. Loyola now pledged an oath to believe in dreams and visions : and many fantastic apparitions became the principle of his life and his faith.

The sojourn of Luther in the convent of Eifurt, and that of Loyola in the convent of Manresa, respectively explain to us the spirits of the Reformation and of modern Popery. We will not follow to Jerusalem, to which place he went after leaving the cloister, the monk who was destined to refresh the exhausted strength of Rome. We shall meet with him at a latter period in the course of this history.

CHAPTER II.

Victory of the Pope—Death of Leo X.—Oratory of the Divine Love—Adrian VI.—Plan of Reform—Opposition.

While such things were passing in Spain, Rome herself was seen to assume a more serious character. The grand patron of music, of the chase, and of feasts, disappeared from the seat of the pontifical throne, to give place to the ascension of a grave and pious monk.

Leo X. had experienced much joy on receiving information respecting the edict of Worms and the captivity of Luther ; and had forthwith, in token of victory, ordered the image and the writings of the reformer to be destroyed by fire. This was the second or third time Popery had indulged in the same innocent amusement. At the same time Leo X., wishing to testify his gratitude to Charles V., united his army with that of the emperor, and the French were forced to quit Parma, Placenza, and Millan, allowing the cousin of the pope, the cardinal Julius of Medicis, to enter into possession of the last-named city. In this manner the pope seemed about to resume the summit of power.

It was now near the beginning of winter, in the year 1521, and Leo X. was accustomed to pass the autumn in the country. He was at this season seen to quit Rome without his surplice, and, what was yet more scandalous, said his master of ceremonies, wearing boots. He hunted birds at Viterbo, the stag at Corneto, and the lake of Bolsena afforded him the pleasures of fishing ; proceeding afterwards to pass some time in the midst of festivities at Malliana, his favourite retreat. Bands of musicians and purveyors, with every description of artisan, whose talents could add to the delights of this charming villa, were crowded around the mansion of the sovereign pontiff. It was at this place his Holiness was residing when intelligence was brought him of the capture of Milan. Immediately a great commotion was raised in the villa. The courtiers and officers were unable to restrain their excessive joy ; the Swiss soldiers fired rounds of musketry, and Leo, transported beyond measure, walked up and down his chamber the whole night, often gazing from the window upon the scenes of mirth exhibited by the Swiss and the natives of the place. The pope returned to Rome in a fatigued but intoxicated condition, and scarcely had he reached the Vatican before he was

seized with a sudden illness. "Pray for me," said he to his servants. There was not even time left to administer the holy sacrament, and Leo died in the full vigour of life (forty-seven years of age) in the hour of triumph, and amidst the noise of festivals.

The people, on viewing the coffin of the sovereign pontiff, gave vent to expressions of invective. They could not forgive his having died without receiving the sacrament, and having left an accumulated sum of debt in consequence of his lavish expenditure. "You came to the pontificate like a fox," said the Romans, "you shewed yourself like a lion when in possession thereof, and you have left it like a dog." Such were the lamentations with which Rome honoured the pope who had excommunicated the Reformation, and whose name seems to distinguish one of the great epochs of history.

Nevertheless, a feeble reaction against the spirit of Leo and of Rome had already commenced within the precincts of Rome itself. Some pious men had therein founded an oratory, for their common edification, close to the spot where tradition assures us that the first assembly of Christians congregated together. Contarini, who had listened to Luther in Worms, was the leader of these pious priests. Thus there commenced at Rome, almost at the same moment as at Wittenberg, a species of Reformation. It has been asserted, with truth, that wherever there is the germ of piety, there also is found the germ of reform. But these good intentions were early doomed to fade away.

At other times, to succeed Leo X., choice would have been made of a Gregory VII. or an Innocent III., if such men could still be found in existence; but the interests of the empire were now connected with those of the church, and Charles V. required a pope who should prove devoted to his cause. The cardinal of Medicis, at an after period pope, under the title of Clement VII., seeing that he could not on this occasion obtain the tiara, exclaimed, "Take it, cardinal Tortosa, my old man, whom every one regards as a saint." This prelate, born at Utrecht, in the bosom of a citizen's family, was in reality elected and reigned under the name of Adrian VI. He had formerly been a professor in Louvain, and afterwards became the preceptor of Charles, by whose influence, as emperor, he had been clothed in 1517 with the purple robe of Rome. The cardinal de Vio supported the proposition—"Adrian," said he, "had taken a great interest in the condemnation of Luther, through the doctors of Louvain."

The cardinals, fatigued and surprised, elected this foreigner, but very soon recovering their presence of mind; they were, in consequence of their choice, says one of the chronicles of the times, almost struck dead with alarm. The hope that the rigid man of the Netherlands would not accept the appointment at first afforded them some consolation; but such a hope was of short duration. Pasquine represented the pontiff elect under the character of a schoolmaster, and the cardinals in the likeness of young boys whom he chastised. The people were so enraged, that the members of the conclave reckoned themselves happy to escape the penalty of being thrown into the river. In Holland, on the contrary, great demonstrations were displayed in token of the joy there experienced at the prospect of giving a pope to the church. "Utrecht has planted; Louvain has

watered, and the emperor hath given the increase," was written on the tapestry suspended on the outside of the houses. Some person wrote under these words, however, "and God has here done nothing."

In spite of the contempt expressed at first by the people of Rome, Adrian VI. proceeded to that city in the month of August. 1522, and was there cordially received. It was said that he had five thousand benefices to dispose of, and every one calculated upon receiving his own share. For many years the papal throne had not been occupied by a pontiff of such distinction. Just, active, learned, pious, simple, and of irreproachable conduct, he did not allow himself to be blinded either by favour or by passion. He arrived at the Vatican with his ancient governess, whom he charged to continue to provide for his moderate wants in an humble manner, within the magnificent palace which Leo had filled with the stores of luxury and dissipation. He was not possessed of the taste of his predecessor. As he was shewn the magnificent group of Laocoon, discovered some years before this time, and acquired at a great price by Julius II., he turned away coldly from the sight, saying, "These are the idols of Pagans." "I would like much better," he also wrote, "to serve God in my provostship of Louvain than by being pope in Rome."

Adrian, struck with the dangers with which the Reformation threatened the religion of the middle ages, and not like the Italians, with those to which it exposed Rome and her hierarchy, seriously desired to confront and to stop the Reformation; and the best way to succeed in this attempt appeared to him to be a reform of the church carried on by the church itself. "The church stands in need of reform," said he, "but it must be proceeded with gradually, or step by step." "The opinion of the pope," said Luther, "is, that between two steps there must intervene some centuries." In reality, centuries had passed away while the church was contemplating some measures of reform. There was no longer any necessity to temporize; action was urgently required. Faithful to his plan, Adrian undertook to banish from the city men of impious character, prevaricators, and usurers—a purpose not easily accomplished; for such individuals formed a considerable portion of the population.

At first the Roman citizens made a jest of his proceedings, but very soon turned their laughter to hatred. The priestly domination, the immense profits which it accumulated, the power of Rome, the games, the feasts, and the luxury which filled the city, were all lost without a hope of return if apostolic manners were to be finally established.

The re-establishment of discipline met especially with an energetic opposition. "To accomplish such a design," said the grand penitentiary cardinal, "you will first require to establish the fervour of Christians. The remedy is too strong for the patient, and shall occasion his death. You may tremble lest in your desire to preserve Germany you should lose Italy." In fact, Adrian had very soon more reason to dread Romanism than he had to fear Lutheranism itself.

Endeavours were made to keep him within the path he so much desired to quit. The old and cunning cardinal Soderin de Volterre, the companion of Alexander VI., of Julius II., and of Leo X., often used words in the presence of the honest Adrian calculated to make him understand the part, so new to him, which he was called upon to perform. "The heretics," said Soderin one day, "have in

all ages spoken of the corrupted manners of the court of Rome, and nevertheless the popes have never sought to change them." "It is never by reforms," said he on another occasion, "that heresies have ever been extinguished up to the present day; it is by crusades." "Ah," replied the pontiff, drawing a deep sigh, "how unhappy is the condition of popes, since they have not even the liberty to do good."

CHAPTER III.

Diet of Nuremberg—Invasion of Soliman—The Nuncio demands the Death of Luther—The Preachers of Nuremberg—Promise of the Reform—Griefs of the Nation—Resolution of the Diet—Terrible Letter of the Pope—Advice of Luther.

On the 23d of March 1522, before the arrival of Adrian at Rome, the diet had assembled at Nuremberg. Some time before this date the bishops of Mersburg and Misnia had requested permission from the elector of Saxony to make, in his states, a visitation of the convents and churches. Frederick, thinking that the truth must be sufficiently strong to resist error, had given a favourable answer to this request. The visitation, therefore, took place. The bishops and their doctors preached in violent terms against the reform: they exhorted, they threatened, and they supplicated; but their argumentations appeared without conclusion; and when, wishing to have recourse to more effective weapons, they desired the secular arm to accomplish the execution of their decrees, the ministers of the elector replied that examinations must be made with reference to the Bible, and that the elector, at his advanced age, was unable to commence the study of theology. These efforts made by the bishops were ineffectual in leading back a single soul within the pale of the church of Rome; and Luther, who very soon afterwards traversed these countries, and therein delivered animated discourses, effaced the feeble impressions that had here and there been produced.

That which Frederick had refused to do, it was to be feared the brother of the emperor, the Archduke Ferdinand, would concede. That young prince, who presided during a portion of the sittings of the diet, assuming by degrees more resolution, might, indeed, in his zeal, rashly draw the sword which his more prudent and politic brother had wisely allowed to remain in the scabbard. In truth, Ferdinand had begun to pursue with cruelty, in his hereditary states of Austria, the partisans of the Reformation. But God employed at different times, in order to deliver the budding Christianity, the same instrument he made use of to destroy that which was corrupted. The crescent appeared in the terrified provinces of Hungary. On the 9th of August, after a six weeks' siege, Belgrade, the bulwark of that kingdom of the empire, surrendered to the assaults of Soliman. The followers of Mahomet, after having vacated Spain, appeared anxious to gain a fresh entrance into Europe through the east. The diet of Nuremberg were thus constrained to forget the monk of Worms, in being forced to turn their attention exclusively to the sultan of Constantinople. But Charles V. retained in his mind a recollection of both these adversaries. "It is necessary," he wrote to the pope from Valladolid, on the 31st of October, "it is necessary both to arrest the Turks and to punish with the sword the empoisoned doctrine of Luther."

Very soon the storm, which had appeared to advance in a different

direction from the reform, and had turned towards the east, gathered anew over the head of the reformer. His return to Wittemberg, and the zeal which he there displayed, had once more awakened the bitterest feelings of hatred. "Now that it is known where he can be found," said Duke George, "let the resolution of Worms be executed against him." It was soon asserted in Germany that Charles V. and Adrian were about to meet in Nuremberg to hold consultations together. "Satan feels the wound which has been inflicted upon him," said Luther, "therefore he frets and has become exceedingly angry. But Christ has already extended his hand, and he shall quickly trample Satan under his feet, in spite of the gates of hell."

In the month of December 1522, the diet resumed its sittings in Nuremberg. Everything appeared to affirm that, if Soliman had been the great enemy with whom it had to deal in its meetings during the spring, Luther would be the opponent who should occupy its consideration in the deliberations of this winter session. Adrian VI. whose origin was German, flattered himself that he would receive from his own nation a more favourable welcome than could possibly be looked for by a pope whose origin was Italian. He consequently charged Chieregati, whom he had known in Spain, to proceed forthwith to Nuremberg.

At the very opening of the assembly, several princes spoke in vehement language against Luther. The archbishop cardinal of Salzburg, who enjoyed the full confidence of the emperor, was eager that prompt and decisive measures should be adopted before the arrival of the elector of Saxony. The elector Joachim of Brandenburg, always consistent in his conduct, and the chancellor of Trier, equally urged the propriety of executing the edict of Worms. The rest of the princes were in a great proportion undecided, and of conflicting opinions. The state of torment in which the church was placed caused unfeigned regret in the bosom of her most faithful servants. "I would give," exclaimed in a full meeting of the diet, the bishop of Strasburg, "one of my ten fingers to be relieved from the duties of a priest."

Chieregati, in accordance with the cardinal Salzburg, demanded the death of Luther. "It is necessary," said he, on the part of the pope, and shewing in his hand a brief from the pontiff, "it is necessary to separate entirely from his body these mortified members. Your fathers inflicted death at Constance upon John Huss and upon Jerome of Prague; but they live again in Luther. Imitate then the glorious example of your ancestors, and gain, with the help of God and St Peter, a magnificent victory over the infernal dragon."

On hearing the contents of this brief of the pious and moderate Adrian, the larger number of princes were seized with terror. Several of them had begun to comprehend more clearly the arguments of Luther, and they had expected better things from the present pope. In this manner, then, Rome, under Adrian, was not willing to acknowledge her faults: she still prepared the instruments of her vengeance, and the Germanic provinces were doomed to be covered with desolation and blood. Whilst the princes remained in solemn silence, the prelates and the members of the diet devoted to the cause of Rome were tumultuous in their behaviour. "Let him be put to

death," exclaimed they, in answer to the allegations of the envoy from Saxony who attended the meetings of the diet.

Expressions altogether different were uttered in the temples of Nuremberg. Crowds thronged the chapel of the hospital and the churches of the Augustines, of St Sebald, and of St Laurence, in order to be present at the preaching of the gospel. Andrew Osiander preached in the last-named place of worship with great acceptance. Several princes, and particularly Albert, the margrave of Brandenburg, who, in his quality of grand-master of the Teutonic order, took rank immediately after the archbishops, frequently attended the church referred to. And many monks who had abandoned the convents of the city, applied themselves to the pursuits of trade in order to gain their livelihood by means of their own labour.

Chieregati could not tolerate the commission of such audacious proceedings. He demanded that the priests and rebellious monks should be cast into prison. And the diet, in spite of the spirited opposition evinced by the envoys of the elector of Saxony and of the margrave Casimir, resolved to issue an order for the apprehension of the monks, but consenting in the first place to communicate to Osiander and his colleagues the complaints of the nuncio. A committee, which had as president the fanatic cardinal of Salzburg, was intrusted with the execution of this affair. The danger was imminent, the struggle was on the eve of rupture, and the very council of the nation was prepared to engage in its operations.

Meanwhile the citizens of the town anticipated the combat. At the time the diet deliberated concerning the measures to be taken with reference to these ministers, the council of the city of Nuremberg also took into consideration the scheme which should be followed with regard to the resolution of the diet. This body resolved, without thereby exceeding its jurisdiction, that if force were used to carry away the preachers of the city, force would also be resorted to in order to set these prisoners again at liberty. Such a resolution was most significant. The astonished diet in its turn replied to the nuncio, that it was not within its powers to seize upon the preachers of the free city of Nuremberg without their having been convicted of heresy.

Chieregati was greatly vexed with this new outrage against the all-powerful authority of Popery. "Very well," said he determinedly to Ferdinand, "do nothing in the business, but allow me to act. I will cause these heretical preachers to be apprehended in the name of the pope." The moment this strange resolution was made known to the cardinal-archbishop Albert of Mentz and the margrave Casimir, they hurried to meet the legate, and beseeched him to renounce his purpose. The nuncio shewed himself implacable, declaring that obedience to the pope was imperative in the very middle of christendom. These two princes left the legate, by saying to him, "If you persist in your design, we demand of you to give us due notice thereof, for we will quit the city before you may have dared to lay hands upon these preachers." The legate abandoned his project.

Thus despairing of success by the help of authority, the nuncio resolved upon having recourse to other expedients, and with this intention he communicated to the diet the designs and mandates of the pontiff, which, until this hour, he had retained in secret.

But the honest Adrian, a stranger to the ways of the world, did injury, by his very frankness, to the cause whose interests he had so much at heart. "We are well aware," said he, in the resolutions remitted to his legate, "that for many years past many abuses and abominations have been prevalent in the holy city. The contagion has passed from the head into the members; it has descended from the popes to the other ecclesiastical bodies. We desire to reform this Roman court whence has issued so many evils: the whole world participates in this wish, and it is to ensure its accomplishment we have consented to mount upon the throne of the pontiffs."

The partisans of Rome blushed with shame at the repetition of these singular sentences. They found, like Pallavicini, these avowals too sincere. The friends of the Reformation, on the contrary, rejoiced to see Rome herself proclaim the conviction of her own corruptions. There was no longer any doubt of Luther being in the right when the pope admitted the same statements to be true.

The reply of the diet exhibited how far the authority of the sovereign pontiff had declined in the districts of the empire. The spirit of Luther seemed to have passed into the hearts of the representatives of the nation. The moment was indeed favourable: for the ear of Adrian seemed opened to receive the truth; and the diet resolved to have a list made out of all the griefs which, for many ages, Germany had suffered at the hand of Rome, and to transmit this list to the pope.

The legate was terrified at the adoption of such a resolution. He entreated and threatened alternately, but in vain. The secular states were decided in their opinion, and the ecclesiastical states did not see fit to oppose their designs. Eighty special griefs were enumerated: The abuses and the tricks of the popes and of the Roman court to oppress Germany, the scandals and profanations of the clergy, the disorders and the simonies of the ecclesiastical tribunals, the encroachments upon the secular power for the bondage of the conscience, were exposed with as much frankness as force. The states averred that it was from the traditions of men all this corruption proceeded, and they concluded by saying, "If these grievances are not redressed within a given period, we will consult upon other methods whereby to escape from the infliction of so much oppression and suffering." Chieregati, foreseeing the terrible account the diet was about to raise, quitted in haste the city of Nuremberg, in order to avoid the duty of carrying back a message so melancholy and insulting.

Nevertheless, was it not to be feared that the diet would compute for its boldness by sacrificing the life of Luther? Such was at first the consequence dreaded; but a spirit of justice and truth had been diffused into the mind of this assembly. It demanded, like Luther, the convocation in the empire of a free council, and added that, in expectation of the meeting of this council, the pure gospel should meanwhile be preached, and that nothing should be printed without the approbation of a certain number of persons of property and learning. These resolutions enable us to appreciate the immense progress the Reformation had made since the diet of Worms; and yet the Saxon envoy, the knight of Feilitsch, solemnly protested against the censure, however moderate it was, that the diet prescribed. The resolution of the diet exhibits a primary victory gained by the

Reformation, to which more decisive advantages were about to succeed. The Swiss themselves leapt for joy in their mountains. "The Roman pontiff is vanguished in Germany," said Zwingli. "There is no more to do but to seize upon his arms. That is the battle we must fight, and it shall be a furious one; but we have Christ to witness the operations of the conflict." Luther openly declared that it was God himself who had dictated such an edict to the princes.

The rage was excessive in the Vatican among the ministers of Popery. How! was it not enough to have a pope who had deceived all their hopes, and in whose palace neither songs nor games were allowed to pass, but that there must also be addressed to these Romans by secular princes a style of language which Rome detested, and a refusal to put the heretic of Wittenberg to death?

Adrian himself was enraged at the scenes which had transpired in Germany, and it was upon the elector of Saxony he discharged his passion. Never had the pontiffs of Rome given vent to a cry of alarm more energetic, more sincere, or perhaps more touching.

"We have waited long, and perhaps too long," said the pious Adrian, "in the brief which he addressed to the elector; we were willing to see whether or not God would visit your soul, and if you would not at last escape from the snares of Satan. But at the time we looked to gather grapes, there was found nothing but wild grapes. The wind has blown in vain; your wickednesses have not been cast down. Open therefore your eyes and behold the greatness of your fall!" . . .

"If the unity of the church has ceased, if the simple have turned away from the faith which they imbibed from the breast of their mother, if the temples are deserted, if the people are without priests, if the priests do not receive the honour due to their station, and if Christians are left without Christ, to whom do we owe all this, if it be not to you? If Christian peace has fled from the earth, if there is no longer anything in the world but discord, rebellion, theft, assassination, and conflagration; if the cry of war resounds even from the east to the west, and if a universal conflict is about to take place, it is you, it is still you who are the author of all these calamities."

"Do you not see this sacrilegious man (Luther) to destroy with his guilty hands, and to trample with his defiled feet the images of the saints and even the sacred cross of Jesus Christ? . . . Do you not see him in his impious rage exciting the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the priests, and to overthrow the churches of the Lord?"

And what does it signify although the priests thus pointed at as the objects of attack are in themselves addicted to evil courses? Has not the Lord said, *Do as they tell you, and not what they do*; shewing thus the honour that belongs to their order, even although their life be blameable?"

"An apostate rebel, he is not ashamed to pollute the vases consecrated to God; he drags out of their sanctuaries the holy virgins consecrated to Christ, and gives them to the devil: he takes the priests of the Lord, and delivers them over to prostituted wretches. . . Fearful profanation! which the very Pagans would have condemned

with dread had they discovered such abomination in the pontiffs of their idols!"

"Of what penalty, or of what martyrdom think you, therefore, we should judge you worthy? . . . Have pity on yourself, and have pity upon your miserable Saxons; for if you do not speedily turn from the error of your ways, God shall thunder upon you the terrors of his vengeance.

"In the name of Almighty God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom I am the representative upon earth, I declare to you that you shall be punished in this world, and that you shall be plunged into everlasting fire in that which is to come. Repent and be converted! . . . Two swords are hanging over your head, the sword of the empire and the sword of Popery." . . .

The pious Frederick trembled at the perusal of this threatening brief. He had a few days before written a letter to the emperor, declaring that old age and infirmity had rendered him incapable of attending to public affairs; and he had been answered by an epistle conceived in the most audacious style ever applied to the communications of a sovereign prince. Weakened by years, he cast his eye upon the sword which he had carried to the holy sepulchre in the days of his strength. He began to think that it must again be drawn out of the scabbard in order to protect the consciences of his subjects, and that, although approaching the confines of the grave, he would not be allowed to descend thereto in peace. He likewise wrote to Wittemberg to obtain the advice of the fathers of the Reformation.

In that place, too, troubles and persecutions were the expected events in prospect. "What shall I say?" exclaimed the mild Melancthon, "in what direction shall I turn myself? Hatred is poured down abundantly upon us, and the world is transported with rage against us." Luther, Linck, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Amsdorff consulted together respecting the answer it was proper to return to the elector. They entertained almost the same opinion on this subject, and the recommendations they gave were very remarkable.

"No prince whatever," said they, "is entitled to undertake war without the consent of the people from whose hand he has received the empire. Now the people do not wish that war should be made in the cause of the gospel, for they believe not. Let not the princes, therefore, take up arms; they are the princes of the nations, that is to say, of infidels." In this manner it was the impetuous Luther who requested the wise Frederick to put back the sword into the scabbard. He could not better refute the calumny the pope had just cast upon him, of exciting the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the clergy. Few characters have been so little justly understood as that of Luther. The above advice was dated upon the 8th of February 1523, and Frederick restrained his views.

The anger of the Pope, however, very quickly produced its fruits. The princes who had made up a list of their griefs for the inspection of Rome, alarmed at their own hardihood, were willing to expiate their fault by the complaisance of their demeanour. Many of them said to themselves, moreover, the victory shall rest on the side of the pontiff of Rome, seeing that it appears the strongest. "In our day," said Luther, "the princes are satisfied with saying that three times

three make nine, or, otherwise, that twice seven are fourteen; the reckoning is correct; the affair shall prosper. Then our Lord God arises and demands—"For how much then do you count me? . . . For a cipher, perhaps?" . . . Then he turns their computations upside down, and their calculations are proved to be false.

CHAPTER IV.

Persecution—Efforts of Duke George—The Convent at Antwerp—Miltenberg—The Three Monks of Antwerp—The Scaffold—Martyrdom at Brussels.

The flames of fire vomited forth by the humble and mild Adrian kindled a conflagration, and his agitation imparted to every district of christendom a fearful commotion. Persecution, which had been for some time arrested, again commenced its operations. Luther trembled for the welfare of Germany, and endeavoured to assuage the fury of the storm. "If the princes," said he, "rise up in opposition to the truth, a tumult will result therefrom which will destroy princes, magistrates, priests, and people. I quake for fear, lest Germany should be seen very soon completely saturated with blood. Let us place ourselves in the front like a wall, and let us preserve our people from the fury of our God! The people are no longer at this moment what they formerly were. The sword of civil wars is suspended over the heads of many kings. They wish to destroy Luther, but Luther is anxious to save them. Christ lives and reigns; I will live and reign with him."

These words were of no effect; Rome hurried to make use of the scaffold and to shed blood. The Reformation, like Jesus Christ, had come, not to bring peace but a sword. Persecution was necessary in the ways of God. As objects are hardened by being put into the fire, with the purpose of rendering them durable under the influences of the atmosphere, so the fire of trials must be endured in order to secure evangelical truth from the influences of the world. But this fire served other ends also; it sufficed, as in the earlier days of Christianity, to kindle in the hearts of men a universal enthusiasm in favour of a cause pursued with so much acrimony and cruelty. There is in man, when he begins to perceive the truth, a holy indignation against injustice and violence—an instinct which proceeds from God urges him to take part with those who are oppressed, and, at the same time, the faith of the martyrs persuades, gains, and draws him towards that salutary doctrine which bestows at once so much courage and so much peace.

Duke George shewed himself at the head of the party engaged in persecution. But it seemed to him a small matter to exercise his resentment within the confines of his own states; he desired, above all things, to introduce persecution into electoral Saxony, that birth-place of the heresy; and he exerted all his efforts to move the spirits of the elector Frederick and Duke John. "Some merchants," wrote he from Nuremberg, "coming from Saxony, have reported in this country many strange things contrary to the honour of God and the saints: they say that in Saxony the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is received with the hand, . . . that the bread and wine are consecrated in the language of the people: that the blood of Christ is put

into ordinary vessels, and even that a man at Eulenberg, with the intention of insulting the priest, had entered the church mounted upon an ass. . . . What, moreover, has happened? The mines with which God has enriched Saxony have become exhausted since the introduction of the new-fangled preaching encouraged by Luther. Oh, would to God that those who boast of having re-established the gospel in the electorate had rather executed their work in Constantinople. Luther sings a sweet and pleasing song, but he has a poisonous tail which stings like that of the scorpion. Let us prepare our hands for the battle. Let us put in chains these apostate monks and impious priests, and that without delay, for the hairs that remain on our heads have become white as well as our beards, and warn us that we have now but a few days in which to accomplish our work."

It was in this style Duke George addressed himself to the elector. Frederick replied in a firm and moderate strain, alleging that whoever should be found guilty of a bad action within his states should not escape from the condemnation due to their crime; but that, with regard to those things which referred to the conscience, they must be remitted to the decision of God.

George having failed in persuading Frederick, hastened to act severely around him against the work which he held in hatred. He threw into prison the monks and the priests who were followers of Luther. He recalled the students belonging to his states, from the universities which the reform had reached, and he commanded the copies of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue to be delivered over into the hands of the magistrate. The same measures were adopted in Austria, in Wurtemberg, and in the duchy of Brunswick.

But it was in the Netherlands, subjected to the immediate authority of Charles V., that persecution assumed the most threatening aspect. The convent of the Augustines at Antwerp was filled with monks who had received the truths of the gospel. Several of the brethren who were domiciled in this monastery, had dwelt for some time in Wittemberg, and, ever since the year 1519, salvation through grace had been preached in their church with much energy. The prior, James Probst, an ardent person, and Melchior Mirisch, who distinguished himself, on the contrary, by his talents and his prudence, were apprehended and taken to Brussels, about the end of the year 1521. They there appeared before Aleander, Glappio, and several other prelates. Surprised, alarmed, and interdicted, Probst retracted his opinions; but Melchior Mirisch knew how to calm the accusations of his judges, and at once escaped the penalty of condemnation and retraction.

These persecutions in no way terrified the monks left within the walls of the convent at Antwerp. They continued to proclaim the truths of the gospel with energy, and the people hurried in crowds to listen to their preaching, in so much that the church of the city was found too small to contain the eager multitude, in the same manner as the church at Wittemberg had before proved insufficient to accommodate the people there. In October 1522, the storm which had been heard grumbling over their heads burst forth in all its fury; the convent was shut up, and the monks were thrown into prison, and condemned to death. Several of them succeeded in making their escape, and a few women, forgetting the timidity of their sex, rescued

one Henry Zuphten from the hands of the executioners. Three young monks, Henry Voes, John Esch, and Lambert Thorn, concealed themselves for some time from the search of the inquisitors. All the vases of the convent were sold; the building was strongly barricaded; the holy sacrament was taken away, as from an infamous place, and the governess of the Netherlands, Margaret, received it solemnly into the church of the Holy Virgin. Orders were given not to leave one stone upon another belonging to this heretical monastery, whilst a number of citizens and some women, inhabitants of the town, who had listened with joy to the truths of the gospel, were forcibly cast into prison.

Luther was overwhelmed with sorrow when he was informed of these harsh proceedings. "The cause which we defend," said he, "is no longer a simple game; it looks for blood, it seeks for life."

Mirisch and Probst were doomed to follow very different courses. The prudent Mirisch became very soon the pliant servant of Rome and the executioner of imperious arrests against the partisans of the Reformation. Probst, on the contrary, having escaped from the hands of these inquisitors, repented of his error; he retracted his recantation, and preached with boldness at Bruges, in Flanders, the doctrine which he had formerly abjured. Arrested a second time, and shut up in the prison of Brussels, his death appeared inevitable; but a Franciscan had pity upon him, and helped him to escape, so that Probst, "saved by a miracle of God," said Luther, arrived at last in Wittemberg, where his double deliverance filled with joy the hearts of the friends of the Reformation.*

In every direction the Roman priests were under arms. The city of Miltenberg upon the Main, which was attached to the provinces of the electoral-archbishop of Mentz, was one of the Germanic cities which had received the word of God with great eagerness. The inhabitants cherished a strong affection for the character of their pastor, John Draco, one of the most enlightened men of his age. He was obliged, however, to leave his home; but the Roman ecclesiastics, in alarm, went out at the same time from the city, dreading the vengeance of the people, and an evangelical deacon remained alone to afford consolation to the souls of the congregation. At this moment some soldiers from Mentz rode into the town and took possession of it, their mouths filled with blasphemous words, and brandishing their swords. They also practised every species of debauch in their conduct.

A few evangelical Christians fell under the blows of the intoxicated troopers; others were put into dungeons; the rites of Rome were re-established; the reading of the Bible was interdicted; and the inhabitants were forbidden to speak of the gospel even in their most familiar conversations with each other. The deacon had managed to

* *Jacobus, Dei miraculo liberatus qui nunc agit nobiscum.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 182.) This letter, discovered in the collection of M. de Wette, under date of 14th April, must be posterior to the month of June, seeing that on the 26th June Luther said again that Probst has been taken for the second time, and is about to be burned. It cannot be admitted that Probst may have been at Wittemberg between these two captivities; for Luther would not have said of a Christian who had saved himself by a recantation, that he had been saved by a miracle of God. Perhaps we must read in the date of this letter in place of *in die S. Tiburtii*, *in die S. Turias*, which would bring it down to the 13th July, a date which appears most probable.

escape at the instant the soldiers entered into the house of a poor widow. He was informed against to the leader of the troop, who sent one of his men to take him prisoner. The humble deacon, hearing the voice of the soldier who sought his life, and finding that this man came in great haste, awaited his approach in a state of perfect peace. At the very instant, the door of the room was opened with much eagerness, the deacon walked forth at a quiet step to confront his enemy, accosted him with much cordiality, and said—"I bid you welcome, my brother, here I am, plunge your sword into my bosom." The fierce soldier, astonished, let his sword fall from his hand, and prevented afterwards any one from injuring the person of the pious evangelist.

The inquisitors of the Netherlands, however, thirsting for blood, scoured the country, and sought out in every direction the young Augustines who had escaped from the attempts at persecution in Antwerp. Esch, Voes, and Lambert, were at last discovered, put in irons, and carried to Brussels, where Egmondanus, Hochstratten, and some other inquisitors caused them to appear in their presence. "Will you retract," demanded Hochstratten, "your assertion that the priest has not the power to pardon sins, and that such a privilege belongs alone to God?" Then he enumerated all the other evangelical doctrines they were summoned to abjure. "No, we will not retract anything," exclaimed Esch and Voes with constancy, "we will not deny the word of God, we will rather die for the truth of our faith."

Inquisitor.—"Confess that you have been seduced by Luther."

The Young Augustines.—"As the apostles were seduced by Jesus Christ."

The Inquisitors.—"We declare you to be heretics, deserving to be burned alive, and we hand you over into the hands of the secular power."

Lambert remained silent, the fear of death beset him, and agony and doubt agitated his soul. "I ask a respite of four days," said he, in a stifled voice, and he was led back to prison. The moment the term of this delay had expired, the sacerdotal consecration was solemnly revoked with reference to Esch and Voes, and they were delivered over to the governess of the Netherlands. The council in turn gave them up, with their arms tied, to the care of the executioner. Hochstratten and other three inquisitors accompanied the monks to the funeral pile.

Arrived within a few steps of the scaffold, the young martyrs looked up to it with composure; their resolution, their piety, and their age, induced many present to shed tears; yea, even the inquisitors. When they were bound to the stake the confessors approached—"We ask of you yet once more, are you willing to receive the Christian faith?"

The Martyrs.—"We believe in the Christian church, but not in your church." Half an hour was allowed to pass; hesitation was prevalent in the minds of the accusers; a hope was entertained that the prospect of a death so frightful would intimidate the hearts of these young men. But, alone tranquil in the centre of the crowd, which in perturbation surrounded the scaffold, they sang psalms, interrupting the tune at times by courageously repeating again and again, "We are willing to die for the name of Jesus Christ."

"Become converted, become converted," exclaimed the inquisitors, "or you shall die in the name of the devil." "No," replied the martyrs, "we will die like Christians, and for the truth of the gospel."

The fire was put to the funeral pile, and while the flames were seen to rise slowly towards the bodies of its victims, a heavenly peace sustained their souls, in so much that one of them was heard to say, "I feel as if extended on a bed of roses." The solemn hour had come, and death hastily approached; the two martyrs meanwhile exclaiming with powerful voices, "*O Domine Jesu, Fili de David, miserere nostri!*"—Lord Jesus, the Son of David, have pity upon us!" They then began to recite in a solemn tone the holy creed. At last the flames reached their bodies, but they consumed the cords with which the monks were bound to the stake before their breath was choked; and one of them, availing himself of this liberty, threw himself upon his knees into the midst of the fire, and thus worshipping his Master, he cried out, as he clasped his hands together—"Lord Jesus, the Son of David, have pity upon us!" The fire encompassed their bodies; they continued to sing aloud *Te Deum laudamus*; but very soon the smoke suppressed their voices, and they were reduced to nothing more than a heap of ashes.

This execution lasted for four hours. It was upon the 1st of July 1523 that the first martyrs of the Reformation in this manner sacrificed their lives to the cause of the gospel.

All men of worth trembled when they heard of this capital punishment, and they regarded the future with eager alarm. "The pains and torments have begun," said Erasmus. "At last," exclaimed Luther, "Jesus Christ has gathered some fruit from our work, and He again creates happy martyrs."

But the joy which the fidelity of these two young Christians occasioned Luther was interrupted by the thought of Lambert. This latter individual was the most learned of the three, and had replaced Probst at Antwerp in his office of preacher. Greatly grieved in his dungeon, and frightened at the prospect of death, Lambert was still more harassed by the accusations of his conscience on account of his dereliction, and its urgent warnings still to confess the gospel. Speedily delivered from his fears, he boldly maintained the truth, and died a death similar to that of his brethren.

A rich harvest followed from the shedding of these martyrs' blood. Brussels was turned in favour of the gospel. "In every place where Aleander raises a funeral pile," said Erasmus, "it seems as if he sowed a quantity of heretics."

"Your cords are my cords," cried Luther, "your dungeons are my dungeons, and your funeral piles are my funeral piles! . . . We are all on your side, and the Lord is at our head." He afterwards celebrated in a beautiful hymn the death of the young monks, and speedily, in Germany and the Netherlands, both in the towns and in the country, the words of these hymns were everywhere repeated, and seemed to spread abroad an impassioned enthusiasm for the faith of these martyrs:—

No! their ashes shall not perish,
In every place this holy dust,
Scattered to a distance, must
Bring brave soldiers God to cherish.

Satan truly snatch'd them from us,
And consigned them to the grave ;
Still a their death he'll madly rave,
When we sing aloud of Jesus.*

CHAPTER V.

New Pope—The Legate Campeggio—Diet of Nuremberg—Demand of the Legate—Reply of the Diet—Project of a Secular Council—Alarm and Efforts of the Pope—Bavaria—League of Ratisbon—Rigours and Reforms—Political Schisms—Opposition—Intrigues of Rome—Decree of Bruges—Rupture.

Adrian would, no doubt, have persevered in these violent measures ; the uselessness of his efforts to stay the progress of the reform, his orthodoxy, his zeal, his inflexibility, and even his conscience were calculated to form in him a cruel persecutor. But providence did not permit of such a consummation. Adrian died on the 14th of September 1523, and the Romans, most happy in their deliverance from the sway of this rigid foreigner, adorned with flowers the door of his physician, accompanied by the following inscription :—"To the saviour of the party."

Julius de Medici, the cousin of Leo X., succeeded to Adrian VI., under the title of Clement VII. From the day of his election he gave no heed to matters of religious reform. The new pope, like many of his predecessors, thought only of maintaining the privileges of Popery, and of turning their influences to the aggrandizement of his own power.

Desirous of repairing the faults of Adrian, Clement sent a legate to Nuremberg of a corresponding character, one of the most talented prelates at his court, namely, Cardinal Campeggio, a man of great experience in business, and who was acquainted with almost all the princes of Germany. Magnificently received in all the cities of Italy, the legate had soon an opportunity of discovering the change which had been wrought in the districts of the empire. Upon entering Augsburg he wished, according to custom, to bestow a benediction upon the people ; but he was accosted on the occasion with shouts of laughter. He refrained from carrying his purpose into execution, and entered Nuremberg secretly, without proceeding to the church of St Sebald, where the clergy were waiting to receive him. No priests ushered him into town clothed in priestly garments, nor was any cross carried in state before his equipage : it might have been supposed that a man of the lowest ranks passed along the streets. Every occurrence, in short, testified to Popery that her reign was about to terminate.

The diet was again opened in Nuremberg in the month of January 1524. A rupture threatened this national government which was produced by the determination of Frederick. Charles V. had especially sworn to destroy the league of Swabia, including the most wealthy cities of the empire. This confederacy was accused of shewing favour to the cause of the new heresy. Therefore it was resolved to renovate that administration, without admitting into its body a single member of its former corporation, and Frederick, overcome with sorrow, immediately took leave of Nuremberg.

* Die Asche will nicht lassen ab,
Sie staubt in allen Landen,
Hie hilft kein Bach, Loch, noch Grab . . .
(L. Opp. xviii., p 484.)

The feasts of Easter were close at hand, so that Osiander and the evangelical preachers were anxious in the zealous discharge of all their duties. The former ecclesiastic declared publicly that Antichrist had entered into Rome on the day whereon Constantine the Great had gone forth from that city in order to establish his residence at Constantinople. The consecration of the branches, and many of the ceremonies of this feast were omitted, while four thousand persons received the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and the Queen of Denmark, the sister of the emperor, also received it publicly in the castle. "Ah," exclaimed the Archduke Ferdinand, in an ecstasy of passion, "I could wish that you were not my sister." "The same breast has nursed us," said the queen, "and I would sacrifice everything to please you but the word of God."

Campeggio shook at the sight of so much audacity, but affecting to despise the laughter of the people and the discourses of the preachers, and resting upon the authority of the emperor and the pope, he recalled to the recollection of the diet the edict of Worms, and demanded that the Reformation should be put an end to by force. On hearing the expression of such language, several of the princes and deputies manifested their displeasure. "What are become," said they to Campeggio, "of the grievances presented to the pope by the Germanic nation?" The legate, in compliance with his instructions, assumed an air of politeness and astonishment. "Three copies," said he, "of that production have reached Rome, but we have received no official communication with reference to its contents, and I cannot believe that a pamphlet so indiscreet should have proceeded from the advice of your lordships."

The diet was enraged with this reply. If it were in such a manner the pope was willing to receive its representations, it was equally prepared to receive in a similar spirit the communications made to it by the pontiff. "The people," said several of the deputies, "have a thirst to receive the word of God, and to snatch it away from them, as commanded in the edict of Worms, would be to cause the shedding of rivers of blood."

The diet, moreover, undertook to compose a suitable reply to the pope. And being unable to abolish the edict of Worms, it thereto annexed a clause which annulled the force of that document. "It is necessary," said the diet, "to conform to this edict *as much as possible*;" now, many of the states had declared that it was *impossible* to observe its provisions. At the same time, conjuring up vexatious visions of the councils of Constance and of Basil, the diet demanded the convocation in Germany of a universal council of christendom.

The friends of the reform did not stop at this point. Wherefore wait the assembling of a council which might never be convoked, and which in every case would be composed of bishops from every nation? Would Germany submit her anti-Roman predilections to the decision of prelates coming from Spain, France, England, or Italy? The national government had been overthrown, and it was requisite to substitute in its place a national assembly which would protect the true interests of the people.

In vain Hannaart, sent from Spain by Charles V., and all the partisans of Rome and of the emperor, strove to oppose this reasonable proposition—the majority of the diet remained inflexible. It was

therefore agreed that a diet, a secular assembly, should be summoned to meet at Spire, in the month of November, with a view to regulate all religious questions; and that the states should immediately order to be drawn out, by their theologians, a list of the controverted subjects which should be laid before the meeting of this august assembly.

The work anticipated was at once commenced. Each province made ready its appointed report, and Rome had never before been threatened with a more formidable explosion. Franconia, Brandenburg, Henneberg, Windsheim, Wertheim, and Nuremberg, made an open profession, in an evangelical sense, against the seven sacraments, the abuse of the mass, the adoration of the saints, and the supremacy of the pope. "Behold money of a good standard," said Luther. Not one of the questions which agitated the public mind shall be passed over in silence during the deliberations of this national council. The majority shall be able to obtain many general measures. . . . The union of Germany, its independence, and its Reformation, are about to be saved.

The news of these proceedings raised the passion of the pope to an excessive degree. What! did they dare to propose the establishment of a secular tribunal which shall decide upon matters of religion in contradiction to his own authority? If this inconceivable resolution be carried into effect, Germany is saved without doubt, but Rome is lost. A presbytery was assembled in urgent haste, and to have seen the senators exasperated to a state of frenzy, it might have been imagined that the Germans were marching at full speed upon the capitol. "The hat of the elector," said Aleander, "must be pulled from the head of Frederick." "The kings of England and Spain," said another cardinal, "must threaten the free cities with a total cessation of all commerce with them." In short, the congregation agreed that their only hope of safety was to move heaven and earth in order to prevent the meeting of the assembly at Spire.

The pope also wrote a letter to the emperor. "If I have been the first to shew head against the coming storm, it is not because I am the only person threatened by the tempest, but it is because the rudder is in my hand. The rights of the empire are still more attacked than the dignity of the court of Rome itself."

While the pope despatched this letter to Castile, he likewise endeavoured to gain allies within the provinces of Germany. Very soon he succeeded in securing the friendship of one of the most powerful families of the empire, that, namely, of the Duke of Bavaria. The edict of Worms had not been better observed in this country than in other districts, while the evangelical doctrine had therein made great progress. But ever since the end of the year 1521, the princes of this country, moved by the representations of Doctor Eck, the chancellor of their university at Ingolstadt, had attached themselves to the cause of Rome, and had issued an edict wherein they commanded all their subjects to remain faithful to the religion of their fathers.

The Bavarian bishops expressed themselves alarmed at the prospect of this impiety exhibited by the secular power. Eck departed at this time from Rome, in order to request from the pope an extension of power on behalf of the princes. The pope granted everything required, and even conferred upon the dukes the fifth part of the ecclesiastical revenues belonging to their countries.

Thus, at a time when the Reformation had not as yet assumed any organized form, Roman Catholicism had already recourse to powerful institutions in order to maintain its cause, and many Catholic princes, supported by the pope, laid hands upon the revenues of the church, long before the reform dared to touch any part of these vested funds. What, then, must be thought of the reproaches which the Roman Catholics have so often urged against the Reformation on this account?

Clement VII. could now reckon on Bavaria as an opponent to the formidable assembly of Spire. Very soon the Archduke Ferdinand, the bishop of Salzburg, and other princes, were also gained over in their turn.

But Campeggio longed to accomplish greater works; he believed it imperative to divide the country of Germany into two camps, and to excite the anger of Germans against Germans.

Even at the time of his sojourn at Stuttgart, the legate had conceived, in union with Ferdinand, the plan of a league against the Reformation. "Everything is to be feared," said he, "from an assembly in which the voice of the people shall be heard. The diet of Spire may occasion the loss of Rome, and the safety of Wittemberg. Let us close up our ranks, and let us be ready for the day of battle." Ratisbon was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous.

In spite of the jealousy that divided the houses of Bavaria and Austria, Campeggio succeeded in bringing together in the above-mentioned city, at the end of June 1524, the dukes of Bavaria and the Archduke Ferdinand. The archbishop of Salzburg and the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon joined the party. The bishops of Spire, Bamberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Basle, Constance, Freisingen, Passau, and Brixen, were represented by deputies.

The legate opened the meeting with an energetic description of the dangers to which the reform exposed both the princes and the clergy. "Let us extirpate this heresy, and save the church," exclaimed Campeggio.

This conference lasted for fifteen days, and was held in the town-house of the city of Ratisbon. A grand ball, which continued through the whole course of one night, helped to enliven this first Catholic assembly constituted by Popery against the advance of the new-born Reformation. After the festivity, the resolutions were formed which were destined to destroy the infamous heretics.

The assembled princes and bishops bound themselves to fulfil the execution of the edicts of Worms and Nuremberg, not to permit any changes in the forms of worship, nor to tolerate within their states any married ecclesiastics, to recall all the students belonging to their countries who might be found prosecuting their studies in Wittemberg, and to employ every means in their power to obtain the destruction of the existing heresy. They commanded the priests to comply, in the case of difficult passages, with the interpretations of the fathers of the Latin church, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Not daring, in presence of the Reformation, to recall the authority of the divinity schools, they contented themselves with laying down the foundations of Roman orthodoxy.

But, on the other hand, not being able to shut their eyes upon the scandals and corrupted manners of the priests, they agreed upon a

project of reform, in which they endeavoured to treat concerning the grievances alleged in the report from Germany which least interfered with the court of Rome. The priests were forbidden to deal in articles of commerce, to frequent public-houses, to "practise dancing," or to engage, while drinking, in disputes upon the articles of faith.

Such were the results of the confederation of Ratisbon. Thus, while arming herself against the Reformation, Rome conceded to it in several points, and it is possible to mark in these resolutions the first influence of the reform of the sixteenth century, in working out an interior restoration of Catholicism. The gospel could not exhibit its strength without inducing its adversaries to try in some manner to imitate its example. Emser had produced a translation of the Bible in opposition to the translation of Luther; Eck, some *common-places* in answer to those of Melancthon; and now Rome opposed to the Reformation these partial attempts at reform to which we owe the Catholicism of modern times. But all these exertions made by Rome were, in reality, nothing more than subtile expedients, in order to escape the dangers with which she was threatened; some sprigs, no doubt, taken from the tree of the Reformation, but planted in a soil fitted to occasion their death. Life was wanting, and it shall always be found wanting in attempts of a similar nature.

Another fact is here presented to our view. The Roman party formed at Ratisbon the first league which destroyed the Germanic unity. It was in the camp of the pope the signal of battle was exhibited. Ratisbon proved the cradle of that schism, of that political rending in Germany, which so many Germans deplore, even at the present day. The national assembly of Spire was calculated, by sanctioning and generalizing the reform of the church, to secure the unity of the empire. The separatist conventicle of Ratisbon tore asunder for ever the nation into two parties.

Nevertheless the projects of Campeggio did not at first succeed so well as was expected. Few of the princes answered the call made upon them. The most decided adversaries to the cause of Luther, Duke George of Saxony, the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the ecclesiastical electors, and the imperial cities, took no part in these proceedings. It was evident that the legate of the pope constructed in Germany a Roman party at variance with the interests of the nation. Popular sympathies counterbalanced the weight of religious antipathies, and the *Reformation of Ratisbon* very soon became an object of laughter with the people. But the first step had been taken; an example had been given; and it was believed that, in the sequel, small would be the cost of affirming and of increasing this Roman league. Those who still hesitated, must of necessity be constrained by the progress of events. To the legate Campeggio belonged the glory of having discovered the mine which must place at hand the destruction of the Germanic liberties, and the loss of existence alike to the empire and the Reformation. From this moment the cause of Luther ceased to be an affair altogether religious; the dispute with the monk of Wittemberg assumed a place among the political movements of Europe. Luther was about to witness his own eclipse; and Charles V., the pope, and the princes, shall hereafter figure as the

principal performers on the theatre, whereon the grand drama of the sixteenth century was destined to appear and be completed.

The assembly at Spires was still, however, regarded in the perspective ; it might suffice to repair the evil done by Campeggio at Ratisbon. Rome, therefore, adopted every means calculated to prevent the meeting of this assembly. "How is this?" said the deputies of the pope, not only to Charles V., but also to his ally Henry VIII., and other princes in christendom ; "How is it that these proud Germans pretend to decide, in a national assembly, the affairs of faith? It would appear that it is necessary for kings, his imperial majesty, all christendom, and the universal world, to submit to the resolutions of this body."

The moment was well chosen for acting upon the mind of the emperor. The war between this prince and Francis I. was now in its zenith. Pescara and the Lord High Constable of Bourbon had left Italy, and, entered into France since the month of May, they had there laid siege to Marseilles. The pope, who did not contemplate this attack with much satisfaction, might be induced to make upon the rear of the imperial army a powerful diversion. And Charles, who was thus obliged to fear the semblance of offence, did not hesitate to sacrifice at once the independence of the empire, in order to secure the favour of Rome and the success of his enterprise against the French.

On the 15th of July, Charles issued, at Burgos in Castile, a decree, wherein, in an imperious and impassioned strain, he declared "that it belonged alone to the pope to convoke a council, and to the emperor alone to demand it ; that the meeting fixed to take place in Spires neither must nor could be tolerated ; that it was strange to see the German nation undertake a work which all the other nations of the universe, even with the pope, would not be entitled to accomplish ; and that haste should be shewn in the execution of the decree of Worms against the new Mahomet."

In this manner proceeded from Spain and Italy the blow which arrested in Germany the developement of the gospel. But Charles had not yet done enough. He had offered, in 1519, to Duke John, the brother of the elector, to form a union with his sister, the Archduchess Catherine and the son of John, the Prince John Frederick, the heir to the electoral dignity. But was it not this house of Saxony who supported in Germany those principles of religious and political independence which Charles hated? He, therefore, determined to break off all connexion with the importunate and guilty representative of national and evangelical opinions, and to give his sister in marriage to John III., king of Portugal. Frederick, who, in 1519, had shewn himself indifferent to the overtures made by the king of Spain, knew how to overcome, in 1524, the indignation which the conduct of the emperor had raised in his breast, but Duke John, with pride, represented the wound thus inflicted upon his honour.

Thus it was the two contending camps were more clearly discovered in the empire, which were destined, during a course of many years, to destroy its peace.

CHAPTER VI.

Persecution—Gasper Tauber—A Bookseller—Cruelties in Wurtemberg, in Salzburg, in Bavaria—Pomerania—Henry of Zuphten.

The Roman party did not, however, restrict themselves to the operations we have been considering. The alliance of Ratisbon was merely a matter of form; it was necessary to accompany its appearance with the effusion of blood. Ferdinand and Campeggio went down the Danube together from Ratisbon to Vienna, and both the one and the other made cruel promises in the course of their journey. Persecution was also commenced within the Austrian states.

A citizen of Vienna, Gasper Tauber, had spread abroad the books composed by Luther, and had himself written a work against the invocation of the saints, purgatory, and transubstantiation. Thrown into prison, he was summoned by the judges, who were at once theologians and lawyers, to retract his errors. It was believed that he would obey this mandate, and great preparations were made in Vienna to render this spectacle imposing in the sight of the people. On the birth-day of Mary, two stands were erected upon the burying-ground of St Stephens, the one for the leader of the choir, who was appointed to celebrate, by his singing of hymns, the repentance of the heretic, and the other for Tauber himself. The rule of retraction was put into his hand, and the people, the chanter, and the priests, waited the issue in silence. Whether it was that Tauber had not made any promise, or that at the moment he was about to abjure his faith, that faith became on a sudden more lively within his breast, we cannot say, but at this instant he exclaimed with a firm voice—"I am not convinced or convicted; and I appeal my cause to the holy Roman empire." The ecclesiastics, clerk, and people were seized with astonishment and alarm; but Tauber continued to implore a sentence of death rather than deny the gospel. He was consequently beheaded, and his body afterwards burned, but his courage made an indelible impression upon the minds of the citizens of Vienna.

At Buda, in Hungary, an evangelical bookseller, named John, had distributed through the country the New Testament and books of Luther. This honest man was tied to a stake, around whom all his books were carefully built, so as to shut him in as within the circumference of a tower, and then the books were set on fire. John evinced unshaken fortitude, exclaiming in the midst of the flames that he was happy to suffer in the name of the Lord. "Blood follows blood," cried Luther, when he was told of this murder; "but that generous blood which Rome is pleased to shed shall at last suffocate the pope, with all his kingdoms and all their kings."

Fanaticism continued to increase in ardour every day. The evangelical ministers were driven out of the churches. Magistrates were banished from their homes; and on several occasions the most terrible punishments were inflicted. In Wurtemberg, an inquisitor, named Reichler, caused the Lutherans, and especially the preachers, to be hanged upon the trees. Barbarous men were seen composedly to nail ministers to posts by their tongues, so that these miserable beings, making violent efforts to loose themselves from the piece of wood to which they were fastened, horribly mutilated their features in their endeavours to procure liberty, and even deprived themselves

of that gift of God with which they had long served him in declaring the truths of his gospel.

Similar persecutions were pursued in the other states of the Catholic league. An evangelical minister, of the country of Salzburg, was being led to prison, in which he was condemned to pass the remainder of his days, but while the constables who had him in custody were refreshing themselves in an inn upon the road, two young peasants, moved with compassion, eluded their vigilance, and delivered the pastor from his keepers. The rage of the archbishop was kindled against these poor young men, and, without undergoing any kind of trial, he ordered them to be beheaded. They were secretly conducted at a very early hour of the morning without the city, and, arrived at the place of execution, the hangman himself hesitated to perform his task; "for," said he, "they have not been condemned." "Do what I bid you," quickly replied the emissary of the archbishop, "and leave the question of responsibility to the prince." The heads of these young deliverers were consequently cut off.

The deeds of persecution desolated more particularly the states of the dukes of Bavaria. The priests were dismissed; the nobles chased from their castles; impeachment was everywhere practised throughout the country, and in every heart distrust and alarm were the prevailing feelings. A magistrate, Bernard Fichtel, while travelling to Nuremberg on the affairs of the duke, met on the high road with Francis Burkhard, a professor at Ingoldstadt, and the friend of Doctor Eck. Burkhard accosted the magistrate, and they performed their journey together. After supper, the professor began to speak upon religious subjects, and Fichtel, knowing who his companion was, reminded him that the new edict had prohibited such conversations. "Between ourselves," replied Burkhard, "there is nothing to fear." "I do not believe," thereupon said Fichtel, "that this edict can ever be put into execution," expressing afterwards his opinion in an equivocal manner upon the topic of purgatory, and said "that it was surely a horrible thing to punish with death an adherence to religious opinions." When these words were uttered, Burkhard became vehemently enraged. "What can be more just," exclaimed he, "than to cut off the heads of these scoundrels the Lutherans?" The professor, however, took leave of Fichtel in good humour, but hastened to denounce him. Fichtel was consequently cast into prison, and this wretched man, who had never dreamed of becoming a martyr, and whose convictions were not, in fact, very profound, only escaped the penalty of death by making a shameful retraction. Nowhere was safety now to be found; not even in the bosom of a friend.

But the death which Fichtel escaped in this manner, others were doomed to suffer. In vain was the gospel preached only in secret places; the dukes pursued its followers into their hidings in mystery, whether under the roofs of houses or in the secluded caverns of the country.

"The cross and persecution," said Luther, "reign in Bavaria; these wild beasts are transported with fury."

The north of Germany even was not exempted from the operations of cruelty. Bogislas, the Duke of Pomerania, having died, his son,

reared in the court of Duke John, persecuted the friends of the gospel. Suaren and Knipstraw were obliged to flee the country.

But it was in Holstein that one of the most desperate examples of fanaticism was then afforded.

Henry of Zuphten, escaped, as we have seen, from the convent of Antwerp, preached the gospel in Bremen, and Nicholas Boye, the pastor of Mehlendorf, in the country of the Dittmarches, in union with many pious persons, gave a call to Zuphten to preach the gospel among them, and he accepted of their invitation. Hereupon the prior of the Dominicans and the vicar of the official at Hamburg held a consultation of council. "If he be allowed to preach, and the people to hear him, all is lost," said they. The prior, after having passed a restless night, rose early in the morning and proceeded to the uncultivated and barren heath, whereon the forty-eight regents of the country were wont to assemble. "The monk from Bremen has arrived," said he to them, "to destroy the peace of the Dittmarches." These forty-eight simple and ignorant men, who were persuaded to believe that they would acquire great glory by ridding the world of this heretical monk, resolved to put him to death, without having either seen or heard him speak.

This communication took place on Saturday, as the prior was anxious to prevent Henry from preaching on Sunday. The monk had arrived at the house of the pastor Boye in the middle of the night, with a letter of introduction to the forty-eight regents. "If God decrees that I should die in the country of Dittmarches," said Henry of Zuphten, "heaven is as near thereto as to any other place ; I will preach."

He ascended the pulpit, therefore, and preached with imposing eloquence. The hearers, moved and animated by his Christian exhortation, had scarcely left the temple, when the prior handed in a letter from the forty-eight regents, forbidding any permission to be given the monk to preach. The congregation immediately sent representatives from their body to the heath, and, after a long debate, the Dittmarches agreed that, considering their great ignorance, they would wait until Easter ; but the prior, in a state of much indignation, again visited some particular members of the regency, and rekindled their former zeal in his cause. "We will write to him," said they. "Take you care of that," replied the prior. "If he begins to speak, nothing more can be done against him. He must be seized during the night, and must be burned to death before he can have an opportunity of opening his mouth."

And thus it happened. The next day was the Feast of the Conception, and the night having appeared, the *Ave Maria* was regularly sounded. At this signal, all the peasants belonging to the neighbouring villages assembled together, to the number of five hundred, and the leaders having broached three barrels of beer, brought from Hamburg, imparted therewith to this crowd an increase of courage. The hour of midnight struck as they reached the village of Mehlendorf ; the peasants were armed, and the monks carried flambeaux, all marching in confused ranks, but exchanging with each other expressions of fury. On their arrival at the village, at profound silence was observed, lest Henry might be warned to escape.

On a sudden the doors of the curate's house were broken in, and

the intoxicated peasants rushed into the dwelling, assaulting every person whom they met in their progress. They heedlessly threw down vases, caldrons, goblets, or raiment, taking possession of all the gold and silver they could find, and, attacking the poor pastor, they smote him severely, crying—"Kill him, kill him!" and afterwards threw him into the mud. But it was upon Henry they chiefly desired to wreak their vengeance. They, therefore, drew him out of his bed, tied his hands behind his back, and dragged him along without clothing, in a spirit of heartless rigour. "What have you come here to do?" said they to him, and Henry having given a mild reply, "Away, away," said they, "if we listen to him we shall become heretics like himself." They were pulling him naked over ice and snow, so that his feet were bleeding from the wounds they received, and he requested to be put upon a horse. "Yes, truly," said they in mockery, "we are going to provide horses for heretics—march," and they continued to push him forward as far as the heath. A woman, who stood at the door of her house as the poor servant of God passed by was forced to shed tears. "My good woman," said Henry to her, "do not weep for me." The bailiff pronounced his condemnation. Then one of the furious men who had brought him to the place struck the preacher of the gospel with his sword upon the skull, while another inflicted upon him a blow from a club, and afterwards a poor monk was brought to listen to Henry's confession. "Brother," said he to this monk, "have I done you any wrong?" "None whatever," replied the monk. "I have then nothing to confess in your presence," responded Henry, "and you have nothing to pardon me for." The monk retired in confusion. Efforts were made in vain to set fire to the funeral pile, the sticks would not kindle. The martyr was thus obliged to remain two hours in the midst of the fiercely enraged peasants, during which time he maintained a peaceful demeanour, and from time to time raised his eyes towards heaven. As they were binding him to place him on the pile, he began to confess his faith. "First be burned," said a peasant to him, striking him on the mouth with his fist, "and afterwards you shall be allowed to speak." He was thrown upon the pile, but he fell down again at its side, and John Holme, seizing a club, struck him with violence upon the chest, in so much, that he was afterwards put upon the fire a lifeless corpse. "Such is the true history of the sufferings of the holy martyr Henry Zuphten."* .

CHAPTER VII.

Divisions—Lord's Supper—Two Extremes—Carlstadt—Luther—Mysticism of the Anabaptists—Carlstadt at Orlamund—Mission of Luther—Interview at Dinner—Conference at Orlamund—Carlstadt Banished.

While the Roman party everywhere drew the sword against the Reformation, that work displayed boldly new developements. It was not at Zurich or Geneva, but even in Wittenberg, the home of the awakened Lutherans, were to be found the beginnings of that reformed church, of which Calvin became the most imminent teacher. These two great families had been nursed in the same cradle, and union was even doomed to crown their age. But the question of the Lord's

* Das est die wahre Histoire, &c. (L. Op. xix. p. 333.)

Supper, once raised, Luther forcibly rejected the reformed element, and settled himself and his church upon a basis of exclusive Lutheranism. The chagrin with which he resented this rival doctrine deprived him of a portion of the good nature he originally possessed, and imparted to his mind a spirit of distrust, a habitual discontent, and an irritable temper, which until now he had never betrayed.

It was between the two ancient friends—between the two champions who at Leipsic had contended together against the defenders of Rome—between Luther and Carlstadt—that this dispute arose. Their attachment to doctrines of a contrary spirit proceeded, in the case of both of these theologians, from causes worthy of esteem. In reality there are two extremes in matters of religion—the one consisting in materializing everything, the other in spiritualizing all things. The first of these extremes is that adopted by Rome, and the second is that assumed by the mystics. Religion, like man himself, is composed of a spirit and a body, and the pure idealists, like the materialists, with reference to religion or philosophy, are equally in the wrong.

Such is the nature of the momentous discussion which is concealed under the dispute upon the Lord's Supper. While a superficial observer only discovers an insignificant quarrel about words, a deep inquiry discloses the substance of one of the most important controversies which can occupy the mind of man.

The reformers at this point became divided into two separate camps; but each of these divisions carried along with it a portion of the truth. Luther, with his partisans, resolved to oppose the views of an exaggerated spiritualism, and Carlstadt, with the reformed party, attacked the projects of an odious materialism. Each individual repudiated the error which appeared to him the most destructive, and, in support of his opinions, exceeded, perhaps, the limits of the truth. But this signifies little; each of them is right in his general meaning; and, although attached to two different armies, these two illustrious doctors are both united under the same common standard—under that, namely, of Jesus Christ, who alone is the truth in its infinite extension.

Carlstadt believed that nothing could be more injurious to real piety than a trust in exterior ceremonies, or in a certain magic influence attributed to the sacraments. An outward participation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was sufficient for salvation, Rome had declared, and that principle had materialized religion. Carlstadt saw nothing better fitted to spiritualize this ceremony anew than to deny altogether the presence of the body of Christ; and he asserted that the holy feast was simply, in the case of the faithful, a pledge of their redemption.

With respect to Luther, he adopted on this occasion a persuasion completely opposite. He had at first argued in the sense we have above indicated; for, in his work upon the mass, in 1520, he had said—"I can every day enjoy the benefits of the sacraments if I only recall to memory the words and the promises of Christ, and if I therewith nourish and strengthen my faith." Never have Carlstadt, Zwingle, or Calvin, spoken with more force. It would even appear the thought often occurred to him, at the period we refer to, that a symbolical explanation of the Lord's Supper must constitute the

most powerful means of overthrowing from top to bottom the whole system of Popery; because he averred, in 1522, that five years previous to this date he had engaged in rude contests in favour of the same doctrine, and that he who could prove to him that there was nothing more than bread and wine in the elements of the Lord's Supper would do him an immense service.

But different circumstances arose, which hurried him into an opposition, sometimes marked with passion, to the very views on whose account he had been most grievously reproached. The fanaticism of the Anabaptists affords a test of the notions at this time imbibed by Luther. These enthusiasts were not content with expressing a trifling esteem for what they designated the outward word, that is to say, the Bible, and to laying claim to special revelations from the Holy Spirit, they also pretended to despise the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as an observance altogether outward, and to speak of an inward communion as the only true alliance with God. From this moment, in all the attempts which were made to explain in a symbolical sense the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Luther perceived nothing but a risk of shaking the authority of the Holy Scriptures; of substituting for their real import arbitrary allegories; of spiritualizing everything in religion; of making it consist, not in the graces of God, but in the impressions of men; and of thus constituting in the place of true Christianity a mysticism, a speculation, a fanaticism, which must infallibly become its grave. It must be acknowledged that, without the strong opposition displayed by Luther, the mystic, enthusiastic, and subjective tendency might, perhaps, at this time have made rapid progress, and have driven back all the advantages which the Reformation was destined to confer upon the world.

Carlstadt, impatient at his want of success in the developement of his faith in Wittenberg, and urged by his conscience to contend against a system which, in his opinion, "debased the death of Christ, and annihilated his justice," resolved to make an effort for the love of poor Christendom thus cruelly deceived. He, therefore, quitted Wittenberg at the commencement of the year 1524, without giving any notice of his intentions, either to the university or the chapter, and proceeded to establish his abode in the small town of Orlamund, whose church was placed under his inspection. He dismissed the vicar of this place, nominated himself pastor in his stead, and, in spite of the chapter, the university, and the elector, settled himself in this new living.

Very soon he here proclaimed the tenets of his doctrine.

"It is impossible," said he, "to find in the real presence any advantage which does not immediately flow from a living faith; it is therefore useless. He had recourse, in order to explain the words of Christ at the institution of the Lord's Supper, to an interpretation which the reformed churches have not recognised. Luther, during the dispute at Leipsic, had explained those words—*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church*, and by separating these two propositions, and applying the latter to the person of the Saviour.

"In the same manner," said Carlstadt, "*take, eat*, has reference to the bread; but *this is my body*, has reference to Jesus Christ, who then pointed to himself, and who made it to be understood, by the

symbolical sign of breaking the bread, that that body was about very soon to be destroyed.

Carlstadt did not, however, restrict himself to this point. Scarcely had he got free from the superintendence of Luther than he felt his former zeal against images to become animated with fresh vigour. His imprudent discourses and exaggerated representations were well calculated, in those times of fermentation, to inflame the public mind. The people, believing that they listened to a second Elias, destroyed the idols of Baal, and such extreme fervour soon communicated its spirit to the villages in the neighbourhood. The elector manifested an inclination to interfere, but the inhabitants declared that they must obey God rather than men. This prince thereupon resolved to send Luther to Orlamund, in order to re-establish the peace of the district. Luther beheld in Carlstadt a man inflated with a love of glory, a fanatic who would allow himself to be transported into a contest with Jesus Christ himself. It is possible Frederick might have made a wiser choice on this occasion. Luther set out on his journey, and Carlstadt was doomed to see this importunate rival once more arrive with the purpose of dissipating his plans of reform, and to curb his flight.

Jena lay on the way to Orlamund. Arrived at this city on the 23d of August, Luther ascended the pulpit on the 24th at seven o'clock in the morning, and there spoke for an hour and a-half in the presence of a numerous assembly against fanaticism, rebellion, the destruction of images, and contempt of the real presence, especially directing his observations against the innovations lately introduced at Orlamund. He did not make mention of Carlstadt's name, but all his hearers could easily discern the application of the terms used.

Carlstadt, either by chance or by design, was present in Jena, and was one of Luther's hearers. He did not hesitate to demand an explanation of the words used in the discourse now under notice. Luther was at the time at dinner with the prior of Wittemberg, the burgo-master, the secretary, the pastor of the city, and several other officers belonging to the staff of the emperor and the margrave, when a letter was handed to him from Carlstadt, who requested the favour of an interview. Luther shewed the letter to his neighbours, and said to the servant, "If Doctor Carlstadt wishes to see me, let him come here—if he does not choose to do this, I will proceed on my journey." Carlstadt accepted of the invitation, and his appearance produced a lively sensation in the breasts of the assembled company. The greater number of the guests, eager to see the two lions engaged in combat, suspended the occupation of their repast and stared in amazement, while the more timid among these friends trembled with anxiety.

Carlstadt took the seat pointed to by Luther, in front of where he himself sat, and then he (Carlstadt) said, "Doctor, you have ranged me this day in your sermon among the ranks of those who preach rebellion and assassination. I declare such an accusation to be false."

Luther.—"I made no mention of your name; but since you have felt yourself aggrieved, let it be so."

A moment's silence intervened, when Carlstadt replied—"I take upon myself to prove that upon the doctrine of the sacrament you have contradicted yourself, and that no person since the times of the apostles has taught more purely on this subject than I have."

Luther.—"Write; contend."

Carlstadt.—"I offer to engage with you in a public dispute, either in Wittemberg or Erfurt, if you will procure me a safe-conduct."

Luther.—"Fear nothing, good doctor."

Carlstadt.—"You bind me hand and feet, and when you have put me into a condition in which it is impossible for me to defend myself, you strike me."

Another silent pause ensued. Luther responded—"Write against me; but publicly, and not in secret."

Carlstadt.—"If I knew that you would speak sincerely to me I should do as you desire."

Luther.—"Do so, and I will give you one florin for your trouble."

Carlstadt.—"Give it me; I accept your challenge."

When these words were uttered, Luther put his hand into his pocket, drew therefrom a florin of gold, and giving the piece of money to Carlstadt, he said—"Take it, and attack me courageously."

Carlstadt, exposing in his hand the florin of gold, turned towards the company, and said—"My dear brethren, this is for me *arrabo*, a pledge that I have the power to write against Doctor Luther; and I take you as witnesses to the fact."

Then marking the florin, so that it might easily be recognised, he put it into his purse, and held out his hand to Luther. Luther drank his health in return, which Carlstadt acknowledged by a similar act of courtesy. "The more vigorous your attacks prove, the more agreeable they shall appear to me," replied Luther.

"If I spare you," said Carlstadt, "it shall be my own fault."

They once more shook hands with each other, and Carlstadt returned to his dwelling.

"In this manner," says an historian, "and in the same way in which a small spark often kindles the conflagration that destroys a whole forest, was seen to proceed, from a small commencement, a grand division in the church."*

Luther continued his journey to Orlamund, and arrived there ill-prepared, in consequence of the scene which had passed at Jena. He requested a joint meeting of the church and council, to whom he said, "Neither the elector nor the university are willing to recognise Carlstadt as your pastor." "If Carlstadt be not our pastor," replied the treasurer of the city council, "St Paul is a false teacher, and your books are lies, for we have elected him."

As these words were pronounced, Carlstadt entered the hall. Some of the persons who were placed near to Luther made a signal to the former doctor to be seated, but Carlstadt, going straight up to Luther, said—"Dear doctor, if it be your pleasure, I will receive you."

Luther.—"You are mine enemy. I have given you a florin of gold as testimony of the fact."

Carlstadt.—"I wish to continue your enemy as long as you remain yourself the enemy of God and of his truth."

Luther.—"Go out from this room. I cannot permit that you should be present here."

Carlstadt.—"This is a public meeting. If your cause is just wherefore fear me?"

* We quote in part from the Acts of Reinhard, the pastor of Jena, an eye witness, but the friend of Carlstadt, and whom Luther has accused of being incorrect.

Luther, to his Servant.—"Get ready; get ready the carriage. I have nothing to do with Carlstadt; and, since he is unwilling to leave this meeting, I will depart."

At the same time, Luther rose from his seat, on seeing which movement, Carlstadt left the hall.

After a moment's silence, Luther observed—"Prove from the Scriptures that it is necessary to destroy images."

A Councillor.—"Doctor, you will grant, I suppose, that Moses was acquainted with the commandments of God? (*opening a Bible,*) Very well, listen to these words—*Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything.*"

Luther.—"There is only question made in this passage concerning the images of idols. If I were to hang up in my room a crucifix, which I did not worship, in what respect could it injure me?"

A Shoemaker.—"I have often taken off my hat before an image which was suspended in a room or raised up on the road. This was an act of idolatry which deprived God of the glory which is due to him alone."

Luther.—"It would likewise, then, be necessary, on account of abuses, to destroy women, and throw wine into the street?"

Another Member of the Church.—"No, these are the creatures of God, which we are not commanded to destroy."

After the conference had continued for a little longer, Luther and his party got into their carriage, astonished at the scene they had been forced to witness, and without having been able to convince the inhabitants, who claimed for themselves the right of interpreting and explaining freely the words of Scripture. The agitation was immense in the town of Orlamund, and the people even insulted Luther, some exclaiming as he passed, "Go away, in the name of all the fiends! and may you break your neck before you have gone beyond the walls of our city!" Never had the reformer been compelled to submit to such humiliation.

Luther proceeded to Kale, the pastor of which place had also embraced the doctrine of Carlstadt, and there resolved to preach upon the subject; but, on entering the pulpit, he discovered therein the fragments of a crucifix. He at first experienced a lively emotion; sitting down, however, he gathered the pieces of wood into a corner of the pulpit and delivered a sermon, in the course of which he made no allusion to the circumstance we have mentioned. "It was with contempt," he said at a later period, "that I was willing to wreak my vengeance over the devil."

The nearer the elector reached the termination of his days, the more he seemed to fear lest too great advances should be made in the cause of the Reformation. He ordered that Carlstadt should be deprived of his living and obliged to quit, not only Orlamund, but also the electoral states. In vain the church of this place interceded in behalf of its pastor; in vain did it demand that he should be at least permitted to reside in the city as one of its inhabitants, granting to him the privilege of delivering a sermon now and then; in vain did it represent that it esteemed the truth of God more than the whole, and even than a thousand worlds, if God had created a thousand of them. Frederick remained inflexible; he even went so far as to refuse the unhappy Carlstadt the money necessary for the per-

formance of his journey. Luther had no part in these stiff measures of the prince; such coldness was uncongenial to his character, and he proved this fact afterwards. But Carlstadt regarded him as the author of his misfortunes, and filled Germany with the repetition of his complaints and accusations. He wrote a farewell letter to his friends in Orlamund. His letter, the reading of which was announced by the ringing of the bell, and completed in the presence of the congregation overcome with tears, was signed, "Andrew Bodenstein, driven away by Luther, without having either been listened to or convinced by him."

It is impossible without sorrow to see these two men engaged in conflict, who were formerly such intimate friends, and both excellent in their natural dispositions. A feeling of regret filled the mind of every disciple attached to the Reformation. What must become of that cause now, when its most illustrious defenders were thus opposed to each other? Luther participated in these fears, and endeavoured to appease their violence. "Let us fight," said he, "as if we were fighting for another. The cause belongs to God, the care, the work, the victory, and the glory are all belonging to God. He will fight and will conquer without our aid. Let that which ought to fall, fall, and let that which ought to remain steadfast, continue upright! It is not our cause which is at stake, and it is not our own glory we seek!"

Carlstadt took refuge in the city of Strasburg, where he published a quantity of writings. "He was thoroughly versed," says Doctor Scheur, "in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and Luther acknowledged the superiority of his erudition." Endowed with an elevated soul, he sacrificed to his convictions, his reputation, his rank, his country, and even his living. At a latter period he fixed his abode in Switzerland, and it was in this country he was fated to commence his teaching, for his independence required to breathe the free atmosphere inhaled by the Ecolampades and Zwingles. His doctrine very speedily excited an attention almost as great as that which had been at first awakened by the theses of Luther. Switzerland appeared gained; Bucer and Chiton seemed drawn into the same vortex with her.

Then the indignation of Luther was raised to its highest pitch, and he published one of the ablest, but, at the same time, one of the most violent of his controversial works, namely, his book "*Against the Celestial Prophets*."

Thus the Reformation, attacked by the pope, attacked by the emperor, attacked by the princes, now commenced, as it were, to destroy its own body. It appeared on the eve of sinking under the weight of so many evils, and certainly it would have sunk into oblivion if it had been the work of man. But at the very moment of shipwreck, the enterprise was renewed with additional courage and energy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Progress—Resistance to the Leaguers—Meeting of Philip of Hesse and Melancthon—The Landgrave gained over to the Cause of the Gospel—Palatinate, Lunenburg, Holstein—The Grand Master at Wittenberg.

The Catholic league formed at Ratisbon, and the persecutions which followed its creation, produced a powerful reaction in the mul-

titudes of the Germanic populations. The Germans were not disposed to allow that word of God which had at last been made patent to their understanding to be carried away from them, and to the orders of Charles V., the bulls of the pope, or the threats and murders of Ferdinand and other Catholic princes, they replied, "We will keep hold of this precious treasure."

Scarcely had the leaguers quitted Ratisbon before the deputies of the cities, whose part the bishops had assumed in this alliance, surprised and indignant, met at Spire, and resolved that their preachers, in spite of the prohibitions issued by bishops, should proclaim the gospel, and the gospel alone, in conformity with the declarations of the prophets and apostles. Then they prepared themselves to present to the national assembly a decided and consistent advice or opinion.

The imperial letter, dated from Burgos, came, it is true, to disturb all their arrangements. Nevertheless, towards the end of the year, the deputies of these cities, and several noblemen, met together in Ulm, and swore to lend, in case of an attack, a mutual help to each other.

Thus, in front of the camp formed by Austria, Bavaria, and the bishops, the free cities pitched another, wherein the standard of the gospel and national liberty was bravely hoisted.

While these cities placed themselves in the advanced positions of the reform, a number of princes were also induced to embrace the same cause. On one of the first days of the month of June 1524, Melancthon was returning on horseback from a visit to his mother, in company with Camerius and several other friends, when, close to the town of Frankfort, they were met by a brilliant equipage. This attendance escorted the person of Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, who, three years previous to this date, had visited Luther at Worms, and who was now on his way to join in the sports of Heidelberg, in which it was expected all the princes of Germany would participate.

Thus providence brought Philip successively into connexion with two able reformers. It was known that the illustrious doctor was on a visit to his country; and one of the horsemen of the landgrave said to him, "This is, I think, Melancthon." Immediately the young prince spurred forward, and, coming up close to the doctor, he said, "Are you Philip?" "I am," replied the learned man, somewhat abashed, and preparing to dismount. "Remain where you are," said the prince, "turn your horse round, and come and pass the night with me; it is on indifferent subjects I wish to speak with you; be not afraid." "Wherefore should I be afraid of a prince of your character?" replied the doctor. "Yes, yes," said the landgrave, laughing, "if I were to carry you off and deliver you over to Campeggio, he would not be sorrow for it, I think." The two Philips travelled together by the side of each other, the prince putting questions, and the doctor replying thereto, while the landgrave was delighted with the clear and striking views his companion displayed to his observation. Melancthon at last implored the prince to permit his return towards home, and Philip of Hesse separated from the doctor with much regret. "Upon one condition," said the prince, namely, "that upon your arrival at your house, you will begin to study with care the questions we have been debating upon, and that you promise to send

me a copy of your writings." Melancthon agreed to this proposal. "Go then," said Philip, "and pass through my states."

Melancthon prepared, with his usual talent, "*An Abridgement of the Renovated Doctrines of Christianity*;" and this production, distinguished by brevity and perspicuity, made a marked impression upon the mind of the landgrave. Soon after his return from the games of Heidelberg, this prince, without entering into alliance with the free cities, issued in his own name an ordinance, through which, setting himself in opposition to the league of Ratisbon, he commanded that the gospel should be preached in all its purity. He embraced himself with the energy of his character the cause of the gospel. "I would rather," exclaimed he, "abandon my body and my life, my states and my subjects, than renounce the word of God." A monk, the minor brother Ferber, perceiving this preference evinced by the prince in favour of the reform, addressed to him a letter filled with reproaches, and in which he conjured him to remain faithful to the Church of Rome. "I wish," replied Philip, "to remain faithful to the ancient doctrine, but such as it is contained in the Scriptures." Then he went on to prove, with great clearness, that man is justified alone through faith. The monk in amazement continued silent. The landgrave was afterwards called "the disciple of Melancthon."

Other princes followed the example thus given. The elector palatine refused to give his assent to any acts of persecution: The duke of Luneburg, the nephew of the elector of Saxony, began to reform the condition of his states; and the king of Denmark gave orders that in Schleswig and Holstein all should be left at liberty to serve God in the manner their consciences approved.

The reform also obtained a victory yet more decisive. A prince, whose conversion to the gospel was doomed to have even in our own day consequences of vital importance, then began to turn back from the cause of Rome. One day, about the end of June, shortly after Melancthon's return to Wittenberg, there entered the chamber of Luther, the grand master of the Teutonic Order, Albert, the margrave of Brandenburg. This leader of the knightly monks of Germany, who then possessed the province of Prussia, had proceeded to join the meeting of the diet of Nuremberg, in order there to invoke against Poland the assistance of the empire. He returned from his expedition with a broken spirit. On the one hand, the preachings of Osiander and the perusal of the gospel had convinced him that his quality of monk was contrary to the word of God; while, on the other, the fall of the national government in Germany had deprived him of all hope of obtaining the succour he so much desired to secure. What must he therefore do? . . . The Saxon counsellor from Planitz, with whom he left Nuremberg, invited him to come and see the reformer. "What think you," said the agitated and alarmed prince, "of the rule of my order?" Luther hesitated not for a moment; he saw that a procedure in conformity with the gospel was the only means whereby Prussia could be saved. "Invoke," said he to the grand master, "the help of God; reject the foolish and confused rule of your order; cause this abominable principality, a real hermaphrodite, which is neither religious nor secular, to be abolished from a spurious chastity; get married; and in place of this mon-

ster without a name, lay the foundation of a legitimate empire." These words clearly portrayed, in the soul of the grand master, a situation which, until now, he had only vaguely comprehended. A smile enlivened his countenance; but he had too much prudence to avow at once his convictions, and therefore remained silent. Melancthon, who was present, spoke after the same fashion as Luther, and the prince resumed his journey towards his state, leaving a persuasion in the minds of the reformers, that the seed which they had sown in his heart would one day produce good fruit.

Thus Charles V. and the pope had joined in opposition to the national assembly at Spire, for fear that the word of God should gain over all their assistants; but the word of God cannot be bound in fetters. It was refused a hearing in a single hall within one of the cities of the lower palatinate, and it discovered its contempt of all restraint by resounding its accents in every province. It animated the people, enlightened princes, and displayed before the face of the whole empire that Divine force which neither bulls nor ordinance shall ever be able to despoil.

CHAPTER IX.

Reforms—Church of All Saints—Fall of the Mass—The Letters—Christian Schools—Learning offered to the Laity—The Arts—Moral Religion, Esthetic Religion—Music—Poetry—Painting.

Whilst the people and their leaders were thus seen to turn their attention towards the light, the reformers, with equal ardour, endeavoured to renew the whole stamina of society, and to infuse therein the vital principles of Christianity. Worship first attracted their notice. The time fixed by the reformer, on his return from Wartburg had arrived. "Now," said he, "that the hearts of men have been fortified with divine grace, it is necessary to banish the scandals which defile the kingdom of our Lord, and to dare something in the name of Jesus Christ." He asked that the communicants should partake of the sacrament in both kinds; that every appearance of sacrifice should be abolished with reference to the Lord's Supper; that Christian congregations should never assemble without having the word of God preached to them; that the faithful, or, at all events, the priests and students, should meet every morning at four or five o'clock for the purpose of reading the Old Testament, and every evening at five or six o'clock to read the New; that on Sunday the whole body of the church should attend service forenoon and afternoon, and that the supreme rule of worship was to cause the bell of the word of God to resound in the ears of the people.

The church of All Saints, at Wittenberg, excited especially his indignation. There were annually celebrated in this place 9901 masses, and 35,570 pounds of wax candles were within the same period consumed, as we are told by Seckendorf. Luther designated these observances "the Tophet sacrilege." "There are only," said he, "three or four idle bellies who still worship the shameful Mass, and if I restrained not the people, long ago this house of All Saints, or rather of all devils, would have made such a noise in the world as has never been equalled."

The struggle commenced around this church. It was like the ancient sanctuaries of Paganism in Egypt, in Gaul, and in Ger

many, which must be overthrown, in order that Christianity might be established.

Luther, anxious to secure the abolishment of mass in said cathedral, addressed, with this view, on the 1st March 1523, a first request to the chapter, and, on the 11th of July, he a second time renewed his application. The canons having referred him to the orders of the elector, "What signifies to us in this case the order of a prince?" replied Luther. "He is a secular prince; it is with the sword he has to do, and not with the ministry of the gospel." Luther expresses here with clearness the distinction between the church and state. "There is but one sacrifice which effaces sin," said he again, "Christ Jesus, who has offered himself once for all; and we share therein, not through works or through sacrifices, but solely by faith in the word of God."

The elector, who was aware of his approaching dissolution, felt averse to encourage any new reforms.

But fresh entreaties were joined to the solicitations of Luther. "It is time to act," said to the elector Jonas the provost of the cathedral. "A manifestation of the gospel, as bright as that which we now behold at this hour, does not usually last longer than a ray of the sun. Let us therefore make haste."

This letter from Jonas having effected no change in the sentiments of the elector, Luther lost patience; for he believed that the moment was arrived when the last blow must be struck, and he addressed a threatening letter to the chapter:—"I beseech you amicably," said he therein, "and I earnestly entreat you to put an end to all this sect worship. If you refuse to obey this request, you shall receive in consequence, God aiding, the reward you shall have merited. I say this much for your government, and I demand an immediate and positive reply—yes or no—before the approaching Sabbath, so that I may know what I have to do. May God grant you grace to follow his light. Thursday, the 8th December 1524.

"MARTIN LUTHER, *Preacher at Wittenberg.*"

At the same time, the rector, two burgomasters, and ten councillors waited upon the dean, and solicited him, in the name of the university, the council, and the whole body of the people in Wittenberg, "to abolish the great and horrible impiety committed in the mass against the majesty of God."

The chapter was induced to comply. Its body declared that, enlightened by the holy word of God, it acknowledged the abuse which had been pointed out, and published a new order of service, which began to be observed on Christmas day 1524.

In this way mass was abolished in this famous sanctuary, wherein it had so long resisted the reiterated attacks of the reformers. The elector Frederick, suffering from an attack of the gout, and almost about to expire, could not, in spite of all his efforts, hinder the completion of this grand act of the Reformation. He recognised in this deed the Divine will, and submitted to its accomplishment. The fall of Roman practices in the church of All Saints quickened their destruction in a great many other churches within the provinces of Christendom: everywhere the same resistance was exhibited, but also the same victory. In vain were the priests and even the princes

desirous, in several places, to raise up obstacles against this reform, but their greatest exertions were all ineffectual.

Nor was it the forms of worship alone the Reformation was destined to change. The school was happily placed by its means close to the church; and these two grand institutions, all-powerful for regenerating the people, were equally revived by its exertions. It was joined in an intimate alliance with letters that the Reformation had made its appearance in the world, and in the day of its triumph it did not forget the interests of its ally.

Christianity does not consist in a simple developement of the Jewish religion. It does not propose to confine man again, as Popery is anxious to do, within the narrow limits of outward ordinances and human doctrines. Christianity is, in fact, a new creation; it operates upon man from within; it works a reformation in the most minute principles of human nature, in so much that man has no longer need of receiving from other men the restriction of rules, but, assisted by God, he is able of himself, and by himself, to recognise that which is true and to do that which is good. (Heb. viii. 11.)

In order to lead human nature up to this condition of maturity which Christ has acquired for it, and to relieve it from the tutelage of Rome in which it had been so long restrained, the Reformation was obliged to develop man entirely; and, in regenerating his heart and his will by the word of God, to enlighten his understanding by means of a close study of sacred and profane literature.

Luther comprehended the fact, and felt that, in order to confirm the Reformation, there was an urgent necessity for working upon youth, for improving the schools, and for propagating throughout christianity the knowledge requisite to ensure a profound study of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore, he made this object one of the chief cares of his life. He more particularly discerned the importance of this question at the period to which we have now arrived, and he then addressed to the councillors of all the cities in Germany, a circular requesting them to found immediately Christian seminaries. "Dear sirs," said he to them, "a larger sum of money is annually laid out in the purchase of guns, or in making roads and fortifications, wherefore should not a small amount be spent in procuring for the poor youths the assistance of one or two schoolmasters; God is at the door, and he knocks; truly happy shall we be if we should open the door to him! Now the Divine word abounds! O dear Germans! purchase and buy while the market is held before your houses. The word of God and his grace are like a shower which falls and passes away. That shower rained on the Jews; but it has passed over them, and now they have it not. Paul pointed to it in Greece; but over that country it has also passed, and the Turks are now its inhabitants. It shewed itself at Rome and in the Latin districts; but there it has also disappeared, and Rome is now the dwelling-place of the pope. O Germans! do not think that you shall for ever possess that word. The contempt which has been heaped upon it shall drive it from us. It is for this reason that he who wishes to have it must lay hold upon and keep it!

"Take children under your care," continued he, still addressing himself to the magistrates, "for a number of parents are like the ostrich, they become hardened towards their young, and, content

with having broken the shell of the egg, they take no more heed of their offspring. The prosperity of a city does not merely consist in accumulating riches, in building strong walls or handsome houses, or yet in the possession of formidable armies. If many fools come to fall upon it, its misfortune shall then only prove the greater. The real wealth of a city, its safety and its strength, are to be found in the number of its learned citizens, men serious, and honest, and well regulated in their conduct. And to whom must we attribute the small quantity of such props, if it be not to you magistrates, who have allowed the youth of your cities to grow up like the old trees in a forest?"

It was especially the study of letters and languages the necessity of which Luther maintained with importunity. "Of what use is it, it has been asked, to learn Latin, Greek, or Hebrew? We are perfectly able to read the Bible in German. Without these languages," replied he, "we should not have received the gospel. . . . The languages are the scabbard in which the sword of the Spirit is contained; they are the casket which encloses these jewels; they are the vessels which hold this precious liquor; and, in the words of the gospel, they are the basket in which is preserved the loaves and fishes destined to feed the people. If we abandon the study of the languages, we shall thereby not only come to lose the gospel, but also the ability either to speak or to write, whether it be in Latin or German. From the moment that people cease to cultivate a knowledge of the languages, christendom declines, until it falls under the tyranny of the pope. But now that these languages have again received the honour due to their worth, they have spread abroad such refulgence of light, that the whole world is astonished, and every person constrained to acknowledge that our gospel is almost equally pure with that of the apostles themselves. The holy fathers of former times have often been deceived, because they were unacquainted with the languages; and, in our own day, the Vaudois of Piedmont do not consider the languages useful; but, however good their doctrine may be, they are often in error with regard to the true meaning of the sacred text, and are thus exposed to imminent danger, in so much that I fear their faith may not long continue pure. If the languages had not procured for me the real sense of the word, I might perhaps have been a pious monk, and quietly preached the truth in the obscurity of the cloister, but I might have left in their strength the pope, sophists, and their anti-Christian empire."

It is not, however, with the learning of the ecclesiastical body Luther solely occupied his thoughts; he wished that knowledge should not be entirely confined within the precincts of the church; and he proposed to secure for the laity a participation in these acquirements from which they had been so long excluded. He requested, therefore, the establishment of libraries, and that the collection of books should not be restricted to the editions and commentaries of the divinity schools or of the fathers of the church, but should also include the works of poets and orators, even although they were Pagans, as well as the writings composed in support of the fine arts, the law, medicine, and history. These productions serve," said he, "to explain the works and the miracles of God."

This work of Luther is one of the most important ever produced

under the influences of the Reformation. He thereby rescued knowledge from the hands of the priests who had monopolized the advantages of learning, as had been done of old in Egypt, and offered it to the acceptance of all. From this impulse directed by the reform have proceeded the most wonderful developements of modern times. Those laymen, men of letters or philosophers, who now deny the Reformation, forget that they are themselves the production of its labours, and that, without it, they would have been still placed, like so many ignorant children, under the lash of the clergy. The Reformation clearly discovered the intimate union that exists between every species of science; and it perceived that every science emanating from God directs its course back to God. It was willing that everything should be learned, and that all should be entitled to learn. "Those who despise profane learning," said Melancthon, "do not sufficiently esteem sacred theology. Their contempt is only a pretext with which they seek to cover their own idleness."

The Reformation was not content, moreover, with imparting a vigorous impulse to the study of letters, it also communicated to the arts a new excitement. Protestantism has often been reproached with having been an enemy to the improvement of the arts, and many Protestants are willing to plead guilty to this accusation. We will not inquire whether or not the reform must be supposed detrimental to such interests; but it may suffice to remark, that impartial history does not confirm the facts upon which this charge is based. Let Roman Catholicism pride itself upon being more favourable to the arts than Protestantism, it is all very well; Paganism was yet more propitious in its encouragement of the same, while Protestantism seeks for glory in another direction. It is in the business of other religions where the polished senses of man occupy a place more important than his moral nature. And Christianity distinguishes herself from these religions, from the circumstance of her very essence being composed of the moral element. Christian feeling exhibits itself, not in the productions of the fine arts, but in the duties of the Christian life. Every sect which shall abandon this moral tendency of Christianity shall thereby lose all its rights to the name of Christian. Rome has not entirely resigned all claim to this distinction, but Protestantism preserves in still greater purity the essential character referred to. It places its own glory in examining thoroughly every thing that belongs to the moral being, in judging of religious acts, not in accordance with their outward beauty and the manner they impose upon the imagination, but according to their particular value and the relation they bear to the dictates of conscience; in so much that, if Popery is before all a religion of refined sentiment, as has been proved by a celebrated writer,* Protestantism is in an equally strong sense a moral religion.

Nevertheless, while the Reformation addressed itself to man, in the first place, as a moral being, it addressed itself to the whole constitution of man. We have just seen in what manner it spoke to his understanding, and what it did in the cause of learning; it spoke likewise to his sensibility and his imagination, and contributed much to the developement of the arts. The church was no longer composed

* Chateaubriand. "Genius of Christianity."

entirely of priests and monks ; it was in reality the assembly of the faithful. Every individual was destined to take a part in its worship, and to the chanting of the clergy must succeed the singing of the people. Wherefore Luther, in translating the Psalms, adapted his style to the singing of the church. It was in this manner the taste for music was diffused throughout the districts of every nation.

"After theology," said Luther, "it is to music I give the first place and the chiefest honour." "It is necessary for a schoolmaster to know music," said he also, "without which accomplishment I hold him in no value."

On one occasion, while the performance of some beautiful pieces was in execution within his own house, he exclaimed with delight, "If our God has bestowed such admirable gifts upon this earth, which is no more than a mere atom, what shall we not enjoy in that eternal life where perfection shall be found!" . . . Since the days of Luther, the people have been accustomed to sing ; the Bible inspired their songs, and the impulse given at this period by the Reformation created at an after date those magnificent oratorios which seemed to be the highest attainments of this art.

Poetry made a bound equally extensive. It was impossible, in celebrating the praises of God, to confine these acts of glorification to the simple translation of ancient hymns. The soul of Luther, with those of many of his contemporaries, elevated by faith to the most sublime thoughts, excited to enthusiasm by the combats and dangers which continually threatened the infant church, and, finally, inspired by the poetic genius of the Old and the faith of the New Testament, very soon poured out their sentiments in many religious songs, wherein the poetry and the music were united to produce a mingled work of celestial beauty. In this manner was seen to reappear, in the sixteenth century, the spiritual songs which formerly, in the first, had afforded consolation to the sufferings of martyrdom. In the year 1523, Luther, as we have seen, consecrated his poetic genius in honour of the martyrs who died in Brussels ; and other children of the Reformation, following his example, quickly diffused among the people an accumulated number of holy verses, and powerfully contributed to awaken the multitude from their hapless sleep. It was in the same year Hans Sachs composed the *Nightingale of Wittemberg*. The doctrine which, for four centuries, had reigned in the church, is in his sight like the light of the moon, during which time people wander in the vastness of the deserts. But now the nightingale hails the appearance of the sun, and rises, in praising the light of the day, above the heavy clouds of the morning.

At the sametime that the spirit of lyric poetry thus emerged from the most elevated inspirations of the reform, satirical poetry and the drama attacked, under the direction of Hutten, Murner, and Manuel, the most crying abuses.

It is to the reform the greatest poets of England and Germany, and, perhaps, of France, owe their chief resources. Painting is, of all the arts, that upon which the Reformation has exerted the smallest influence. Nevertheless, this art was renovated, and, as it were, sanctified, by the universal movement which then agitated all the powers of man. The great master of this period, Lucas Cranach, fixed his abode at Wittemberg, and there lived in intimate friendship

with Luther, becoming also the painter of the Reformation. We have recognised how he represented the contrasts between Christ and Antichrist, (the pope,) and thus assumed a rank among the most influential agents of that revolution which transformed the minds of the people. From the moment that he had received new convictions of the truth, he consecrated his chaste pencil to designs altogether in harmony with Christian belief, and he bestowed upon the group of children blessed by the Saviour the same grace with which he had before embellished the saints and the lives of the saints. Albert Durer was likewise converted by the word of the gospel, and his genius was devoted to new purposes. His principal works took their origin from this date. It was evident from the style in which he painted after this time the evangelists and the apostles, that the Bible was given back to the people, and that the painter drew from that source a depth, a force, a life, and a grandeur, which he could never have discovered in himself.

It must, however, be acknowledged that painting is, of all the arts, the one whose religious influence is the most susceptible of deep and urgent objections. Poetry and music have descended from heaven, and shall thither re-ascend, but we continually behold painting united with disgusting immoralities or woful errors. After the study of history, or a visit to Italy, nothing will be expected in aid of humanity from the efforts of this fine art. Although there are exceptions, which we have believed it just to notice, our general observation is beyond dispute.

The Reformation of Germany, while mainly directing its view to the moral nature of man, has been found to impart an impulsion to the arts which they have never been known to receive from Roman Catholicism.

Thus everything was placed in a state of progression—the arts, literature, the spirituality of worship, and the souls of the people and of kings. But this magnificent harmony which the gospel, in the days of its revival, had produced in every quarter, was about to be disturbed. The songs of the nightingale of Wittemberg were soon to be hushed in the violence of the storm and the roaring of lions. A dark cloud hung for a time over the whole expanse of Germany, and a bright day was to be succeeded by a gloomy night.

CHAPTER X.

Political Fermentation—Luther against Revolt—Thomas Munzer—The Black Forest—The Twelve Articles—Advice of Luther—Helfenstein—March of the Peasantry—Crusade of the Princes.

A political fermentation, very different from that excited by the gospel, had for a long time exasperated the empire. Overwhelmed by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, connected in several countries to the land possessed by the nobles, and sold along with the soil, the people threatened to rebel in anger, and finally break their chains of servitude. This agitation was observable, through divers symptoms, long before the dawns of the Reformation, and from the moment of its first glimmerings the religious was united with the political element; and it was impossible, in the sixteenth century, to separate these two principles, so intimately associated together in the being of nations. In Holland, at the end of the preceding century, the peasantry had risen, and had put upon their standard, in imitation of

armorial bearings, a loaf and cheese, the two special properties of these poor people. "The alliance of the shoes" had been formed in the neighbourhood of Spires, in the year 1503; and, in 1513, it was renewed in Brisgau under the connivance of several priests. Wurttemberg had witnessed, in 1514, the establishment of "the league of the poor Conrad," whose purpose was to maintain, by means of rebellion, "the law of God," while Carinthia and Hungary had been, in 1515, the theatre of terrible agitations. The seditions now alluded to had been smothered with torrents of blood, but no relief had been afforded the people. A political reform, therefore, was not less necessary than a religious reformation; and the people had a right to enjoy the former, although it is proper to confess that they were not sufficiently civilized to reap the corresponding advantages of such a blessing.

From the time the Reformation had commenced, these popular agitations had not been renewed; for the public mind had, for the time, been occupied with thoughts of a different nature. Luther, whose piercing eye had discovered the condition of the people, had addressed to them, while confined in Wartburg, some serious exhortations, with the intention of thus curbing their agitated spirits.

"Revolt," he had said, "never produces the amelioration desired, and God condemns rebellion. What is it to revolt, if it be not to take vengeance upon oneself? The devil strives to irritate into actions of revolt those who have embraced the gospel, in order to cover it with opprobrium; but those who have rightly comprehended my doctrine will not rebel."

Everything inculcated a fear that the popular agitation would not be long restrained. The government which Frederick of Saxony had at such a cost of labour established had been dissolved. The emperor, whose energy might perhaps have replaced the influence of that national administration, was absent. The princes, whose union had always composed the strength of Germany, were now distracted in opinion; and the fresh declarations of Charles V. against Luther, by destroying all hope of future reconciliation, had robbed the reformer of a portion of that moral authority by means of which, in 1522, he had succeeded in calming the raging storm. The principal dikes, which until now had stayed the torrent, were broken down, and nothing could farther oppose its fury.

It was not the religious movement which gave birth to political agitation; but in several places the former allowed itself to be dragged along in company with the latter tumult. Perhaps it may be just even to exceed this limit, and to acknowledge that the movement communicated to the people by the reform imparted a new force to the discontent which harassed the nation. The violence of Luther's writings, the intrepidity of his actions and his words, the bold truths which he asserted, not only in the face of the pope, but also of the princes themselves, were all calculated to increase the impatience of minds already in a state of burning anger. Wherefore Erasmus did not fail to tell him, "We are now gathering the fruits of the seeds you have sown." Moreover, the delightful truths of the gospel, exposed at last in the light of day, impressed every heart with joy, and filled them with hope and expectation. But a number of unregenerated souls were not prepared to receive through repentance the pri-

vileges of Christian faith and liberty. They were sufficiently willing to cast off the yoke of the pope, but they were not willing to take up the cross of Christ. Therefore, when the princes devoted to the cause of Rome sought in their rage to smother the Reformation, real Christians, it is true, knew how to support with patience such cruel persecutions, but the mob became turbulent and rebelled; and, seeing their wishes compromised on one side, they strove to find an outlet by another way. "Wherefore is it," said they, "that while the church calls upon all men to receive a noble liberty, the hardships of servitude are perpetuated in the state? Wherefore, while the church speaks only of resignation, do the governments still have recourse to force alone?" Unhappily, when the religious reform had received, with equal joy, alike the princes and the people, the political reform, on the contrary, had opposed to it the most powerful party of the nation; and while the former possessed the gospel as its rule and place of refuge, the latter very soon acknowledged no other principles save that of arbitrary violence. Thus, whilst the one was restrained within the boundaries of the truth, the other rapidly exceeded, like an impetuous current, all the limits of justice. But willingly to deny any indirect influence contributed by the Reformation to the troubles which burst out in the empire appears to me to argue an undue partiality. A fire had been kindled in Germany by means of religious discussions; and it was impossible to prevent the escape of some sparks fitted to inflame the passions of the people.

The pretensions of some fanatics to celestial inspiration served to augment the evil. At the moment when the Reformation had continued to appeal, without intermission, from the pretended authority of the church to the real authority of the Holy Scriptures, these enthusiasts rejected not only the authority of the church, but also that of the Scriptures; they no longer spoke of anything but an inward word, of an interior revelation from God; and, denying the natural corruption of their hearts, they delivered themselves over to all the intoxication of spiritual pride, and imagined themselves to be saints.

"The Holy Scriptures were no more in their sight than a dead letter," said Luther, and every one began to cry, "The Spirit, the Spirit! but assuredly I will not follow the direction in which their spirit leads them! May God, in his mercy, preserve me from a church in which there are only saints to be found. I wish to remain in the place where we meet with the humble, the weak, and the sick, who are aware of and deplore their sins, and who sigh and cry continually to God, from the bottom of their heart, in order to obtain his consolation and his aid." These words of Luther are possessed of great depth, and mark the change which was in operation in his views with regard to the nature of the church. They demonstrate at same time how much the religious principles of the rebellion were in opposition with those of the Reformation.

The most distinguished person among the ranks of these enthusiasts was Thomas Munzer. He was not altogether devoid of talent, and had read the Bible, and with a commendable zeal he might have done well had he known how to calm his agitated spirits, and to secure the peace of heart awarded to the simple Christian. But unacquainted with his own character and deficient in real humility, he was overtaken with a desire to reform the world, and forgot, like all enthu-

siasts, that it was with himself the task of reform must necessarily begin. A quantity of mystical writings which he had studied in his youth had given a false direction to his thoughts. He first made his appearance in Zwickau, but quitted Wittemberg after Luther's return, displeased with the inferior part he was there compelled to perform, and finally became pastor of the small town of Alstadt, in Thuringia. He could not for any length of time remain at rest, and soon began to accuse the reformers of founding, by their attachment to literature, a new species of Popery, and of forming many churches which were neither pure nor holy.

"Luther," said he, "has delivered the consciences from the yoke of the pope, but he has left them in a carnal liberty, and has not directed them in their advance of the spirit towards God."

He looked upon himself as called by God to prescribe the remedy for an evil of such magnitude. The revelations of the spirit were in his opinion the means by which his reform was destined to succeed. "He who possessed that spirit," said he, "has true faith, even although he should not look upon the Holy Scriptures during the whole course of his life. The Pagans and the Turks are better prepared to receive it than many Christians who call us enthusiasts." It was Luther he here alluded to. "In order to receive this spirit, it is necessary to chastise the body," said he in addition, "to wear shabby clothing, to leave the beard to grow, to have a melancholy look, to refrain from speaking, to visit secluded retreats, and to supplicate God to bestow on us a sign of his favour. Then God shall come and shall speak with us, as in former times with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. If he did not this, it would be of no use for man to occupy himself with him. I have received from God the charge to assemble his elect in a holy and everlasting alliance."

The agitation and disquietude which harassed the public mind too strongly favoured the propagation of those enthusiastic ideas. Man admires the marvellous, and that which flatters his pride. Munzer having persuaded a portion of his flock to adopt his views, abolished ecclesiastical singing and all ceremonies. He maintained that, to obey princes "deprived of reason" was to serve at once both God and Belial. Afterwards, marching at the head of his parishioners, towards a chapel which was situated in the neighbourhood of Alstadt, and to which pilgrims paid devotional visits, he overturned the building. Obligated in consequence of this exploit to leave the country, he wandered about in Germany, and finally arrived in Switzerland, wherein he promulgated, among all those who were willing to listen to him, the plan of a universal revolution. In every quarter he met with minds prepared to receive his suggestions; he threw powder upon the burning coals, and very soon occasioned a violent explosion.

Luther, who had discountenanced the warlike enterprises of Seckingen, could not suffer himself to be entangled with the tumultuous movements of the peasantry. The gospel preserved him, happily for the interest of social order; for, what must have happened had he carried into the camp of the disaffected the vast influence of his name? . . . He constantly and firmly maintained the distinction between spiritual and secular affairs; he did not cease to aver that it was immortal souls which Christ had emancipated by his word; and if with one hand he attacked the authority of the church, he sup-

ported with the other, and with equal force, the power of the princes. "A Christian," said he, "must endure a hundred deaths rather than intermingle in the least degree with the rebellious schemes of the peasants." He also wrote to the elector, "It is a subject of peculiar joy to me that these enthusiasts themselves boast to all their followers that they do not belong to our party. It is the spirit which conducts them, they say; and for me, I reply, It is an evil spirit, whose only fruits are manifested in the pillage of convents and churches; the greatest brigand on the earth might lay claim to the same inspiration."

At the same time Luther, who desired to secure for others the liberty he claimed on his own behalf, strove to dissuade the prince from the adoption of all rigorous measures. "Leave them to preach upon what subjects they choose, and against whomsoever they may think proper," said he; "for it is necessary to allow the word of God to march forward itself, and to offer them battle. If their spirit be the true spirit, it shall not be afraid of our rigorous deeds, and if ours be the true spirit, it shall not dread their violence. Leave the spirits to struggle and fight with one another. Perhaps some persons may be seduced; for there is no battle without wounds: but he who fights sincerely shall be crowned with victory. Nevertheless, if they determine to draw the sword, let your Highness forbid the use of such a weapon, and command them to leave the country."

The rebellion began in the districts of the Black Forest and of the sources of the Danube, so often agitated by popular commotions. On the 19th July 1524, a number of Thurgovian peasants rose in revolt against the abbot of Reichenau, who refused to grant them the services of an evangelical preacher. Very speedily some thousands of people were assembled around the small town of Tengen, with the purpose of liberating a clergyman who was confined within the prison of the place. The spirit of revolt spread with inconceivable rapidity, from the confines of Swabia as far as the countries of the Rhine, of Franconia, of Thuringia, and of Saxony. The whole of these provinces were in a state of rebellion in the month of January 1525.

Towards the end of that month, the peasantry issued a declaration composed of twelve articles, in which they demanded the liberty of choosing for themselves their own pastors, the abolition of small tithes, of servitude, of the laws of inheritance, the freedom of the chase, of fishing, and of cutting wood, &c. Each demand was confirmed by some passage. "If we have deceived ourselves," said they in conclusion, "let Luther correct us from the Scriptures."

The advice of the theologians of Wittemberg was applied for, and Luther and Melancthon gave theirs separately, in which the difference of their characters was plainly discovered. Melancthon, in whose sight every kind of disturbance constituted a great crime, exceeded the boundaries of his usual simplicity, and failed in terms to express his fervent indignation. The peasants were criminals, against whom he invoked every law human and divine. If benevolent negotiations were found useless, the magistrate was called upon to treat the multitude like brigands and assassins. "Nevertheless," added he, (and there was, indeed, much need of at least one trait to recall the remembrance of Melancthon,) "let pity be shewn to orphans in the application of the penalty of death."

Luther regarded revolt in the same light with Melancthon, but he

had within his bosom a heart which felt for the miseries of the people. He displayed on the present occasion a marked impartiality, and frankly declared the truth to both parties. He addressed himself in the first place to the princes, and more particularly to the bishops.

"It is you," said he to them, "who are the cause of this revolt; it is your declamations against the gospel, your culpable oppression of the inferior members of the church, which have driven the people into their condition of despair. It is not a number of peasants, dear lords, who have risen against you; it is God himself who is desirous of opposing your previous conduct. These peasants are nothing more than the instruments employed by him to work out your humiliation. Do not think yourselves able to escape from the punishment he has prepared for you. Although you were to succeed in destroying that large quantity of peasants, God is able, from the very stones, to create a new host thereof, in order to chastise your pride. If I wished to revenge myself, I might laugh in my sleeve, in urging on the peasants, or even in augmenting their passion, but God preserve me from such a course! . . . Dear lords, for the love of God! refrain from cruel deeds, treat with reason this poor people, as men intoxicated and wandering. Appease their troubles with mild measures, lest there may issue from their sufferings a conflagration which shall encircle the whole limits of Germany. Among these twelve articles there are some which are just and equitable."

This exordium was calculated to procure for Luther the confidence of the peasantry, and to induce them to listen with patience to the truths which he was about to recommend to their attention. He represented to them that a large portion of their demands was, it is true, well founded; but that to rise in rebellion was the act of Pagans; that the grand duty of the Christian was patience, and not war, and that if they continued to rise in the name of the gospel against the very spirit of the gospel, he would regard them as enemies to the word of God more dangerous than the pope. "The pope and the emperor," continued he, "have joined together against me; but the more the pope and the emperor have raged, the more the gospel has advanced. Wherefore has such a result come to pass? It is because I have never offered to draw the sword nor to demand vengeance; it is because I have never had recourse either to tumults or rebellion; I have referred everything to God, and I have waited the issue by placing myself in his all-powerful hand. It is neither with the sword nor the gun Christians seek to fight, but with sufferings and the cross of Christ. He, (Jesus,) their captain, has not fenced with the sword, but he was suspended upon a tree."

In vain, however, did Luther express himself in a strain so truly Christian. The people were too strongly excited by the fanatical discourses of the leaders of the rebellion to lend, as on other occasions, their ear to the words of the reformer. "He plays the hypocrite," it was said; "he flatters the princes; he has declared war with the pope, and he wishes that we should become submissive to our oppressors."

The revolt, therefore, instead of being appeased, only became more formidable. At Weinsberg, the Count Louis of Helfenstein, and the seventy men whom he commanded, were condemned to death. A party of peasants held their pikes in position of the charge, firm and

without moving, while others drove up and pushed against this iron piling the count and his soldiers. The wife of the unhappy Helfenstein, the natural daughter of the emperor Maximilian, holding in her arms an infant two years old, begged on her knees, with accents choked by tears, the life of her husband, and endeavoured, but in vain, to stay this murderous march. Nay, a young lad, who had been in the service of the count, but who had joined the rebels, skipped sportingly about her person, and played upon a fife the march of death, to the time of dancing, as if he were escorting to a ball these doomed victims. Every one of them perished; the infant was wounded in its mother's arms; and she herself was conveyed in a dung-cart as far as Heilbronn.

When the news of such cruelties were spread abroad, a cry of horror escaped the mouths of the friends of the Reformation, and a terrible combat was raised within the sensitive soul of Luther. On the one side the peasants, making a mockery of his representations, pretended to have received direct revelations from heaven, made an impious use of the threatenings of the Old Testament, proclaimed the equality of conditions, and the community of property, defended their cause with steel and fire, and debased their character with barbarous executions. On the other hand the enemies of the reform inquired, with a malignant smile, whether or not the former was now convinced that it was more easy to kindle a conflagration than to extinguish it. Enraged with these excesses, and alarmed at the thought that they might help to stop the progress of the gospel, Luther no longer hesitated in his actions; he concealed nothing, but let himself loose upon the rebels with all the force of his disposition, and exceeded, perhaps, the just limits within which he ought to have confined his attacks.

"The peasantry," said he, "are guilty of three horrible sins both towards God and towards men, and they therefore deserve death alike of body and soul. In the first place, they have rebelled against the magistrates to whom they have pledged their oath of fidelity. Next, they rob and pillage both convents and castles. And, lastly, they cover these crimes with the cloak of the gospel. If you do not put to death a mad dog, you shall perish, and all the country along with you. He who shall be killed in fighting for the rights of the magistrate shall die the death of a real martyr, if he has fought with a good conscience." Luther afterwards described with energy the guilty violence of the peasants, who forced simple and peaceable men to join their ranks, and thus exposed them to the penalties of the same condemnation. Then he added, "It is for this reason, dear lords, I call upon you to assist, to save, to deliver, and to have pity upon this poor people. Stick, wound, and kill who can. . . . If you die, you cannot secure an end more happy; for you perish in the service of God, and in order to save your neighbour from the torments of hell."

But neither persuasion nor threatenings were able to restrain the popular torrent. The bells of the churches were no longer sounded to intimate the commencement of divine service. As soon as in the bosom of the country their solemn and prolonged sounds were heard to ring, they were recognised as the tocsin, and every one ran to arms. The people of the Black Forest had assembled around John

Muller of Bulgenbach. Of an imposing aspect, and clothed in a red cloak, with a hat of the same colour upon his head, this chief boldly advanced from village to village, followed by the peasantry. Behind him, upon a car, decorated with leaves and ribbons, was erected the three-coloured flag—black, red, and white—the signal of rebellion. A herald, dressed in the same fashion, read aloud the twelve articles, and invited the people to join the ranks of the rebels. Whoever refused this call were excluded from the benefits of the commonalty.

Very soon this march, at first pacific in its advances, became more turbulent. "It is necessary," exclaimed some individuals, "to force the nobles to submit themselves to the terms of our alliance." And, in the furtherance of this object, the grain-stores were pillaged, the cellars were emptied, the lordly fish-ponds were poached, and the castles of the nobles who resisted were reduced to a heap of ruins, while the convents were burned to the ground. Resistance had inflamed the fury of these uncivilized creatures; equality no longer sufficed; they thirsted for blood; . . . and they swore to cause every one to bite the dust who wore a spur on his foot.

At the approach of the peasants, the towns being in no condition to offer resistance, opened their gates and joined the cause of these invaders. In every place into which this rude army entered the images were destroyed and the crucifixes were broken in pieces, whilst armed women hurried through the streets, seeking vengeance upon the monks. Did they happen to be repulsed in one quarter they re-assemble in another, and often braved the opposition of the most formidable forces. A committee of peasants was established at Heilbronn. The counts of Lowenstein were made prisoners; they were dressed in coarse habits; a white staff was put into their hands; and they were obliged to take an oath to observe the provisions of the twelve articles. "Brother George, and you also, Albert," said a coppersmith from Ohringen to the counts of Hohenloe, who had surrendered and joined the camp, "swear to us that you will behave yourselves like brethren; for you are now likewise no more than peasants; you are no longer lords." The equality of conditions—that dream of every democrat—was now established in aristocratic Germany.

A great number of nobles, some through fear, and others from ambitious motives, connected themselves with the followers of rebellion. The famous Götz of Berlichingen, seeing his own servants refusing to obey his orders, was anxious to flee from home, and to seek refuge with the elector of Saxony; but his wife, who was then near her time of delivery, hid, with a view to keep her husband at home, the reply received from the elector. Thus Götz, closely beset, was forced to put himself at the head of the rebel army. On the 7th of May, the peasants entered into Wurtzburg, where the inhabitants received them with acclamation. The forces of the princes and knights of Swabia and Franconia, who had fixed their head-quarters in this city, were obliged to evacuate the town, and to retreat hastily within the walls of the citadel, the last stronghold of the nobility.

But ere now the movement had extended to other parts of Germany. Spire, the Palatinate, Alsace, and Hesse, had acknowledged the authority of the twelve articles, while the peasantry also threatened Bavaria. Westphalia, the Tyrol, Saxony, and Lorraine. The

margrave of Baden, having refused to accept these articles, was obliged to flee the country. The coadjutor of Foulde yielded acquiescence in a spirit of merriment. The small towns admitted that they had no arms wherewith to oppose the rebels. Mentz, Triers, and Frankfort obtained the liberties which they had claimed.

An immense revolution was in agitation throughout all the provinces of the empire. The ecclesiastical and secular laws which oppressed the people were doomed to be suppressed; the property of the clergy was looked to as means for indemnifying the princes and providing for the wants of the empire; the taxes were to determine and be abolished, with the exception of a tribute which should be payable every ten years; the imperial power, recognised in the New Testament, shall alone be allowed to subsist; all the other princes were appointed to resign their faculties of government; sixty-four free tribunals were to be called into existence, wherein men of every class in the community should be entitled to hold a seat; all the states were arranged to return to their primitive condition; the clergymen were to pass into the rank of simple pastors of the churches; the princes and knights were to assume the character of protectors of the weak; the unity of weights and measures was fixed to be introduced, and only one species of money was entitled to be stamped throughout the whole extent of the empire.

The princes, however, had awakened from their first stupor, and George of Truchsess, the general-in-chief of the imperial army, made a movement in advance in the direction of the lake of Constance. He routed the peasant forces on the 2d of May at Beblingen, marched upon the city of Weinsberg, where the unhappy count of Helfenstein had perished, set fire to the houses and razed them to the ground, giving commands that these ruins should be preserved as an everlasting monument of the treason of the inhabitants. At Furfield, the general united his body with those of the elector palatine and the elector of Triers, and, thus re-enforced, proceeded on his march towards Franconia.

Frauenburg, the city of Wurtzburg, was still in the possession of the princes, while the grand army of the peasants continued to occupy their position in front of its walls. On receiving accounts of the approach of Truchsess, the peasantry resolved to try the fate of an assault; and on the 15th of May, at nine o'clock in the evening, the trumpets called to arms, the tri-coloured flag was unfurled, and the peasantry rushed forward to the attack with loud shouts of war. Sebastian of Rotenhan, one of the warmest partisans of the reform, commanded in the castle. He had made excellent preparations of defence, and having exhorted his soldiers to repel the assault with courage, the whole body of troops had sworn to follow his advice, by holding up three fingers towards the heavens. A fearful engagement was thereafter commenced. To the energy and desperate efforts of the peasantry, the fortress replied from the walls and from the towers with petards, with showers of brimstone and boiling pitch, and the discharges of artillery. The peasantry, thus harassed by their invisible enemy, were for a moment taken by surprise, but their fury quickly revived and even increased, so that, although the night drew on, the fierce struggle was prolonged. The fortress, enlightened by the thousand fires of battle, appeared in the darkness like some superb

giant, who, vomiting forth flames, struggled alone in the midst of a howling thunder-storm, for the salvation of the empire against the enraged valour of furious hordes. At two o'clock in the morning, the peasantry, in spite of all their efforts, were worsted, and finally obliged to retire.

They were now anxious to enter into negotiations either with the garrison or with Truchsess, who pushed forward, at the head of his army, towards their position. But such a procedure was at variance with the nature of their enterprise; violence and victory were the only means which could secure them safety. After a display of certain irresolution, they decided upon moving on to meet the imperial army; but the artillery and cavalry of this latter force made frightful havoc in the ranks of the assailants. At Konigshofen, and afterwards at Engelstadt, these unhappy people were completely defeated. And, in the sequel, abusing the advantages of victory, the princes, nobles, and bishops, inflicted punishments, whose cruelties exceeded belief. The prisoners were hung in numbers by the road sides. The bishop of Wurtzburg, who had fled from home, returned and scoured the whole extent of his diocese in the company of public executioners, shedding equally the blood of rebels and of the peaceful friends of the word of God. Götz of Berlichingen was condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The margrave Casimir of Anspach caused the eyes of eighty-five rebels to be torn out, who had sworn never to look again upon the face of that prince; and he cast upon the world this troop of blind wretches, who went about here and there, with a hold of each others hands, groping their way with staggering steps, and begging the food upon which they lived. The unfortunate lad who had played the march of death upon his fife at Helfenstein, was fastened to a stake with a chain, a fire was kindled around his person, and the knights assisted at the execution, laughing at the horrible contortions he was forced to make in the agony of his sufferings.

Public worship was everywhere re-established in accordance with the observance of ancient custom. The most flourishing and densely populated districts of the empire only exhibited to those who passed over their surface the mournful spectacle of many dead bodies thrown up in heaps, and the smoking ruins of consumed buildings. Fifty thousand men had perished in the war, and the people were deprived in every quarter of almost all the little liberty which, until then, they had enjoyed. Such were, in the south of Germany, the horrible results of this rash revolt.

CHAPTER XI.

Munzer at Mulhouse—Appeal to the People—March of the Princes—End of the Revolt—Influence of the Reformation—Sufferings—Change.

But it was not either to the south or the west of Germany the evil was destined to be confined. Munzer, after having passed through a portion of Switzerland, of Alsace, and Swabia, had again directed his steps towards the province of Saxony. Some of the citizens of Mulhouse in Thuringia, had called him to their city, and appointed him the pastor of their church. The council of the city having resisted, Munzer dismissed its members, and formed another council composed of his own friends, and of which he named himself the head.

Full of contempt for the Christ, "sweet as honey," whom Luther preached, and determined to revert to the most energetic measures. "It is necessary," said he, "to cause to perish by the sword, like Joshua, all the people of Canaan." He established the community of property and pillaged the convents. "Munzer," wrote Luther, on the 11th April 1525, to Amsdorff, "Munzer is both king and emperor of Mulhouse, and no longer its pastor." The poor were no longer obliged to labour; if any one of them stood in need of a supply of corn or cloth, they went to make a demand upon the rich, and if those in easy circumstances refused to accede to the proposal, the poor person seized upon the necessities he required; while if the rich man persisted in his denial, he was instantly hanged. Mulhouse being an independent city, Munzer was enabled, without opposition, to exercise therein his authority for nearly a whole year. The revolt in the south of Germany induced him to believe that the time had arrived when it was incumbent upon him to enlarge the boundaries of his new kingdom. He ordered cannons of a large size to be cast in the convent of the Franciscans, and endeavoured to animate into actions of rebellion the peasantry and the miners of Mansfeld. "How long are you still willing to sleep?" said he, in a fanatical proclamation; "arise and fight the battle of the Lord! It is now full time. France, Germany, and Italy, are on the march. Forward, forward, forward! Haste, haste, haste! . . . Pay no respect to the sorrows of the impious. They shall supplicate your pity like little children, but continue unmerciful. Haste, haste, haste! The fire is kindled; let your sword be always stained with blood. Haste, haste, haste! Work while it is yet day." This letter was signed, "Munzer, the servant of God against the impious."

The people of the country, eager to obtain wealth, ran in crowds to join his standard. Everywhere in the districts of Mansfeld, Stolberg, Schwarzburg, in La Hesse, and the Duchy of Brunswick, the peasantry rose as rebels. The convents of Michelstein, Ilsebourg, Walkenried, Rossleben, and many others in the neighbourhood of Hartz, and in the plains of Thuringia, were laid waste. At Reinhardtsbrunn, which Luther had visited, the tombs of the ancient landgraves were profaned and the library destroyed.

Terror spread its warnings to a distance, and even at Wittenberg disquietude was not altogether unknown. Those doctors who had neither feared the pope nor the emperor, felt themselves constrained to tremble in contemplation of the deeds done by a madman. The most minute particulars of the news were eagerly waited for, and the progress of the revolt was watched at every step. "We are here," said Melancthon, "in a state of great danger. If Munzer succeeds, we are undone, at least if Christ does not interfere to save us. Munzer proceeds with a cruelty which surpasses that of the Scythians, and it is impossible to name the fearful threats he utters."

The pious elector had long hesitated upon the measures he ought to adopt. Munzer had exhorted him, as well as all the princes, to be converted, "because," said he, "their hour was come;" and he had signed these addresses, "Munzer, armed with the sword of Gideon." Frederick experienced a great desire to employ mild methods for the purpose of reclaiming these erring people. Oppressed with a dangerous illness, he had written on the 14th of April to his

brother John, "Perhaps we have given these poor people more than one cause of revolt. Ah, the inferior classes are oppressed in many ways by their spiritual and temporal lords." And as it was represented to him how great were the humiliations, the revolutions, and the dangers, to which he exposed himself, if he did not promptly smother this rebellion, "I have been," said he, "up to the present moment, a powerful elector, having in abundance both horses and chariots, and if now God desires that I should lose them all, it is well, I will walk upon my feet."

The first of the princes who had recourse to arms was the young landgrave Philip of Hesse. His knights and his soldiers swore that they would live and die with him. After having pacified his states, he set out on an expedition toward Saxony. From their own dominions, Duke John, the brother of the elector, Duke George of Saxony, and Duke Henry of Brunswick, also led on their forces to form a junction with those of Hesse. The peasantry, alarmed at the appearance of this united army, took up their position upon a hill, where, without discipline, without arms, and many of them in a state of dismay, they constructed a rampart with their cars. Munzer had not even used the precaution of obtaining sufficient supplies of powder for his large cannons. No succour seemed to be near, and the army coming close upon the position of the peasantry, these latter combatants were seized with affright. The princes regarding their condition with pity, offered terms of capitulation, which the country folks appeared willing to accept. Munzer, however, had recourse at this moment to the most powerful stimulant which can be applied to a spirit of enthusiasm. "We shall this day see the arm of God stretched forth," said he, "and all our enemies shall be destroyed." At the same instant a rainbow appeared in the heavens, and this fanatical crowd, who had a rainbow worked in their colours, beheld in this event a certain sign of the protection of Heaven. Munzer took advantage of this persuasion. "Fear nothing," said he, "to the citizens and peasantry, I will receive in my sleeve all the balls which shall be fired upon you." He, moreover, caused to be cruelly massacred a young gentleman, Maternus de Geholfen, sent by the princes to capitulate, with the intention of thus depriving the rebels of all hopes of pardon.

The landgrave, having drawn out his horsemen, said to them, "I am aware that we princes are often in the wrong; for we are but men: still God commands honour to be shewn to authorities. Let us save our wives and our children from the fury of these murderers. The Lord shall give us the victory, because he has said, 'He who opposes the powers, opposes the order of God.'" Then Philip gave the word of command to attack. This occurred on the 15th of May 1525. The army moved forward, but the crowd of peasantry remained immovable, singing aloud the hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit," and expecting to see the heavens shew tokens of its favour on their behalf. The artillery quickly demolished their rude ramparts, and carried disaster and death into the middle of their ranks. At length both fanaticism and courage forsook their breast, and a miserable panic usurped their place, insomuch that the peasant forces fled in a state of utter confusion. Five thousand of their number perished in the course of their flight.

The princes, and their victorious troops, after the battle, marched

into the town of Frankenhausen. One of the soldiers having gone up to the garret of the house wherein he lodged, discovered a man lying in bed. "Who are you?" said the soldier; "are you a rebel?" Then observing a portfolio in the room, he opened it and found therein letters addressed to Thomas Munzer. "Are you Thomas?" said the trooper. The alarmed invalid replied, "No." But his visiter made awful threats, and Munzer, for it was him, confessed his identity. "You are my prisoner," said the soldier. Conducted into the presence of Duke George and the landgrave, Munzer did not cease to aver that he was right in his desire to punish the princes, seeing that they set themselves in opposition to the gospel. "Unhappy being," was the answer given, "think of all those whose lives you have sacrificed." But Munzer responded with a smile on his face, in the midst of his sufferings, "It was their wish so to act." He partook of the sacrament in one kind, and his head and that of his lieutenant, Pfeiffer, were at the same time severed from their bodies. Mulhouse was captured, and the peasantry were loaded with chains.

A nobleman having observed in the crowd of prisoners a peasant of superior appearance, went up to him and said, "Well, my lad, which sort of government is most agreeable to you, that of the peasantry or that of the princes?" The poor youth replied, while heaving a deep sigh, "Ah! my dear lord, there is no knife whose sharp edge does so much evil as the domination of one peasant over another."

The remains of the rebellion were extinguished in blood, and Duke George, more particularly displayed an excess of cruelty. In the states of the elector there were neither condemnations nor punishments inflicted. The word of God, preached in all its purity, proved sufficient in these districts to restrain the tumultuous passions of the people.

In truth, Luther had not ceased to oppose the rebellion, which formed, in his opinion, the forerunner of a universal judgment. Instructions, prayers, and even irony, were not spared by him. At the conclusion of the articles drawn out at Erfurt by the rebels, the doctor had added as a supplementary article, the following:—"Item, The following article has been omitted:—Henceforth the honourable council shall have no power. It shall not be able to do anything; it shall sit as an idol or as a post; the commonalty shall chew all the pieces of it, and it shall govern with the hands and feet tied. Hereafter the carriage shall conduct the horses; the horses shall hold the reins; and in this manner everything shall proceed admirably, in conformity with the fine project these articles have proposed."

Luther was not satisfied with writing. Whilst the tumult was still in its utmost vigour he left Wittemberg, and traversed some of the provinces most exposed to the dangers of agitation. He preached, he used all his efforts to calm the public mind, and his hand, which God rendered powerful, dispelled, appeased, and turned into their proper channel, a number of overflown and furious torrents.

In every quarter the doctors of the reform exercised the same influence. At Halle, Brentz had encouraged, by the promises of the divine word, the dejected spirits of its citizens, and four thousand peasants had fled in presence of six hundred citizens. At Ichterhausen a multitude of the peasantry had assembled for the purpose of

destroying several castles, and of putting their lords to death, but Frederick Myconius went alone to meet this host; and such was the efficacy of his bold speech, that the guilty design was at once abandoned.

Such was the part played by the reformers and the Reformation in the midst of this rebellion. They opposed the revolt with all their might by the sword of the word, and maintained with energy those principles which alone are able, in every emergency, to preserve the order and obedience of nations. It was thus Luther declared "that, if the power of the holy doctrine had not arrested the fury of the people, this rebellion must have been productive of very great horrors, and would have everywhere overthrown both the church and the state." Everything, indeed, betokened the consummation of these sad prognostications.

If the reformers thus struggled against the works of sedition, it was not without receiving therefrom some terrible blows. That moral agony which had commenced with Luther in the cells of Erfurt, increased to a yet higher degree, perhaps, after the revolt of the peasantry. A grand transformation in the affairs of humanity cannot be effected without suffering on the part of those who are its most effective instruments. To accomplish the creation of Christianity the agony of the cross was requisite, and he who was put upon that cross addressed to every one of his disciples these words, "Can you be baptized with the same baptism with which I have been baptized?"

Among the princes the idea was constantly repeated, that Luther and his doctrine were the causes of the rebellion, and however absurd this notion in reality was, the reformer could not fail, in witnessing a reception so general of this opinion, to experience on that account a rooted sorrow. In the meetings of the people, Munzer and all the leaders of the sedition represented the reformer in the character of a vile hypocrite and a flatterer of the great, and these calumnies found a ready access into the public mind. The violence with which Luther had denounced the cause of the rebels had given offence even to men of moderate views. The friends of Rome triumphed in these reports; everything seemed against the reformer; and he was destined to bear the weight of the anger of the age in which he lived. But his soul was most deeply afflicted in beholding the work of heaven thus dragged in the mire and put upon an equality with the attempts of the most fanatical projects. He here supposed himself in the garden of Gethsemane. He saw the bitter cup which was given him to drink, and foreseeing an universal abandonment, he exclaimed, "Very soon, perhaps, I likewise shall be able to say, *Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in ista nocte*"—This night you shall all be offended in me.

Nevertheless, in the heart of such bitter grief, he preserved his faith. "He," said he, "who has enabled me to trample under foot mine enemy when he rose up against me like a cruel dragon, or like a furious lion, shall not permit that same enemy to crush me, now that he confronts me with the perfidious looks of the basilisk. I contemplate these misfortunes, and I groan at the recollection of them. Often have I asked at myself whether or not it was more just to leave Popery peaceably to follow its course, rather than to behold such an accumulation of troubles and sedition bursting forth upon the world. But no! it is better to draw from the mouth of the

devil some poor individuals than to leave all under the fangs of his murderous teeth."

It was at this period that a termination was put, in the mind of Luther, to that revolution which had commenced on his return from Wartbourg. The inward life was no longer sufficient to satisfy him; and the church and her institutions now assumed in his eyes a dignified importance. The hardihood with which he had overcome all obstacles, was stayed at the sight of destructions yet more radical; he felt that there was a need to preserve, to govern, and to construct; and it was in the middle of bloody ruins, with which the war of the peasants had covered the whole surface of Germany, that the edifice of the new church slowly began to raise its structure.

The troubles above alluded to left in the public mind a lively and continued emotion. The people were struck with alarm. The masses of inhabitants, who had only sought to procure by means of the reform their political liberty, spontaneously withdrew from the cause, when they learned that spiritual liberty was the single boon offered to their acceptance. The opposition of Luther to the cause of the peasantry formed his renunciation of the ephemeral favour of the people. Very speedily a calm appeared in the ascendant, and to the turmoils of enthusiasm and sedition, a silence inspired by terror assumed the sway in every district of Germany.

In this manner popular passions, the revolutionary cause and interests of a radical equality, were put to rest in the empire; but the Reformation did not succumb under the same influences. These two movements, confounded by many, were clearly manifested by the diversity of their issue. The revolt proceeded from the earth, the Reformation from heaven. A few knights and pieces of cannon were found sufficient to destroy the former; but the latter enterprise did not cease to shew its front to grow and to increase, in spite of the incessant attacks made against it by both the empire and the church.

CHAPTER XII.

Two Issues—Death of Frederick—The Prince and the Reformation—Catholic Alliance—Projects of Charles—Dangers.

Nevertheless the cause of the reform itself appeared at first destined to perish in the gulph which had swallowed up the rights of popular liberty. A mournful event, indeed, seemed doomed to hasten its termination. At the moment when the princes were prosecuting their march against Munzer, and ten days previous to his defeat, the old elector of Saxony, that man whom God had raised up to defend the Reformation from the attacks of outward foes, descended into the grave.

His strength had diminished from day to day; for the horrors that accompanied the war of the peasants had broken his compassionate heart. "Ah!" exclaimed he with a deep sigh, "if it were the will of God, I would die with joy. I behold neither love, nor truth, nor faith, nor anything that is good upon the earth."

Turning aside his looks from those battles which at this time overspread Germany, this pious prince made preparations in peace for "his departure," in his castle at Lochau. On the 4th of May, he ordered his chaplain to be called in, the faithful Spalatin. "You do

well," said he to him with composure, on seeing the priest enter the room, "to come and see me, for it is a sacred duty to visit the sick." Then commanding his pallet to be wheeled toward the table near which Spalatin was seated, he desired to be left alone with his chaplain, whose hand he grasped in token of affection, and spoke familiarly with him of Luther, of the peasantry, and of his approaching dissolution. The same evening, at eight o'clock, Spalatin returned to the sick-chamber, when the old prince opened his mind in the most minute detail, and confessed his errors in the presence of God. On the following day, the 5th of May, he received the communion in both kinds. Not one of the members of his family was in the castle, for his brother and nephew were both with the army; but the domestics of Frederick surrounded his couch, in conformity with the ancient custom of the times. With their eyes fixed upon the venerable prince whose service had been so easy, these servants were all bathed in tears. "My dear friends," said the prince, in tender accents, "if I have given offence to any one of you, let him pardon me for the love of God; for we princes do often cause grief to poor dependants, and that is wrong." In this manner Frederick fulfilled the declaration of an apostle, Let him who is exalted humble himself in his meanness, for he shall pass away as the flower of the grass.* (James iv. 10.)

Spalatin did not again leave the prince, but represented to him in fervent language the rich promises of the gospel, while the pious elector received with ineffable pleasure the assurances of these powerful consolations. The evangelical doctrine was no longer in his sight that terrible sword which attacks error, which pursues it wherever it is to be found, and which, after a vigorous combat, is sheathed in triumph. No, this doctrine now fell upon his heart like the soft shower or vernal dew, and diffused therein a sweet fragrance of hope and joy. Frederick had lost sight of this world, he only now contemplated the being of God and eternity.

Feeling the rapid approach of death, he ordered the will which had been written several years before this period, and in which he had recommended his soul to the "Mother of God," to be destroyed. He then dictated another testamentary deed, wherein he invoked the holy and single merit of Jesus Christ "for the remission of his sins," and declared his firm conviction of "being redeemed by the precious blood of his well-beloved Saviour." Afterwards he said, "I am unable to do anything more," and in the afternoon, at five o'clock, he quietly fell asleep. "He was the child of peace," exclaimed the surgeon, "and he has departed in peace!" "O death! full of bitterness for all those whom he leaves in life," said Luther.

Luther, who at this time was traversing Thuringia in order to appease the troubles of that distracted country, had never seen the elector, saving at a distance, at Worms, near to the throne of Charles V. But these two individuals had held communion in their souls from the first moment the reformer had appeared. Frederick eagerly sought for nationality and independence, as Luther did for truth and reformation. Without doubt, the reform was especially a spiritual work; but it was perhaps needful for its first success to unite its

* But the rich in that he is made low, because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away.

influence with some national interest. Wherefore, the instant that Luther had begun his attack upon indulgences, an alliance between the prince and the monk was tacitly concluded; an alliance purely moral, without contract, without communications, even without an interchange of words, and in which the strong afforded no other assistance to the weak than the liberty to act. But now that the vigorous oak under whose shadow the Reformation had been by degrees raised up was cast to the ground, now that the enemies of the gospel everywhere displayed a hatred and a strength proportionably increased, and that its partisans were compelled either to hide themselves or to remain silent, nothing appeared longer of sufficient power to defend it against the arms of those who menaced its destruction with fury.

The confederates of Ratisbon, who had defeated the peasantry in the southern and western districts of the empire, attacked everywhere at once the reform and the revolt. At Wurtzburg and at Bamberg death was inflicted upon numbers of the most peaceable citizens, and even upon those who had resisted the advances of the peasantry. "It is of no consequence," it was openly declared, "they maintain the rights of the gospel." And this was enough to provoke their execution.

Duke George entertained a hope of persuading the landgrave and Duke John of Saxony to partake alike in his desires and his hatred. "You see," said he to them, while pointing to the field of battle, "you see the evils which Luther has brought into existence!" John and Philip seemed to afford him some hope of their adopting his opinions. "Duke George," said the reformer, "imagines that he shall now triumph because Frederick is dead; but Christ reigns in the middle of his enemies: in vain they grind their teeth, their desires shall perish."

George, however, lost no time in forming in the north of Germany a confederation similar to that confirmed in Ratisbon. The electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, with the dukes Henry and Eric of Brunswick, agreed to meet with George at Dessau, and there concluded, in the month of July, a Roman alliance. George entreated the new elector and his son-in-law, the landgrave, to adhere to this confederation; and, then, as an example of what might be expected in future, the heads of two citizens belonging to Leipsic were cut off, in whose house were found the books composed by Luther.

At the same time there arrived in Germany certain letters from Charles V. dated from Toledo, which were sent for the purpose of convoking a new diet to be held in Augsburg. Charles was eager to bestow upon the empire a new constitution, whereby he might be enabled to dispose, at his pleasure, of the forces belonging to Germany. The religious divisions at the time prevalent offered him the means of accomplishing his designs; he had only to let slip the Catholics against the evangelists, and, when they should have mutually weakened each others forces, he would triumph easily over both these contending parties. Let us have more Lutherans was then the cry of the emperor.

In this manner everything was made to unite in opposition to the Reformation. At no time had the soul of Luther been more effectually subdued with fearful prognostications. The remains of the

sect who had followed Munzer had sworn to accomplish his death : his single protector had departed this life ; Duke George, it was reported to him by letters, indulged the notion of having him seized even in Wittemberg ; the princes who possessed the power of defending him had become dispirited, and seemed to have abandoned the cause of the gospel ; the university, already diminished on account of troubles, was about, it was said, to be suppressed by the new elector ; and Charles, victorious at Pavia, was striving to assemble a new diet with the view of inflicting upon the Reformation its death-blow. What dangers might he not therefore apprehend? . . . Those agonies and sufferings which had so often extorted from Luther exclamations of distress, harassed his soul. How could he stand in opposition to so many enemies? In the middle of these agitations, in the presence of so many perils, in remembrance of the corpse of Frederick, which had scarcely lost its heat, and the bodies which covered the plains of Germany, Luther—no person without doubt could have imagined such a step—Luther became a married man. c

CHAPTER XIII.

The Nuns of Nimptsch—Sentiment of Luther—End of the Monastery—The Marriage of Luther—Domestic Happiness.

In the monastery of Nimptsch, near to Grimma in Saxony, there were lodged in 1523, nine nuns, who were assiduous in their perusal of the word of God, and who had discovered the contrast which existed between the Christian life and the life of the cloister. These religious women were named Magdalen Staupitz, Eliza de Canitz, Ave Grossn, Ave and Margaret Schonfeld, Laneta de Golis, Margaret and Catherine Zeschan, and Catherine de Bora. The first action of these young girls, after having been disabused of the superstitions of the nunnery, was to address letters to their parents. "The salvation of our souls," said they, "will not permit us to continue to live longer within the seclusions of a cloister." But the parents, alarmed at the troubles which a resolution of this nature was calculated to impose upon them, denied with harshness the prayer of their daughters. The poor religious girls were thus deprived of all comfort. How could they now take leave of the nunnery? Their timid spirits were alarmed at the prospect of such a daring act. At last the horror with which the worship of Popery had inspired them, decided their resolution, and they promised never to leave one another, but to go in company to some honourable place of residence, in an orderly and decent manner. Two respectable and pious citizens of Torgau, Leonard Koppe and Wolff Tomitzsch, offered them their protection ; the nuns accepted this offer as sent from God himself, and walked forth from the monastery of Nimptsch without the interference of any person, and as if the hand of the Lord had opened its gates for their deliverance. Koppe and Tomitzsch received them into their carriage, and on the 7th of April 1523, the nine religious females, in astonishment at their own hardihood, were conveyed to the ancient convent of the Augustines, at whose entrance they experienced strong feelings of emotion, and within whose walls Luther was lodged.

"It is not I who have done this," said Luther, on receiving the nuns, "but would to God that I could thus emancipate every captive conscience, and empty every convent in the world ; the breach in

their walls is made." Several individuals offered to the doctor to receive the religious young women into their dwelling-houses, and Catherine de Bora was kindly welcomed into the mansion of the burgomaster of Wittemberg.

If Luther was urged in his feelings at this moment to prepare for some solemn event, it was in anticipation of mounting the scaffold, and not of going forward to the altar. Several months after this period, he still replied to those who spoke to him of marriage, "God is able to turn my heart as it seems good unto him; but, for the present at least, I have no intention whatever of taking a wife; not that I feel no inclination for the attractions of that condition, for I am made neither of wood nor of stone, but I expect every day to be put to death and the punishments of a heretic."

Nevertheless, everything was in a state of progression in the church: To the practices of monastic life, the inventions of men, were everywhere seen to succeed the customs of domestic life as instituted by God. On Sunday, the 9th of October 1524, Luther having risen at his usual hour, laid aside the frock worn by the Augustine monks and dressed himself in the attire of a secular priest, in which condition he appeared in the temple, where this change of habiliments excited a feeling of lively joy. The re-awakened Christianity accepted with delight every appearance which indicated the dissolution of old observances.

A short time after this date, the last monk took leave of the convent, but Luther continued his abode therein; his steps alone made the long corridors to ring, and he sat down alone in silence at table in the dining-room, which of old resounded to the idle talk of the numerous monks. A singularly eloquent solitude, and one which bore ample testimony to the triumphs of the word of God. The monastery had ceased to exist. Luther sent, about the end of December 1524, the keys of the convent to the elector, in announcing to him that he should see where it would please God to nourish him. The elector bestowed the convent upon the university, and invited Luther to remain in it as his place of habitation. The dwelling-place of monks was thus destined to become the sanctuary of a Christian family.

Luther, whose heart was so well disposed to enjoy the pleasures of domestic life, admired and honoured the marriage state; it is even possible that he indulged some preference for the character of Catherine de Bora. For a long time, however, his own scruples, and thoughts of the calumnies which such an act on his part was sure to engender, had prevented him from thinking more closely of her, and he had even proposed the poor Catherine as a wife, first to Baumgartner of Nuremberg, and afterwards to Doctor Glatz of Orlamund. But when he found that Baumgartner rejected his proposals, and that Glatz was not acceptable to Catherine, he inquired more seriously at his own heart whether or not he ought himself to engage in the cares of the proposed union.

His old father, who had with so much distress seen Luther enter into the ecclesiastical state, solicited him to join in the concerns of conjugal felicity. But one idea more particularly pressed its truth each day upon the consideration of Luther—marriage is the institution of God, celibacy is the invention of man. He had a horror of

everything that owed its origin to Rome. "I am anxious," he said to his friends, "to preserve no traces of my papistical life." Day and night he prayed and conjured the Lord to drag him out of his uncertain thoughts. At last a thought offered itself to his mind, which served to break the last ties that bound him to former persuasions. To all the motives of personal convenience and obedience which he endeavoured to apply to himself there was joined this declaration, made by God, "It is not good that man should be alone," as a motive of the most exalted nature and of great power. He perceived that he was called to adopt marriage in his character of man as well as in that of a reformer, and thus his resolution was confirmed.

"Should this monk marry," said his friend, the lawyer Schurff, "he shall make both the world and the devil burst with laughter, and shall destroy the work he has begun." These words made an impression upon Luther altogether different to that which might have been expected. To brave the world, the devil, and all his enemies; to hinder, by a right action, as it was thought, or to lose the work of the reform, the success of which was in no way attributed to him, such was the desire he cherished. Therefore, boldly supporting his purpose, "Very well," replied he, "I will do so; I will play this trick upon the world and the devil. I will give that pleasure to my father—I will marry Catherine." By this act of marriage Luther still more completely severed his connexion with the institutions of Popery. He thus confirmed by example the doctrine he had preached; and he encouraged timid men to renounce entirely their former errors. Rome appeared at this time to regain here and there a portion of the ground she had lost. She perhaps flattered herself with the hope of obtaining the victory, and, behold, a loud detonation now carries into her ranks surprise and alarm, and proclaims more distinctly than ever the courage of that enemy she regarded as overthrown. "I desire," said Luther, "to bear witness to the gospel, not only by my words, but also by my works. I desire, in the face of my enemies, who already declare their triumph and publish their rejoicings, to marry a nun, in order that they may know and confess that they have not conquered me. I do not marry a woman in the hope of living a long time with her; but, seeing the people and the princes enraged against me with equal fury, foreseeing that my end is at hand, and that after my death the doctrine I have taught shall be still more trampled under foot, I wish, for the edification of the weak, to leave behind me a marked confirmation of the precepts I have enforced while on earth."

On the 11th of June 1525, Luther went to the house of his friend and colleague, Amsdorff. He requested Pomeraninus, whom he called by distinction, "the pastor," to perform the ceremony of his union. The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, and Doctor John Apelle, acted as witnesses on the occasion. Melancthon was not present.

The moment that Luther's marriage was publicly known, a violent commotion was raised throughout all the districts of christendom. From every quarter accusations and calumny were heaped upon his head. "He is an incestuous person," exclaimed Henry VIII. "A monk has married a vestal," said some. "Antichrist must be born of this union," said others; "for a prophet proclaims that he shall be born of a monk and a religious sister."

"How now," replied Erasmus, with his sarcastic smile, "if the prophesy were true, how many thousand Antichrists have not already appeared in the world?" But while Luther was thus generally assailed, many wise and moderate men, whom the Roman church included within her ranks, took his part. "Luther," said Erasmus, "has married a wife connected with the illustrious family of Bora, but she is without a portion." A witness yet more venerated bore testimony also on his behalf. The master of Germany, Philip Melancthon, who had at first been startled at the consummation of this bold step, said, with that grave accent which his very enemies listened to with respect, "If it is pretended that there is something inconsistent in the marriage of Luther, such an assertion is grounded on falsehood, and is calumnious. I believe that he must have done violence to his own reputation by this marriage. The married is a humble, but it is a holy life, if there be such a life in the world, and everywhere the Scriptures represent it to us as honourable in the sight of God."

Luther was at first moved by the virulence of so much unmitigated contempt and rage; but Melancthon redoubled his marks of friendship for him; and the reformer very soon learned to discover in the opposition of men a token of the approbation of God. "If I should not give offence to the world," said he, "I might, indeed, tremble lest that which I did could not be according to the will of God."

Eight years had now passed away since Luther had first organized his attacks against the practice of indulgences from the period when he united himself in marriage to Catherine de Bora; and thus it would be difficult to attribute, as people still do, his zeal against the abuses of the church to an "impatient desire" of getting married. He was at this date forty-two years old, and Catherine de Bora had already lived two years in the city of Wittemberg.

Luther was happy in the union he had contracted. "The greatest gift of God," said he, "is a pious wife, amiable and fearing God, loving the duties of her calling, and with whom one can live in peace, and trust with entire confidence?" Some months after his marriage, he announced to a friend the delicate condition of his wife, and in truth Catherine was delivered of a son one year after their marriage. The pleasures of domestic happiness very quickly dissipated the clouds which the irritation of his enemies had at first gathered over his head. His Ketha, as he was accustomed to call her, evinced for him feelings of the tenderest affection, and consoled him when he was discomforted by reciting passages from the Bible. She, moreover, discharged with peculiar exactness the duties of common life, sitting by her husband during his hours of leisure, when she also worked in embroidery a portrait of himself, recalled to him the names of the friends to whom he had forgotten to write, and often amused him with the innocency of her questions. A degree of pride it would appear attached to the character of Catherine, and thus Luther sometimes called her "Lady Ketha." Nay, one day he said jestingly, that "if he had still to marry, he would have an obedient wife, cut out of a block of stone; for, added he, it is impossible to find such a one in reality." His letters were full of tenderness for Catherine; he designated her, "His dear and gracious wife, his dear and amiable Ketha." The temper of Luther became more cheerful in the society of Catherine, and that

happy disposition of mind remained with him ever after, even in the midst of great alarms.

The almost universal corruption of the ecclesiastical body had caused the priesthood to fall into abject contempt, and the isolated virtues of a few true servants of God were unable to drag the clergy out of their hapless condition. Domestic peace and conjugal fidelity, these surest props of terrestrial happiness, were unceasingly disturbed, both in the cities and the country, by the intemperate conduct of the priests and monks. No one was sheltered from their attempts at seduction. They took advantage of the easy access they gained into the families of private individuals, and sometimes even of the close intimacy the exercises at the tribunal of confession afforded, to instil into the minds of young persons a moral poison wherewith to satisfy their guilty passions. The Reformation, in abolishing the state of celibacy among the priests, re-established the holiness of the conjugal union. The marriage of the clergy put a stop to an immense number of hidden crimes. The reformers became models to their flocks in the most intimate and important relations of real life, and the people were not backward in expressing the joy they experienced at beholding the ministers of religion assume the characters of husbands and fathers.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Landgrave—The Elector—Prussia—Reformation—Secularization—The Archbishop of Mentz—Conference of Friedewalt—Diet—Alliance of Torgau—The Catholics redouble their Efforts—Marriage of the Emperor—Threatening Letters—The Two Parties.

• At first sight the marriage of Luther had, it is true, seemed to increase the troubles of the reform. That movement was still suffering from the blow inflicted upon it by the revolt of the peasantry. The sword of the emperor and the princes was still drawn to attack it; and its friends, the landgrave Philip and the new elector John, appeared themselves discouraged and disconcerted.

This state of affairs, however, did not long continue. The young landgrave very soon assumed his former spirit. Equally ardent and courageous as Luther, the excellent character of the reformer had captivated the prince. He adopted the cause of the Reformation with the impassioned zeal of a young man, and he studied its truths at the same time with the serious disposition of a superior mind.

In Saxony Frederick had not been replaced either with regard to wisdom or to influence; but his brother, the elector John, in place of remaining satisfied with the passive part of a protector, interfered more directly, and with greater courage, in the affairs of religion. "I wish," he caused it to be reported, on the 16th of August 1525, at the moment of quitting Weimer, to all the assembled priests, "that you should preach for the future the pure word of God, without any human additions." Some old ecclesiastics, who did not wholly understand how these injunctions were to be obeyed, simply replied, "We are not, however, forbidden to say mass for the dead or to consecrate for holy purposes water and salt." "All," responded the elector, "these ceremonies, as well as the manner of preaching, must be made subservient to the word of God."

Soon after this, the young landgrave formed the unheard-of project of converting his father-in-law, Duke George. At one time he established the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and at another attacked mass, Popery, and obligatory vows. One letter succeeded another, and all the declarations of the word of God were by turns set in opposition to the faith of the old duke.

These efforts were not altogether useless; for the son of Duke George was gained over to the cause of the new doctrine. But Philip failed in his attempts to convert the old father. "In a hundred years hence," said this ancient duke, "it shall be seen who is in the right." "A terrible speech," said the elector of Saxony. "What sort of faith, I pray you, must that be which requires so long a proof? Poor duke! he has a long time to wait. God, I fear, has hardened his heart, as was the case in former times with Pharaoh."

The evangelical party found in Philip a bold and intelligent leader, capable of maintaining a stout bearing in presence of the terrible attacks which were in preparation among its formidable enemies. But was it not a subject of deep regret to reflect that the leader of the reform was from the present moment a warlike chief, and not a simple disciple of the word of God? The element of human nature increased in the Reformation, while the spiritual element was therein diminished. Such a confusion proved detrimental to the good work; for it is in conformity with the laws of its own nature every work ought to be developed, and the reform was essentially of a spiritual nature.

God multiplied its adherents. Even now a powerful state, on the frontiers of Germany, namely, Prussia, ranged itself on the side of the gospel standard. The chivalric and religious spirit which the Teutonic order had founded, had become by degrees extinguished, along with the ages in which it had received its birth. The knights, no longer anxious to secure anything beyond the advantages of their own peculiar interests, had excited a spirit of discontent among the populations subjected to their power. Poland had profited by this spirit in 1466, in order to make its paramount authority acknowledge the claims of the order. The people, the knights, the grand master, and the Polish domination, were just so many contradictory powers which mutually endangered each other, and rendered the prosperity of the country an actual impossibility.

Then came the Reformation, and it was recognised as the only means that remained to secure the salvation of that unhappy people. Brismaun, Speratus, Poliander, the secretary of Doctor Eck, at the dispute of Leipsic, with other priests besides, preached the gospel in Prussia.

One day a mendicant, coming from the countries subjected to the authority of the Teutonic knights, arrived at Wittenberg, and stopping before Luther's house, chanted with a solemn voice that beautiful hymn composed by Poliander—

"Salvation unto us at last hath come."

The reformer, who had never before heard this Christian song, listened in ecstasy and astonishment, and the foreign accent of the singer augmented his pleasure. "Again, again," he exclaimed, when the

mendicant had finished singing. Luther then inquired of the man whence he had procured that hymn, and tears were brought to the eyes of the reformer, when he learned from the poor stranger that it was from the borders of the Baltic a cry of deliverance had resounded even as far as Wittenberg; and, joining his hands together, he offered up thanks to the Great Disposer of all events.

In truth, salvation had reached these quarters. "Take pity upon our misery," said the people of Prussia to the grand master, "and give us those preachers who declare to us the pure gospel of Jesus Christ." Albert at first gave no reply; but he entered into communion upon the subject with Sigismund, the king of Poland, his uncle, and his paramount lord.

This sovereign acknowledged his nephew as the hereditary duke of Prussia; and the new prince entered into the capital city of Königsberg amidst the ringing of bells and the acclamations of the people; while all the houses were decorated in a superb fashion, and the streets strewn with flowers. "There is but one order," said Albert, "that of Christianity." The monastic orders were about to depart, and this divine order approached its firm establishment.

The bishops resigned their secular rights into the hands of the new duke; the convents were changed into hospitals; the gospel was proclaimed even in the most insignificant villages, and in the year following, Albert married Dorothea, daughter of the king of Denmark, whose "faith in the one single Saviour" was immovable.

The pope summoned the emperor to proceed criminally against that "apostate monk," and Charles put Albert under an interdict.

Another prince belonging to the family of Brandenburg, the cardinal-archbishop of Mentz, was then also upon the point of following the example of his cousin.

The war waged by the peasantry more particularly menaced the ecclesiastical principalities; and the elector, Luther, and all Germany, believed in the approach of a grand revolution. The archbishop, thinking that the only method of securing his principality was to secularize its constitution, secretly invited Luther to prepare the people for the bold step he was about to take, which object was accomplished by a letter intended to be made public, and which Luther addressed to the archbishop. "God," said this epistle, "has laid his hand upon the clergy, and they must fall; nothing is able to save them." But the war commenced by the peasantry terminated much sooner than was expected, and the cardinal, retaining possession of his temporal benefits, his disquietude was dissipated, and he abandoned his projects of secularization.

Whilst that John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and Albert of Prussia, openly espoused the cause of the Reformation, and that in place of the prudent Frederick, there appeared in this manner three princes, full of resolution and courage, the holy work continued to make speedy progress in the church and among the nations. Luther solicited the elector to establish everywhere the evangelical ministry in room of the Roman priesthood, and to institute a general visitation of the churches. About the same time, the exercise of Episcopal laws and the consecration of ministers were begun in Wittenberg. "Let the pope, the bishops, the monks, and the priests," said Melancthon, "do as they please, we are the church; he who separates him-

self from us, separates himself from the church. There is no other church than the assembly of those who possess the word of God and who are purified thereby."

Such an accumulation of sayings and doings could not pass without producing an energetic reaction. Rome had imagined the Reformation extinguished in the blood of the rebel peasantry, but in every quarter its light reappeared more brilliant and strong. Rome, therefore, resolved to make a new effort; the pope and the emperor wrote respectively a number of threatening letters, the former from Rome and the latter from Spain. The imperial government prepared itself to re-establish all things upon the ancient footing, and it was seriously resolved to crush definitively the cause of reform at the meeting of the approaching diet.

The electoral prince of Saxony and the landgrave, in a state of alarm, met together on the 7th of November, in the castle of Friedewalt, and agreed that their commissioners to the diet should act in harmony with each other. Thus, in the forest of Sullinge, there were formed the first elements of an evangelical alliance, in opposition to the leagues of Ratisbon and Dessau.

The diet was opened on the 11th of December at Augsburg. The evangelical princes did not attend its meetings in person. But the deputies from Saxony and Hesse, from the commencement of the session, made use of bold and convincing language. "It is to the existence of an imprudent severity," said they, "must be ascribed the revolt of the peasantry. It is neither by fire nor sword the truth of God can be driven out of the hearts of the people. If you are determined to employ violence against the progress of the Reformation, there shall result from such measures evils more terrible than those from which you have lately escaped with difficulty."

It was clearly seen that whatever resolutions were adopted, they must, of necessity, become of immense importance. Every one was anxious to delay the decisive moment, in order to increase their forces; and, therefore, a resolution was passed to meet again at Spire in the month of May following, and the act issued at Nuremberg was to be recognised as in force up to the period above mentioned. "Then," it was said, "we will discuss to the bottom the subjects of the holy faith, of justice, and of peace."

The landgrave continued to pursue his own designs. At the end of February 1526, he held at Gotha a conference with the elector. These two princes then resolved that, if they were attacked on account of the word of God, they should unite the whole strength of their forces to resist the attempts of their adversaries. This alliance was again ratified at Torgau, and was calculated to produce important consequences.

But the alliance of Torgau did not satisfy the zeal of the landgrave. Convinced that Charles V. intended to form a league "against Christ and his holy word," the landgrave wrote letter after letter to the elector, representing to him the necessity of uniting himself with the heads of the other states. "For myself," said the young prince, "I would rather die than deny the word of God, and allow myself to be driven from my throne."

In the electoral court great uncertainty reigned. In reality, a mighty

obstacle was opposed to the union of the evangelical princes, and this obstacle was composed of Luther and Melancthon. Luther desired to see the evangelical doctrine defended by none but God himself. He believed that the less men interfered in that business the more conspicuously would the intervention of God be displayed. All the measures proposed for execution appeared to him as attributable to a cowardly timidity or a guilty defiance. Melancthon likewise felt a dread lest an alliance of evangelical princes might lead directly to the assumption of the very war it was most desirable to avoid.

The landgrave, however, did not allow himself to be arrested by such considerations, and endeavoured to include within the bonds of this alliance the states which lay contiguous to his own; but these exertions were not crowned with success. Frankfort refused to become a party to the convention, while the elector of Triers receded from his opposition and accepted of a pension from the emperor. The elector-palatine himself, whose evangelical prepossessions were well known, rejected the propositions of Philip.

In this manner, on the banks of the Rhine, the landgrave failed in his enterprise; but the elector, in defiance of the advices forwarded by the theologians of the reform, entered into negotiations with the princes who, at all times, had maintained a friendly relation with the powerful house of Saxony. On the 12th of June, the elector and his sons, the Dukes Philip, Ernest, Otho, and Francis of Brunswick and Luneburg, the Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, the Prince Wolf of Anhalt, and the Counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfeld, formed a meeting in Magdeburg, and there, under the presidency of the elector, constituted an alliance similar to the compact entered into at Torgau.

"Almighty God," said these princes, "having in his ineffable mercy caused to reappear in the dwellings of men his holy and eternal word, the nourishment of our souls and our greatest treasure here below, and many powerful endeavours having been made on the part of the clergy and their adherents, in order to extirpate and annihilate that word, we have engaged, in the firm assurance that he who has sent it to accomplish the glory of his name upon earth will likewise know how to maintain its position, to preserve that holy word in the possession of our people, and to employ for this purpose all our means, our lives, our states, our subjects, and everything that belongs to us; placing our confidence, not in our own arms, but solely in the all-powerful will of the Lord, of whom we desire to be the humble instruments for good." Thus spoke these valiant princes.

The town of Magdeburg was two days later received into this alliance, and the new duke of Prussia, Albert of Brandenburg, adhered to its provisions under the terms of a particular agreement.

The evangelical alliance was thus completed, but the dangers it was destined to remove became every day more alarming. The priests and the princes, the friends of Rome, beheld the sudden growth into formidable force of that Reformation which they had believed to be entirely smothered. Even now the partisans of the reform were almost as powerful as those of the pope. If they secured a majority in the diet, it was easy to imagine the fate that awaited the ecclesiastical states. Now or never was, therefore, the cry. The question was no longer limited to the refutation of a heresy; there was now

need to contend with a strong and influential party. Victories of a different nature from those gained by Doctor Eck were at this hour required to save the existence of christendom.

Before this time effective measures had already been adopted. The metropolitan chapter of the metropolitan church at Mentz had convoked an assembly of all its members, and had resolved that a deputation should be sent both to the emperor and the pope, for the purpose of urging upon these potentates the necessity of saving the church.

At the same time, Duke George of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and the cardinal-elect, Albert, had held a meeting at Halle, and had likewise determined to address a message to Charles V. "The detestable doctrine of Luther," said they, "makes rapid progress. Every day efforts are made to gain ourselves over to its cause; and as it is impossible to arrive at such a consummation by fair means, a desire is exhibited to constrain our consent thereto by inveigling the minds of our subjects. We, therefore, implore the assistance of the emperor." Immediately after the conclusion of this conference, the Duke of Brunswick himself set out for Spain, in order to confirm the opinions of Charles.

He could not have arrived at a more favourable moment; for the emperor had just concluded with France the famous peace of Madrid; and there being to all appearance nothing more to fear in that quarter, Charles was at liberty to turn his views exclusively upon the affairs of Germany. Francis I. had, moreover, offered to pay half of the expenses of a war undertaken either against heretics or Turks.

The emperor was at the time residing in Seville; and was about to marry a princess of the house of Portugal, so that the banks of the Guadalquivir were filled with the sounds of festive mirth. A brilliant court of nobles and an immense crowd of people thronged the houses of the ancient capital of the Moors. Under the vaults of the superb cathedral were heard the performance of the most pompous observances of the church, in which a legate of the pope officiated, and never, even in the days of the Arabs, had Andalusia witnessed the completion of a more magnificent or solemn ceremony.

It was at this moment Henry of Brunswick arrived from Germany, and implored Charles V. to save the church and the empire from the attacks of the monk of Wittemberg. His request met with immediate attention, and the emperor determined to adopt the most energetic measures.

On the 23d of March 1526, the emperor despatched letters to several of the princes and cities still faithful in their alliance with Rome. He charged, at the same time, with special instructions, the Duke of Brunswick to communicate to these states, that he (the emperor) had learned with much sorrow the news of the continued progress of Luther's heresy, which threatened to fill Germany with sacrilege, desolation, and blood. That he, on the contrary, saw with extreme pleasure the fidelity exhibited by the greater number of the states. That, neglecting all other matters, he (Charles) was about to leave Spain on a visit to the pope at Rome, in order to come to a right understanding with his Holiness, and thence to return into Germany with the full purpose of overcoming the detestable pest of Wittemberg. That, with regard to these German states, they must remain faithful to their faith; and if the Lutherans were eager to drag them into error,

either by cunning or by force, they must also combine together and resist with courage such attacks. And, finally, that he (the emperor) would very soon arrive in Germany and support the good cause with all his might.

On the return of the Duke of Brunswick into Germany, the Catholic party was elated with joy, and proudly displayed their hopes of victory. The Dukes of Brunswick and Pomerania, Albert of Mecklenburg, John of Juliers, George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, and all the ecclesiastical princes, were confident in their expectations of success, after having read the threatening letters of the conqueror of Francis I. They were fixed to attend the meeting of the approaching diet, they would humble the minds of the heretical princes, and if these disloyal men did not submit, they should be compelled to surrender at the point of the sword. "Whenever I please," said, as it has been currently reported, the Duke George, "I shall become elector of Saxony," a speech which he at a later period endeavoured to represent in other terms. "The cause of Luther shall not long flourish," said one day at Torgau, with an air of triumph, the chancellor of the duke, "let people take care of mingling in its affairs."

Luther, in fact, took good care of his cause, but not in the manner expected. He regarded with scrupulous attention the designs of the enemies of the word of God, and fancied, along with Melancthon, that he should soon see thousands of swords drawn against the cause of the gospel. But he looked to receive strength from a higher source than that of man. "Satan," he wrote to Frederick Myconius, "displays his utmost fury; impious pontiffs conspire together, and we are threatened with a war. Do you exhort the people to combat valiantly before the throne of the Lord, by means of faith and earnest prayer, so that our enemies, vanquished by the Spirit of God, may be compelled to sue for peace. The first want and the first work is prayer; let the people know that they are now exposed to the edge of the sword and the fury of the devil, and let them pray."

In this manner everything gave token of a decisive battle. The Reformation had arrayed on its side the prayers of Christians, the sympathy of the people, the movement ascending from spirits, which no power was able to arrest. Popery had ranked beside her the ancient order of things, the force of ancient customs, the zeal and the hatred of formidable princes, and the powers of that great emperor who reigned over both worlds, and who had just inflicted a fatal blow upon the glory of Francis I.

Such was the condition of affairs when the diet of Spires was formally opened. Let us now return to the districts of Switzerland.

BOOK XI.

DIVISIONS—SWITZERLAND—GERMANY—(1523—1527.)

CHAPTER I.

Unity in the Diversity—Primitive Fidelity and Liberty—Formation of the Roman Unity—A Monk and Leo Juda—Theses of Zwingle—The Dispute of January.

We are now about to witness the appearance of the diversities, or, as they have been called, the *variations* of the reform. These diversities form, indeed, one of its most essential characteristics.

Unity in diversity and diversity in unity, such is the law of nature, and such is the law of the church.

Truth is like the light of the sun. Light comes down from heaven always one and the same ; and, nevertheless, it covers the earth with different colours, according to the kind of objects upon which it falls.

In the same manner certain formulas, a little different, are able sometimes to express the same Christian idea regarded attentively under some different points of view.

How sad would creation become were that immense variety of forms and colours, which constitute its loveliness and riches, replaced by an absolute uniformity of aspect. But equally desolating would be the sight, were all created beings arranged to form nothing more than a single and magnificent unity.

The unity divine has many laws : human diversity has laws too. In religion it is not necessary to annihilate the faculties of either God or man. If there be not unity, religion does not emanate from God ; if there be no diversity, religion does not proceed from man. Now it must be produced by either the one or the other. Are you anxious to rob creation of one of the laws which God has imposed upon it, that, namely, of an immense diversity ? " And even things without life giving sound," says St Paul, " whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped ?" (1 Cor. xiv. 7.) But if there be, in matters of religion, a diversity which is produced by the difference of individuality, and which, consequently, must exist even in heaven, it is one which is propagated by the rebellion of man, and that revolt is in itself a great evil.

There are two tendencies which equally seduce their votaries into error. The first exaggerates diversity, and the second magnifies unity. The doctrines essential to salvation compose the medium between these two directions. To exact more than these doctrines supply is to bring reproach upon diversity ; and to require less, is to inflict injury upon unity.

This latter excess is followed by those daring and rebellious spirits who escape, as it were, out from the bowels of Jesus Christ, in order to form the systems and doctrines of men.

The former extravagance is observed by divers exclusive sects, and particularly by that of Rome.

The church must reject error ; for if it does not this, Christianity cannot be maintained. But if such an idea be carried to extremes, there shall result therefrom a necessity whereby the church shall be forced to take part in the smallest deviation, and to become confused in a dispute about words ; thus faith shall be put to silence, and Christian feeling reduced to a state of bondage. Such was not the condition of the church in the days of true Catholicism, in those of the first centuries. That proper spirit rejected the tenets of those sects which brought a reproach upon the fundamental truths of the gospel ; but, these truths admitted, it allowed faith full liberty of action. Rome very soon rambled from such wise deviations, and just in proportion as the domination and doctrines of men were established in the church, there is, in the same ratio, visible the appearance of a unity enforced by men.

A human system once invented, its rigorous enactments increase

from age to age. The Christian liberty, recognised by the Catholicism of the first century, was at first limited, then enchained, and finally smothered. Conviction which, in conformity with the laws of human nature and of the word of God, must be freely formed in the heart and understanding of man, was imposed from without, all prepared and symmetrically arranged by the masters of man. Reflection, will, and feeling, all the faculties of the human being, which, obedient to the word and the Spirit of God, are destined to work and to produce freely, were restricted in their liberty, and constrained to distribute themselves in a number of forms, beforehand determined upon. The spirit of man became like a mirror wherein many strange images are represented, but which has no faculty in itself. There were, no doubt, still many souls who received instruction immediately from God. But the great majority of Christians only possessed, from the period we allude to, the convictions of others; a faith attached to the individual became a rare thing; and the Reformation alone restored that treasure to the church.

* Nevertheless, there had also intervened a time, during whose course the human mind was permitted to act, with regard to certain opinions which it could either reject or adopt according to its own good pleasure. But in the same manner that an army always presses more closely upon a besieged city, and constrains the garrison to move no longer save within the narrow compass of the city walls, and at last obliges the town to surrender; in precisely the same manner has the hierarchy been seen to contract, in the course of every century, and almost every year, the space it had provisionally granted to the exercises of the human mind, until at the end this limited room, entirely invaded by it, was entirely demolished. Everything that it was necessary to believe, to love, or to do, had been regulated and arranged in the *escritoir* of the Roman chancellor. The faithful had been relieved from the fatigue of examining, thinking, or combatting; they had henceforth nothing more to accomplish than to repeat the formulas they were carefully taught to rehearse.

From that time, if there appeared, in the bosom of Roman Catholicism, some men imbued with the Catholicism of apostolical times, such men, incapable of developing their minds in the fetters where-with they were bound, were forced to break their chains, and to display again to the astonished world the free bearing of Christianity, which accepts of no other law but that of God himself.

The Reformation, in restoring liberty to the church, was also destined to give back its original diversity, and to fill it with families united by the grand traits of resemblance which they receive from their common Head; but divers in their secondary lineaments, and recalling the inherent varieties of human nature. Perhaps it might have been a desirable thing that this diversity should subsist in the universal church, without engendering the result of sectarianism. Still it must be remembered that sects are no more than expressions of this natural diversity.

Switzerland and Germany, which until now had developed their faculties independently of one another, began to form an interchange of sentiments in those years whose history is now more particularly under our notice, and they shall be found to afford full proof of the diversity of which we have here spoken, and which was doomed to

be one of the distinguishing characteristics of Protestantism. We shall, in this history, see men, perfectly agreed upon all the grand points of faith, differing, at the same time, upon some secondary questions. No doubt passion is evidently betrayed in the course of these debates; but while deploring such a sad mixture of zeal, Protestantism, far from seeking to disguise its inherent diversity, distinctly proclaims its existence. It is by a long and difficult road it points to the abode of unity; but that unity is, nevertheless, the true one.

Zwingle had made some progress in the Christian life. But while the gospel had delivered Luther from that profound melancholy into which he had formally fallen in the convent of Erfurt, and had displayed in him a serenity which often assumed an air of gaiety, and of which the reformer exhibited so many proofs, even in the face of the most appalling dangers, Christianity had produced an effect altogether contrary upon the cheerful child of the mountains of Tockenbourg. Dragging Zwingle away from the pursuits of a frivolous and worldly life, it (Christianity) had impressed upon his character a gravity which was not natural. This serious disposition was, however, very much required in the case of Zwingle. We have seen how, towards the end of the year 1522, numerous enemies were encouraged to take part against the cause of the reform. From every quarter Zwingle was overwhelmed with invective accusations, and disputes were often engaged in even within the walls of the temple.

Leo Juda, a man of small stature, says an historian, but full of charity for the wants of the poor and of zeal against false teachers, had arrived in Zurich about the conclusion of the year 1522, in order to fulfil the duties of pastor in the church of St Peter. He had been succeeded at Einsidlen by Oswald Myconius, and these appointments proved a precious acquisition alike for Zwingle and for the reform.

On one occasion, shortly after his arrival, Juda heard, in the church in which he had just been called to act as pastor, an Augustine monk preach boldly the doctrine that man is able of himself to satisfy the justice of God. "Reverend Father Prior," exclaimed Leo, "listen to me for an instant, and you, too, dear citizens, remain at peace, I will speak in a manner becoming a Christian." He then proved to the people the falsity of the doctrine expounded in their hearing. A warm dispute arose in the temple, and several individuals immediately attacked with fury the "little priest," lately arrived from Einsidlen. Zwingle proceeded to wait upon the grand council at its meetings, and demanded permission to proclaim the details of his doctrine in presence of the deputies of the bishop. This council, eager to witness a termination of these discords, issued orders for a conference to be held upon the 29th of January 1523; and this determination was quickly reported in all the districts of Switzerland. "There is about to be held in Zurich," said the adversaries in contempt, "a diet of vagabonds; the whole body of highway robbers shall be assembled in this meeting."

Zwingle, anxious to make preparations for the combat, composed and published sixty-seven theses, in which the mountaineer from Tockenbourg boldly attacked the pope in the face of the whole country of Switzerland.

"All those who pretend that the gospel is nothing without the confirmation of the church," said he, "blaspheme God.

"The only way of salvation for all those who have been, now are or shall be, is Jesus Christ.

"All Christians are the brethren of Jesus Christ and of one another, and they have no fathers upon the earth; and in this manner are dissolved the various orders, sects, and parties.

"Those who do not acknowledge their error, should not be subjected to any constraint, at least beyond the obligation that they will not disturb the peace by their seditious conduct."

Such were some of the passages published by Zwingle.

On Thursday, the 29th January, early in the morning, more than 600 persons were assembled in the hall of the grand council at Zurich. The inhabitants of Zurich, strangers, learned men, people of distinction, and ecclesiastics, had all answered the call of the council. "What shall be the result of all this?" was the question generally demanded. But no one undertook to form the reply. The attention, emotion, and agitation, however, which reigned in this assembly, sufficiently demonstrated an expectation of mighty events.

The burgomaster, Roust, who had fought at Marignan, presided over the present conference. The knight, James of Anwyl, the grand master of the Episcopal Court at Constance, Faber, the vicar-general, and several other doctors, were, on this occasion, the representatives of the bishop. Schaffouse had sent Doctor Sebastian Hofmeister, and he was the only deputy from the cantons; so weak was the cause of the reform at this moment in Switzerland. Upon a table in the middle of the hall was placed a copy of the Bible, and before the table there was seen a doctor: it was Zwingle. "I am disturbed and tormented on every side," he had said, "but, nevertheless, I remain constant, supported, not by my own strength, but upon that rock which is Christ, with whose assistance I am able to do all things."

Zwingle rose from his seat. "I have preached that salvation is found alone in Jesus Christ," said he, "and on account of this assertion I have been designated throughout all Switzerland, a heretic, a seducer, and a rebel. . . . Now, therefore, in the name of God, I make my appearance here."

All eyes were then turned upon Faber, who rose and replied, "I have not been sent here in order to dispute, but merely to listen." The surprised assembly began to laugh. "The diet of Nuremberg," continued he, "has promised to summon a council in the course of a year, and we must wait until that meeting shall take place."

"How now," said Zwingle, "is that grand and learned assembly, then, of no more value than a council?" Then addressing himself to the council, "Gracious lords," said he, "do you defend the word of God."

A profound silence followed this appeal; but as it was prolonged to a great extent, the burgomaster rose to speak. "If there is any one present who has anything to say, let him come forward! . . . Another lengthened pause ensued. "I implore all those who have accused me, and I know that in this hall there are many such," said Zwingle, "to come forward and answer me, for the love of the truth." Still no one offered to speak. Zwingle renewed a second and a third

time his ardent request, but in vain. Faber, closely pressed, laid aside for an instant the reserve he had imposed upon himself, to declare that he had convinced of his errors the pastor of Filispach, still locked up in prison; but having made this avowal, Faber resumed his silent mood. He was strongly urged to explain the reasons through whose influence he had succeeded in convincing the pastor alluded to; but he obstinately maintained his taciturn resolution. This refusal to speak on the part of the doctors of Rome roused the impatience of the spectators. A voice was heard from the bottom of the hall to exclaim, "What has now become of these valiant men who declaim so loudly in the streets? Come, proceed, your man is before you!" No person, however, obeyed this singular call. Then the burgomaster said laughingly, "It would appear that this famous sword which has conquered the pastor of Filispach, is not willing, on this occasion, to leave its scabbard," and he dismissed the assembly.

In the afternoon, the assembly having again met, the council declared that Master Ulrich Zwingle, not having been answered by any one person, would continue to preach the holy gospel, and that all the other priests of the canton should only be allowed to teach those things which they were able to establish by a reference to the Holy Scriptures.

"Praise be to God, who desires his holy word to rule and reign both in heaven and upon earth," exclaimed Zwingle. At this moment Faber was unable to restrain his feelings of indignation. "The theses of Master Ulrich," said he, "are contrary to the honour of the church and the doctrine of Christ, and I will prove it." "Do so," replied Zwingle. But Faber refused to enter on such a task, saving in the cities of Paris, Cologne, or Friburg. "I desire no other judge but the gospel," said Zwingle. "Before you succeed in shaking a single word of its contents, the very earth shall open and quake."

"The gospel," said Faber, "always the gospel. It would be possible to live in a holy manner, in peace and charity, even although there were no gospel."

When these words were uttered, the indignant members of council arose from their seats; and in this manner the dispute was finished.

CHAPTER II.

Carasses of the Pope—Progress of the Reform—Image of Stadelhofen—Sacrilege—The Ornaments of the Saints.

The Reformation prevailed, and it must now hasten its conquests. After this conflict in Zurich, wherein the ablest champions of Popery had remained silent, who could again display sufficient courage to oppose the progress of the new doctrine? . . . The firmness of Zwingle and his republican dealings overawed his adversaries, who were, therefore, induced to have recourse to more particular means. Whilst Rome pursued Luther with its anathemas, she endeavoured to propitiate the reformer of Zurich. Immediately after the termination of the dispute, Zwingle received a visit from the captain of the pope's guards, the son of the burgomaster Roust, accompanied by the legate Einsius, who had in charge a pontifical brief addressed to the reformer, in which Adrian VI. designated Zwingle his well-beloved son, and assured him of the benefits of "his most particular favour."

At the same time the pope gave instructions to Zink to ingratiate support of Zwingli. "And what then has the pope empowered to offer him?" asked Oswald Myconius. "Everything," replied Zink, "but the pontifical chair." There was neither mitre, crosier nor the hat of a cardinal, at whose price the pope was not willing to purchase the alliance of the reformer of Zurich. But Rome had at this instance imposed upon itself with false calculations; all its offers were useless. The Romish church had in Zwingli an enemy yet more unmerciful than Luther. Zwingli was more careless than Luther about the ideas and rites of former ages; and it was sufficient for the former to know that a custom, innocent itself, was attached to the practice of some abuse, in order to ensure its being treated with violence. The word of God, thought the Swiss reformer, should always be allowed to remain in force.

But if Rome was so little skilled in the affairs which were at that time passing in christendom, she was supplied with counsellors who did all in their power to bring her into a knowledge of existing circumstances.

Faber, enraged at beholding the pope lowering thus his dignity before his (Faber's) adversary, hastened to afford the pope fresh information on the subject. A man of the court, having always a smile upon his lips and sweet words in his mouth, he was, according to his own report, the friend of all the world, and even of those who had accused of heresy. But his hatred was mortal. Therefore, placing upon the name of Faber, the reformer said, "The vicar of Christ is a forger of lies. Let him have recourse openly to arms, and let him see how Christ protects us."

These words were not used as a vain bravado; for while the pope spoke to Zwingli of his eminent virtues, and of the particular confidence to be placed in him, the enemies of the reformer increased in number in Switzerland. The old soldiers, the great families, and the herdsmen of the mountains, combined their hatred against the doctrine which opposed the independence of their tastes. At Lucerne notice was given of the spectacle of Zwingli's *passion*, and, in fact, a figure which represented the reformer was dragged along to punishment, amidst the shouts of "Put the heretic to death!" and laying hands upon some people from Zurich who were at Lucerne, the multitude obliged these strangers to become witnesses of this mock execution. "They shall not disturb my peace," said Zwingli; "Christ will never forsake his own people." The diet itself resounded with threats against the reformer. "Dear confederates," said the council of Mullinen to the cantons, "do you oppose in time the cause of the Lutherans. . . . Even now at Zurich a person is no longer the master of his own house."

This agitation on the part of the adversaries gave notice of what was passing in Zurich more significantly than any proclamation could have done. In reality, the victory produced its consequences; the conquerors took by degrees possession of the country, and every day the gospel advanced in its progress. Twenty-four canons, and a great number of chaplains, came forward themselves to request from the council a reform in their statutes. It was resolved to substitute in the place of these idle priests a number of pious and learned men charged with the duty of giving to the youth of Zurich a liberal and

Christian instruction, and to establish in lieu of their Latin vespers and masses, a daily explanation of a chapter of the Bible, after the Creek and Hebrew texts, first for behoof of the learned, and immediately after for the benefit of the people.

There are, unhappily, in every army, a company of wretched beings, who separate themselves from the main body, and carry their attacks upon points which it is still necessary to respect. A young priest, Louis Hetzer, having published in German a book entitled, "Judgment of God against Images," this work produced a marvellous effect, and images were distinguished afterwards by a constant prejudice on the part of a portion of every population. It is only to the detriment of essential matters which must be interfered with, that man pre-occupies himself with secondary affairs. A crucifix, carefully chased and richly ornamented, was placed in front of one of the gates of the city, at the locality bearing the name of Stadelhofen. The most ardent admirers of the reform, shocked at the recollection of the superstitions which this image brought to mind, could no longer pass by it without giving vent to their feelings of indignation. A citizen, called Claud Hottinger, an honest man, says Bullinger, and well versed in the Holy Scriptures, having met the miller of Stadelhofen, to whom the crucifix belonged, requested to know when he intended to cast down his idols. "No person has obliged you to worship them," replied the miller. "But are you not aware," responded Hottinger, "that the word of God forbids us to keep graven images?" "Ah! well then," again said the miller, "if you are authorized to tear them down, I abandon them to you." Hottinger believed himself thus at liberty to act, and soon afterwards, namely, on one of the last days of September, he was seen coming out of the town accompanied by a band of citizens. Arrived at the station of the crucifix, these men began composedly to dig around the erection, until the image, yielding to their exertions, fell with a crash upon the ground.

This bold action spread alarm throughout all the districts of the country; for it was said that with the crucifix of Stadelhofen religion itself had been overthrown. "They are sacrilegious persons. They are worthy of death!" exclaimed the friends of Rome. And the council ordered the iconoclast citizens to be taken into custody. "No," then said from their pulpits Zwingli and his colleagues, "Hottinger and his friends are not guilty in the sight of God, or deserving of death. But they can be punished for having acted in a violent manner, and without the authority of the magistrates."

Nevertheless, deeds of this description were multiplied in number. A vicar belonging to St Peter's church, one day looking down upon a crowd of poor people, ill clad and worse provided with food, said to one of his colleagues, while turning his eyes upon the pompously adorned images of the saints, "I would much like to rob these idols of wood, in order to procure clothing for these poor followers of Jesus Christ." In a few days after the utterance of this sentence, and at three o'clock in the morning, it was discovered that the saints and all their ornaments had disappeared. The vicar was thrown into prison by order of the council, although he declared himself guiltless of the robbery. "Ah! indeed," exclaimed the people, "is it many pieces of wood Jesus has commanded us to cloth? Is it on

account of images that he will say to the just, I was naked and you clothed me?" . . . In this manner the Reformation, repelled, only rose in greater strength, and the more it was restricted, the more it exhibited a spirit of violence, and threatened to overthrow every obstacle that opposed its progress.

CHAPTER III.

Dispute of October—Zwingle upon the Church—The Church—Commencement of Presbyterianism—Dispute upon the Mass—Certain Enthusiasts—A Wise Voice—Victory—A Characteristic of the Swiss Reform—Moderation—Oswald Myconius at Zurich—Revival of Letters—Thomas Plater of Valais.

These very excesses were destined to produce salutary effects, and new conflicts are required to ensure new victories; for in the affairs of the Spirit as in the kingdoms of this earth, there are no conquests gained without a struggle; and since the soldiers of Rome remained immoveable, the combat was doomed to be provoked by the lost children of the Reformation. In reality, the magistrates were uncertain in what manner it behoved them to act, and, in their emotion, they experienced the necessity of having their understandings enlightened, so that, for this purpose, they resolved to institute a second public dispute, in the German language, wherein the question of images should be examined in conformity with the authority of the Scriptures.

The bishops of Coire, Constance, and Basil, as well as the university of Basil and the twelve cantons, were consequently invited to send a certain number of deputies to Zurich. But the bishops refused to comply with the terms of this request. They had not forgotten the sad display their deputies had made during the course of the first dispute, and they felt no desire to renew the appearance of such humiliating scenes. The evangelists were welcome to dispute, but let them dispute with one another and alone. On the first occasion, silence was the order of the day; and, on the second, no person was to be allowed to appear: Rome, perhaps, imagined to herself that the conflict would end for want of combatants. The bishops, however, were not single in their refusal to sanction the proposed meeting. The people of Underwald replied that there was no learned men among them, but only a set of honest and pious priests, who explained the gospel in the manner their fathers had done before them; that, therefore, they should not send any deputy to meet Zwingle "or his equals," but that if he fell into their hands, they would treat him after a fashion which would take from him all envy of repeating the same faults. Schaffouse and St Gall alone sent representatives to the meeting.

On Monday, the 26th of October, an assembly, consisting of more than nine hundred persons, composed of members belonging to the grand council, and attended by three hundred and fifty priests, filled, after sermon, the great hall of the town-house of Zurich. Zwingle and Leo Juda were seated before a table, upon which were laid the Old and New Testaments in their original languages. Zwingle first presented himself to the notice of the audience, and overthrowing in a vigorous style the authority of the hierarchy and its councils, he proved the rights of every Christian church, and sued for the liberty of the first centuries, of those times wherein the church had not as

yet established either general or provincial councils. "The church universal," said he, "is spread abroad throughout the whole world, wherever men believe in Jesus Christ, equally in the Indies as in Zurich. . . And with regard to particular churches, we have samples of them in Berne, at Schaffhouse, and even here. But the popes, their cardinals, and their councils, compose neither a universal nor a particular church. "This assembly in which I speak," continued he in energetic language, "is the church of Zurich; it is desirous of listening to the word of God, and it has a right to ordain whatever appears to it to be in conformity with the writings of the Holy Scriptures."

In this manner Zwingle sought for support from the church, but from the true building; he relied not upon priests alone, but upon the assembly of Christians, upon the people. Everything spoken of in Scripture regarding the church in general, he applied to the cases of the particular churches. He did not believe that a church which listened with docility to the word of God could ever be deceived. The church was in his view represented politically and ecclesiastically by the grand council. He explained at first every question from the pulpit; and then, when all minds were convinced of the truth, he referred the subject to the grand council, which, in union with the ministers of the church, confirmed the decisions she sued for.

In the absence of the deputies of the bishop, it was the old canon Conrad Hoffman, the same who had called Zwingle to officiate in Zurich, who undertook the defence of the pope. He maintained that the church, the flock, or "the commons," had not a right to discuss such matters. "I have lived thirteen years in Heidelberg," said he; "I dwelt in the house of a very learned man, whose name was Doctor Joss, an honest and pious creature, with whom I for long lived on excellent terms, and ate and drank in his society; but I have constantly heard him declare that it was not proper to hold discussions upon these things. You see how it stands!" . . . Every one was ready to laugh, but the burgomaster put a stop to the bursting expression of ridicule. "Therefore, then," continued Hoffman, "let us wait the decision of a council. At present I am not willing to dispute, but to be obedient to the bishop, were he even a rascal." "To wait for a council!" replied Zwingle, "and who shall attend at a council?" The pope and a number of idle and ignorant bishops, who will do nothing but what pleases their own fancy. No, it is not such a meeting as that which makes the church! Hong and Kussnacht (two villages near Zurich) are more deserving the name of a church than all the bishops and popes united together."

In this manner Zwingle reclaimed the rights of the Christian people whom Rome had disinherited of their privileges. The assembly before whom he spoke was not, in his opinion, the church of Zurich, but it was of that church the first representation. It is here we recognise the commencements of the Presbyterian system. Zwingle removed Zurich from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constance, he detached that city from the Latin hierarchy, and he founded, upon the notion of a flock from the Christian assembly, a new ecclesiastical constitution, to which other countries were destined at a later period to adhere.

advice ; " he knows that I am anxious to build up, and not to destroy. I acknowledge the existence of timid souls whom it is proper to quiet. Let mass, therefore, for some time yet, be celebrated on Sunday in all the churches, and let care be taken that those who attend upon its ordinances be not insulted."

The council consequently passed a resolution embodying these views. Hottinger and Hochrutiner, one of his friends, were banished for two years from the canton, with a prohibition not to enter there-in again without permission.

The Reformation in Zurich advanced in a wise and Christian course. Exalting always more and more that city, it encircled it with glory in the eyes of all the friends of the word of God. Wherefore all those who, in Switzerland, had recognised the fresh revival which had been imparted to the church, felt themselves forcibly attracted towards the precincts of Zurich. Oswald Myconius, after his expulsion from Lucerne, had resided for six months in the valley of Einsidlen, when one day, just as he was about to reach home from a visit he had made to Glaris, in a state of much fatigue on account of the heat of the sun, he beheld his son, the young Felix, running to welcome his return, and to inform him that he was now called upon to reside in Zurich, in order to undertake the direction of one of its schools. Oswald, scarcely able to credit the declaration of such happy news, hesitated for a while between the pressure of hope and fear. At last he wrote to Zwingli, " I am your humble servant." Geroldsek allowed Oswald to depart with regret, for many sad thoughts occupied his mind. " Ah !" said the former to the latter, " all those who confess Christ make haste to dwell in Zurich. I fear that one day we may all perish there at once." Mournful presentiments, which the death even of Geroldsek himself, and of many other friends of the gospel, were only fated too soon to realize in the plains of Cappel.

Myconius had at last found a safe retreat in Zurich. His predecessor, who had been named in Paris, on account of his great height, " the grand devil," had neglected his official duties, but Oswald consecrated all his strength and all his heart to the fulfilment of his labours. He gave an explanation of the Latin and Greek classics, and delivered instructions in rhetoric and logic, with which the youth of the city were much delighted. Myconius was appointed to become for the rising generation the same prop which Zwingli afforded to men of full growth.

In the first instance, Myconius felt a dread at the thought of the great scholars he was about to instruct ; but he resumed by degrees his wonted courage, and he was not slow to distinguish among his students a young man, then twenty-four years of age, in whose countenance was expressed an ardent desire to obtain the fruits of earnest study. The name of this young man was Thomas Plater, and he was a native of the Valais. Within that beautiful valley where the torrent of La Vierge, after having escaped from the ocean of ice and snow which covers Mount Rosa, sweeps along in tumultuous waves, between St Nicolas and Stalden, upon the rising ground that lies to the right of the river, is still situated the village of Grachen. This village was the birth-place of Plater. From the neighbourhood of these colossal Alps was destined to proceed one of the most original characters, who

afterwards figured in the grand drama of the sixteenth century. Placed, when nine years old, in the house of a curate, his relation, the little clown, often loaded with blows, screamed, says he himself, like a kid in the act of being killed. One of his cousins took the boy along with him to pay a visit to the German schools. But he had nearly reached his twentieth year, while running from school to school, before he could read with distinctness. Arrived at Zurich, he adopted the firm resolution of becoming a scholar; he set himself down upon a form in the corner of the school taught by Myconius, and said to himself, "Here you shall either learn or die." The light of the gospel penetrated the inmost core of his heart. One morning, when the weather was very cold, and when there was no fuel to heat the stove in the school which he was intrusted to keep in order, he said to himself, "You have no wood here, and yet there is in the church a quantity of idols." No person had at the time entered the temple, where Zwingle, however, was appointed to preach, and where the bells were already ringing to notify the hour of meeting. Plater crept into the building with silent step, laid hold upon a figure of St John placed upon the altar, and put it into the school stove, saying, "Bow down, for you must indeed pass into that hole." No doubt, neither Myconius nor Zwingle would have approved of such an action.

It was, in reality, with a multitude of arms that credulity and superstition were required to be conquered. Zwingle and his colleagues had given the hand of fellowship to Myconius, and this latter person expounded every day portions of the New Testament in the church of Notre-Dame, to a crowd, eager in their thirst to hear these words explained. A public dispute, held upon the 13th and 14th of January 1524, carried mournful tidings to the cause of Rome; and it was in vain that the canon Roch had exclaimed, "The popes, the cardinals, the bishops, and the councils, these are the pillars of my church."

Everything made progress in Zurich; the minds of men were enlightened, their hearts were confirmed, and the reform became established. Zurich was a stronghold conquered by the forces of the new doctrine, and from her walls that doctrine was doomed to spread to the uttermost limits of the Swiss confederation.

CHAPTER IV.

Diet of Lucerne—Hottinger Arrested—His Death—Deputation of the Diet at Zurich—Abolition of Processions—Abolition of Images—The Two Reformations—Appeal to the People.

The adversaries were well aware of the position of affairs. They felt the necessity of resolving to inflict a decisive blow. They had remained silent for a period sufficiently long. The valiant men of Switzerland, fully clad in armour, resolved, at last, to be up and doing; and they never stirred without provoking the effusion of blood upon the field of battle.

The diet was regularly constituted at Lucerne, and the priests endeavoured to ingratiate on their own behalf the first council of the nation. Friburg and the Waldstetten shewed themselves their willing instruments; but Berne, Basil, Soleure, Glaris, and Appenzel,

remained uncertain. Schaffouse was almost decided in favour of the gospel, while Zurich alone declared herself the uncompromising defender of the good cause. The partisans of Rome pressed upon the assembly to yield to their prejudices and exigent demands. "Let a law be passed," said they, "forbidding any one to preach or to relate new doctrines, or Lutheran precepts, or to speak and dispute upon these matters in the public-houses, and during these hours of social intercourse." Such was the ecclesiastical law which they wished to establish in the cantons of the confederation.

Nineteen articles were drawn out in conformity with these propositions, and approved of on the 26th of January 1523 by all the states, with the exception of Zurich. Copies of this act were, moreover, despatched to all the bailiffs, with instructions to enforce the strict observance of all its provisions. "A circumstance," says Bullinger, "which caused great joy among the priests and much sorrow in the breasts of the faithful." Persecution speedily commenced, organized by the superior authority of the confederation.

One of the first functionaries who received the mandate of the diet was Henry Flackenstein of Lucerne, the bailiff of Baden. It was within the confines of his jurisdiction, Hottinger, when banished from Zurich, after having overthrown the crucifix of Stadenhofen, had sought for refuge, but had not imposed upon his tongue a guarded silence. On one occasion, sitting at the common table in the inn of the Angel, at Zurzach, this wanderer had said that the priests interpreted the Holy Scriptures in a wrong sense, and that one must put his whole confidence in God alone. . . . The host, who went and came continually in serving his customers with bread and wine, listened to this discourse, which appeared very strange to him. At another time, Hottinger was paying a visit to one of his friends, John Schutz of Schneyssingen. "In what then," said Schutz, after they had eat and drank for a while together, "consists this new faith which the priests of Zurich so loudly proclaim?" "They preach," replied Hottinger, "that Christ has sacrificed himself once for all Christians, and that by this single sacrifice he has purified and redeemed them from all their sins, and they demonstrate from the Holy Scriptures that the mass is a lie."

Hottinger had afterwards quitted the territories of Switzerland (this happened in February 1523) and had gone on business to the other side of the Rhine, as far as Waldshut. Measures were, however, adopted to secure his arrest, and towards the end of February the poor citizen of Zurich, who had no suspicions of danger, having crossed the Rhine a few minutes before, arrived at Coblenz, a village on the left side of the river, was taken into custody. He was conducted to Klingenau, and as he there confessed his faith without reserve, "I will carry you to a place," said Flackenstein in anger, "where a fitting reply shall readily be given you."

In reality, the bailiff presented him successively before the judges of Klingenau, the superior tribunal of Baden, and, at last, being unable to find any one willing to declare the prisoner guilty, he was introduced before the diet at its meeting in Lucerne. There seemed a necessity for finding judges who should condemn the accused.

The diet did not waste much time on the occasion, but condemned Hottinger to be executed. When notice of his fate was communi-

cated to him, he gave glory to Jesus Christ. "It is all very well," said James Troger, one of his judges, "we have not come here to listen to sermons, you shall be allowed to chatter at another time!" "His head must first be taken off," said the bailiff of Lucerne, Amort, in a laughing mood; "but if it be restored to him, we will all embrace the faith for which he dies." "May God," said the blamed person, "pardon all those who have helped to condemn me!" A monk having then placed a crucifix upon his mouth, "It is within the heart," said he, in pushing away the sign, "that we must receive Christ."

On the road to the place of punishment, several individuals were moved to the shedding of tears. "I go to enjoy eternal happiness," said the captive, turning his eyes in the direction of these distressed observers. Arrived upon the scaffold, he raised his eyes towards heaven, and said, "I give my soul into thy hands, O my Redeemer," and his head was seen to roll upon the ground."

The moment that the enemies of the reform were advised of the death of Hottinger, they profited by the event in kindling to a higher degree the rage of the confederates. It was especially in Zurich the evil must be completely and speedily smothered. The terrible example which had just been exhibited was well calculated to fill with alarm the heart of Zwingle and his associates. Another vigorous effort, and the death of Hottinger shall be followed by that of the reform. . . . A resolution was, therefore, immediately passed in the diet to send a deputation to Zurich, with the purpose of demanding from the council and the citizens a renunciation of their faith.

It was on the 21st of March this deputation was permitted a hearing. "The ancient Christian unity," these deputies affirmed, "is broken, and the evil is on the increase, in so much that the clergy of the four Waldstetten have declared to the magistrates that, if the assistance of the civil authority be not granted, they (the clergy) must cease to perform their functions. Confederates of Zurich, join your efforts to ours; suppress this new faith; dismiss Zwingle and his disciples; and then let us all unite in preparing a remedy for the reproaches of the popes and their courtisans."

Such was the terms in which the adversaries expressed their opinions. What steps shall the inhabitants of Zurich be inclined to take? Shall their heart fail them, or shall their courage be seen to run to waste like the blood of their fellow-citizen?

Zurich did not leave either its friends or adversaries to pine in a state of suspense. The council replied with a calm and noble spirit that it could yield nothing in matters respecting the word of God. It then immediately proceeded to prepare a reply yet more eloquent in its representations.

Since the year 1351 a custom had been observed, wherein, on the Monday of Pentecost, a numerous procession, whose members all carried a cross, proceeded to visit the chapel at Einsidlen with the intention of offering a service of worship to the Virgin. Great confusion accompanied the practice of this feast, established in memory of the battle of Tatwyll. The procession was now fixed to take place upon the 7th day of May; but at the request of three pastors,

the councillors abolished the custom, and all processions of every description were successively reformed.

Nor was this the whole extent to which improvements were carried. The relics, the source of so much superstition, were honourably disposed of. Then, upon the representations of three pastors, the council issued an ordinance declaring that God alone must be honoured, that the images should be taken out of all the churches in the canton, and their ornaments made use of for procuring relief to the poor. Twelve councillors, one for each tribe, the three pastors, the architect of the city, some blacksmiths, locksmiths, carpenters, and masons, all proceeded in a body to visit several temples, and, the doors having been instantly shut, they began to take down the crosses, to destroy the paintings, to whitewash the walls, and to remove the images, to the great joy of the faithful, who recognised in this act, said Bullinger, a glorious homage paid to the true God. In some country churches their ornaments were set fire to, "to the honour and glory of God!" Soon after this, the organs were abolished, as their use was connected with the remembrance of divers superstitions; and a new formula of baptism was prepared, whereby every rite not strictly scriptural was banished from this sacrament.

The burgomaster, Roust, and his colleague, hailed with joy at their expiring moments, the triumphs of the Reformation. They had lived sufficiently long, and died in the midst of those days when this grand renovation of worship was in active operation.

The Swiss Reformation at this period presents to our view an aspect somewhat different to that exhibited to our sight by the German Reform. Luther had risen in opposition to the excesses of those who had broken to pieces the images in the church at Wittenberg; whereas images of a similar description were taken down in the presence of Zwingli, in the temples of Zurich. This difference can be explained by a reference to the different points of view adopted by the two reformers. Luther was anxious to maintain within the church everything that was not expressly contrary to the dictates of Scripture, while Zwingli was desirous of abolishing everything that could not be proved consistent with the word of Scripture. The German reformer wished to remain united to the church of every age, and contented himself with purifying it from all that was opposed to the word of God. The Swiss reformer passed over all intervening ages, referred back to apostolic times, and, causing the church to submit to a complete transformation, endeavoured to re-establish the edifice in all its primitive beauty.

The Reform contemplated by Zwingli was, therefore, more complete. The work intrusted to Luther by Providence, namely, the re-establishment of the doctrine of justification by faith, was, without doubt, the grand work of the Reformation; but still, that work accomplished, others remained to be finished also, which, secondary perhaps, were nevertheless of great importance, and such was the more particular labour imposed upon Zwingli.

In fact, two great tasks were prescribed to the exertions of the two Reformers. Christian Catholicism, created in the midst of Jewish Pharisaism and the Paganism of the Greeks, had by degrees submitted to the influences of these two religions which had trans-

formed it into the existence of Roman Catholicism. Now the Reformation, called for the purpose of purifying the church, must disengage the church equally from the elements of Jewish and Pagan belief.

The Jewish element was more particularly discovered in that portion of the Christian doctrine which has a reference to man. Catholicism had received from Judaism the Pharisaical ideas of individual righteousness, and of salvation by means of human strength and works.

The Pagan element was more especially discovered in that portion of the Christian doctrine which has a reference to God. Paganism had perverted in Catholicism the idea of an infinite God, whose power, perfectly sufficient, acts everywhere and without intermission. It had established in the church the reign of symbols, of images, and of ceremonies, and the saints had become the demi-gods of Popery.

The Reformation, headed by Luther, was essentially directed against the evils of the Judaic element. It was with this element he had entered into conflict, at the time when an audacious monk had dared to sell, for ready money, on the part of the pope, the salvation of souls.

The Reformation conducted by Zwingle was specially directed against the plagues of the Pagan element. It was this element which he had encountered, when, in the temple of Notre-Dame, at Einsidlen, as of old in that of Diana of the Ephesians, a crowd, gathered together from every quarter, stupidly prostrated their bodies before an idol covered over with gold.

The reformer of Germany proclaimed the grand doctrine of justification through faith, and thereby inflicted a death-blow upon the Pharisaical righteousness of Rome. The reformer of Switzerland, no doubt, imparted a similar wound; for the incapacity of man to save himself forms the real basis of the work of all reformers. But Zwingle did also accomplish another object; he established the existence and sovereign action, and the universal and exclusive power of God, and thus bestowed a fatal stroke upon the Pagan worship of Rome. Roman Catholicism had elevated man and debased God; Luther lowered man, and Zwingle exalted God. These two undertakings, which were appropriated specially, although not exclusively, to the above-named reformers, were both finally completed. That of Luther laid the foundation of the building, while that of Zwingle composed the roof.

It was reserved for the work of a genius still more vast, from the shores of the Leman, to imprint these two characteristics at once upon the tablet of the Reformation.

But while Zwingle in this manner advanced at a rapid rate at the head of the confederation, the dispositions of the cantons became every day more hostile. The government of Zurich perceived the necessity of being able to rest upon the support of the people. The people, that is to say, the assembly of believers, were, besides, according to the principles upheld by Zwingle, the most elevated power to which it was possible to refer upon earth. The council, therefore, resolved to sound the sentiments of public opinion, and issued an order to the bailiffs to request from the several communities a reply

to the proposal, Whether or not they were prepared to endure everything for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, "who," said the council, "has given for us sinners his life and his blood?" The whole canton had attentively watched the progress of the Reformation in the city, and in various places the houses of the peasantry had been turned into Christian schools, wherein the books of the Holy Scriptures were regularly read.

The proclamation of the council, perused in all the populations, was received by them with enthusiasm. "Let our nobles," replied they, "remain boldly attached to the word of God, we will help them in maintaining the good cause; and if any one should offer to trouble them, we will hasten to their rescue, like brave citizens." The country folks of Zurich then testified, as they have again lately shewn, that the strength of the church is in the Christian people.

But the people were not alone. The man whom God had put at their head responded in a worthy manner to their appeal. Zwingli multiplied his energies in the services of God. All those who, in the Helvetic cantons, endured marks of persecution on account of the gospel, addressed themselves to the reformer. The responsibility of business, the care of the church, the solicitude about the glorious combat then engaged in throughout all the valleys in Switzerland, were accumulated upon the head of the evangelist at Zurich.

At Wittemberg, accounts of his courageous conduct were received with joy. Luther and Zwingli were two great lights, placed respectively in upper and lower Germany; and the doctrine of salvation, proclaimed by them with so much force, was heard throughout the vast countries which extend from the height of the Alps until they reach the shores of the Baltic and of the North Sea.

CHAPTER V.

New Opposition—Carrying off of Oexlin—The Family of the Wirths—The Populace at the Convent of Ittingen—The Diet of Zoug—The Wirths are Seized, and delivered up to the Diet—Condemnation.

The word of God could not thus invade tracts of such immense regions without provoking, by its triumphs, the indignation of the pope in his palace, of the curates in their presbyteries, and of the Swiss magistrates in their councils. The terror of these individuals was every day increased. The people were now consulted; yea, the Christian people had received back a certain rank in the Christian church, and an appeal was made to their sympathies and to their faith, instead of referring them to the decrees of the Roman chancellor. . . . An attack thus fearful required to be met with a resistance at least equally formidable. On the 18th of April, the pope addressed a brief to the confederates; and the diet assembled at Zoug, in the month of July, yielding to the urgent exhortations of the pontiff, sent to Zurich, Schaffouse and Appenzel, a deputation charged with a message, declaring to these states the firm resolution this diet had adopted to destroy the new doctrine, and to pursue its adherents to the loss of their means, their honour, and even their life. It was not without emotion Zurich received the communication of this notice; but a resolute reply was given to its threats, declaring that, in matters of faith, obedience could only be shewn to

the word of God. When the import of this answer was made known, Lucerne, Schwitz, Uri, Unterwald, Friburg, and Zoug, were transported with rage; and, forgetting the reputation and the strength which the accession of Zurich had formerly imparted to the new-born confederation—forgetting the privilege of precedency which had been conferred upon that province—the simple and solemn oaths which had been pledged in its favour, and the number of common victories and reverses they had experienced in fellowship, these states declared that they would no longer sit in diet along with the canton of Zurich. Thus, in Switzerland, as well as in Germany, it was the partisans of Rome who first violated the bonds of federal unity. But a quantity of threatening expostulations and ruptures of sacred alliances were not considered sufficient. The fanaticism of the cantons thirsted after blood; and evidence was speedily afforded of the description of arms it pleased Popery to employ in opposition to the word of God.

A friend to Zwingli, the excellent Oexlin, was then the pastor at Burg, close to Stein, upon the Rhine. The bailiff Amberg, who had appeared to listen with joy to the glad tidings of the gospel, desirous of obtaining the bailiwick referred to, had given a promise to the men in power at Schwitz to destroy the cause of the new faith. Oexlin, although not subject to his jurisdiction, was the first person exposed to the vengeance of Amberg.

On the night of the 7th of July 1524, about the hour of midnight, a knock was heard at the door of the worthy pastor. Admittance was given to the visitors, who proved to be the soldiers of the bailiff, and who made a prisoner of Oexlin, dragging him away to a place of confinement in spite of all his earnest entreaties. The pastor, in truth, believed that his assailants had a desire to assassinate him, and vociferated Murder, murder! in accents sufficiently loud to rouse the inhabitants from their sleep, who, issuing forth from their dwellings in alarm, a frightful tumult was soon raised, whose clamour reached as far as the precincts of Stein. The sentinel on duty at the castle of Hohenklingen, fired off an alarm gun; the tocsin was immediately sounded, and the inhabitants of Stein and Stammheim, as well as of the surrounding districts, left their beds in haste, and hurried out, in the midst of darkness, to learn the cause of such a disturbance in the country.

At Stammheim, the vice-bailiff Wirth held his residence, and his two elder sons, Adrian and John, both young priests possessed of much piety and courage, preached with great effect the doctrines of the gospel. John particularly, imbued with an ardent faith, was ready to give his life in support of that doctrine which had saved his soul. The family here alluded to was one of patriarchal descent. The mother, Anna, who had born to the bailiff a numerous family, and had reared her children in the fear of God, was revered for her virtues in every quarter of the district. On learning of the excited condition into which Burg had been thrown, the father and these two elder sons immediately left their home; and the father perceived with indignation that the bailiff of Frauenfeld had committed an act of authority contrary to the legislation of the country. The sons, on their part, were not less grieved to learn that their brother, their friend, he whose good example they had endeavoured to follow, had been carried from his house in the character of a criminal. Each of

the persons of whom we speak laid hold upon some weapon, and in spite of the fears of a wife and a mother, tender in all her relations, the father and his two sons united themselves to the band of citizens belonging to Stein, resolved to obtain the deliverance of their pastor. Unhappily, a multitude of vagrants, who are always prepared to join in tumult wherever any disturbance is excited, were also collected together, and followed the advance of the Steinian body. A pursuit was made to overtake the party of the bailiff, but they, hearing the sound of the tocsin and the cries of alarm, had quickened their step, dragging their victim along with them, and succeeded in placing between themselves and their adversaries the waters of the Thur.

The people from Stein and Stammheim arrived upon the banks of this river, but finding no means wherewith to cross the stream, they made a halt at this spot, and resolved to send a deputation of their number to Frauenfeld. "Ah!" said the bailiff Wirth, "the pastor of Stein is so dear to us, that I would willingly ransom him at the expense of my property, my liberty, or even my very entrails." The populace, finding themselves near to the convent of the Carthusians, at Ittingen, who were understood to have encouraged the tyranny of the bailiff Amberg, entered this monastery, and plundered the contents of the refectory. Very soon the heads of these miserable beings were confused by excess, and various scenes of disorder consequently ensued. Wirth implored the crowd, but in vain, to leave the rooms of the convent; indeed he ran imminent risk of being maltreated by his followers. The son, Adrian, stopped outside of the cloister, although John went in with the promiscuous troop, but distressed at the conduct he was forced to witness he very soon returned to the fields. The peasantry, in their intoxicated condition, wandered through the whole of the building, from the cellars to the garret, and began to destroy the furniture and burn the books.

The news of this turmoil having reached Zurich, a number of deputies from the council repaired to the place of riot, and commanded the subjects of the canton to return immediately to their own houses, an order which was promptly obeyed. But a band of Thurgovians, attracted by the noise of the fray, took again possession of the convent, with the purpose of participating in the good things which were laid open to their acceptance. On a sudden, fire was seen to burst forth from the edifice, without any one seeming to know how it had been kindled; but the monastery was quickly reduced to a heap of ashes.

Five days after this occurrence, the deputies of the cantons met together in the town of Zoug. In this assembly nothing was talked of but threats of vengeance and death. "Let us march with flowing colours upon Stein and Stammheim," it was said, "and let us put their inhabitants to the sword." The vice-bailiff and his two sons had long attracted towards themselves, on account of their faith, feelings of a rooted hatred. "Should any one be found guilty," said the deputy from Zurich, "he ought to be punished; but according to the laws of justice, and not in any violent manner." Vadian, the deputy from St Gall, supported this opinion; for which reason the head magistrate, John Hieg, from Lucerne, unable to restrain his passion, gave utterance to his views in terms of fearful malediction. "The heretic Zwingli is the father of all these rebellious deeds; and you, doctor

of St Gall, you, too, encourage the same infamous cause, and assist in furthering its triumphant success. . . . You have no right to take a seat as a member of this assembly." The deputy from Zoug then endeavoured to restore peace among those irritated members, but in vain. Vadian left the hall, and as some of the people were supposed to harbour evil thoughts against his life, he left the city secretly, and reached, by unfrequented roads, the convent of Cappel.

Zurich, determined to suppress every appearance of disorder, resolved to take into custody, provisionally, all those who had excited the anger of the confederates. Wirth and his sons were quickly installed at home at Stammheim. "Never shall the enemies of God be able to vanquish the friends of the Almighty," said from the pulpit Adrian Wirth. The father was informed of the fate that awaited him, and was recommended to flee the country in company with his sons. "No," said he; "placing my confidence in God, I am willing to wait the arrival of the sergeants;" and when the soldiers actually appeared in his house, "The gentlemen of Zurich," said he, "might have saved themselves much trouble; they had only to send a child to give me notice, and I should have obeyed their summons." The three Wirths were consequently taken away and lodged in the prisons of Zurich; and Rutiman, the bailiff of Nussbaum, partook of a similar fate. These individuals were subjected to a scrutinizing examination, but nothing reprehensible could be proved against their conduct.

From the moment the deputies of the cantons learned how these four citizens had been captured, they commanded their persons to be conveyed at once to Baden, and gave orders that, in the event of a refusal, troops should march directly towards Zurich, and bring these prisoners away to the place fixed upon for their confinement. "It is to Zurich," replied the deputies from that state, "belongs the privilege of deciding whether these persons are guilty or not! and we have found no fault in them." Thereupon the deputies from the other cantons exclaimed, "Are you willing to deliver up the bodies of your prisoners? Answer directly, yes or no, and add not another word." Two of the deputies from Zurich then mounted their horses and rode quickly home to consult with their constituents.

When these messengers arrived at Zurich, the city was thrown into a state of excessive agitation. If the prisoners in question were refused, the confederates would march in an armed body to demand their delivery; and if they (the prisoners) were handed over to their enemies, . . . such an act inferred a consenting to their death. Opinions were divided upon the subject; but Zwingle joined in the refusal to give up their captives. "Zurich," said he, "was bound to remain faithful to its constitutions." At last, however, a medium expedient was proposed. "We will transfer to your keeping these prisoners," it was said to the diet; "but upon the condition that you shall not examine them upon any other business save that of Ittingen, and not upon the question of their faith." The diet signified its acquiescence in this proposition; and on the Friday before St Bartholomew (August 1524) the three Wirths and their friend, accompanied by four councillors of state, and some armed attendants, left the city of Zurich.

The affliction experienced on the occasion was very general; the lot that awaited these two old and two young men was easily fore-

seen. Deep sobbings were the only sounds heard during the performance of their journey. "Alas!" exclaimed a contemporary, "how mournful is such a march." The churches were still filled with hearers. "God," said Zwingle, "God shall punish us. Ah! let us at least beseech him to communicate his grace to these poor prisoners, and to strengthen them in their faith."

On Friday evening the accused persons arrived in Baden, where an immense crowd waited to receive them. They were, in the first place, taken into one of the inns, and afterwards to prison. It was with difficulty they could find a passage through the streets, so eager were the crowd to catch a sight of their persons. The father, who walked at the head of the small band, turned round and said, in a calm voice, "Behold, my dear children, we are, as the apostle has said of people devoted to die, become a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men." (1 Cor. iv. 9.) Then discovering in the crowd his mortal enemy, the bailiff Amberg, the cause of all his misery, the eldest Wirth walked up to his persecutor and held out his hand to him, although the bailiff turned away from the offered salutation. "God sees us from heaven, and knows all things," said the old prisoner mildly, taking hold of and pressing the hand of the reluctant bailiff.

The inquest commenced the very next day, and the bailiff Wirth was first conducted before the judges. He was at once put to torture, without respect either to his character or his age; but he persisted in declaring that he was innocent alike of the pillage and the conflagration which had taken place at Ittingen. He was then accused of having destroyed an image representing the person of St. Anna. . . . Nothing could be proved against the other prisoners, with the exception of the facts that Adrian Wirth had become a married man and had preached after the manner of Zwingle and Luther, and that John Wirth had dispensed the holy sacrament to a sick person without using any wax tapers or little bells.

But the more their innocence was made manifest, the more the rage of their adversaries increased. From early morning to the hour of noon the elder Wirth was subjected to the sufferings of cruel torture, and his tears were passed unheeded by his relentless judges. John Wirth was also exposed to cruel tortures. "Tell us," he was asked in the midst of his agony, "whence has proceeded the belief of your heretical faith? Did you receive this faith from Zwingle or from any other person?" And as he cried out, "O merciful and eternal God, come to my assistance and grant me consolation." "Ah, indeed," said one of the deputies, "where is now your Christ?" When Adrian appeared, Sebastian of Stein, the deputy for Berne, said to him, "Young man, tell us the truth; for if you refuse to do this, I swear by my knighthood, which I have acquired in the very place where God himself was doomed to suffer martyrdom, that we will open every vein in your body one after the other." Then the young man was attached to a cord, and as he was lifted up into the air, "My little gentleman," said Stein, with a diabolical smile, "you see the marriage present we have prepared for you:" making an allusion to the marriage of a young minister of our Lord.

The examination was brought to a conclusion, and the deputies returned to their own cantons in order to give an account of the proceedings, and with the view of returning to Baden at the end of four

weeks. The wife of the bailiff and the mother of the two young priests proceeded to Baden, carrying an infant of tender years in her arms, with the purpose of interceding for her nearest of kin in presence of their judges. John Escher from Zurich accompanied this lady in the character of her legal adviser. Seeing among the judges the magistrate from Zoug, Jerome Stocker, who had twice filled the office of bailiff at Frauenfeld, "Magistrate," said he to him, "you are acquainted with the bailiff Wirth, and you know that he has been an honest man during the whole course of his life?" "You speak the truth, my dear Escher," replied Stocker, "he has never wronged a single person; fellow citizens and strangers have always been kindly received at his table; his house might be compared at once to a convent, an inn, and an hospital; wherefore, had he been guilty of theft or murder, I would have used every effort in my power to secure his pardon; but since he has burned St Anne, the grandmother of Christ, he must be put to death!" "May God have pity upon us!" exclaimed Escher.

The doors of the hall were shut. This happened on the 28th of September, and the deputies from Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Underwald, Zoug, Glaris, Fribourg, and Soleuse, having proceeded to pass sentence in this secret manner, according to the custom, they condemned to death the bailiff Wirth and his son John, who displayed the most decided constancy of faith, and who appeared to have persuaded his father and brother, as well as the bailiff Rutiman. They yielded to the weeping solicitations of the mother in favour of her son Adrian.

The prisoners were then brought forth from the tower in which they were confined. "My son," said the father to Adrian, "never seek to avenge our deaths, although we have not indeed merited such a punishment." Adrian could only answer by shedding a flood of tears. "My brother," said John, "the cross of Christ must always follow his word."

After the sentence was pronounced, these three Christians were again led back to prison. John Wirth being placed first in the procession, was followed by the two vice-bailiffs, behind whom a vicar walked in the same train. As they were about to cross the bridge of the castle, where a chapel stood, consecrated to St Joseph, "Bow down and invoke the saints," said the priest to the old man; but John Wirth, who was in front, turned round when he heard this command, and said, "My father, continue steadfast. You know that there is only one mediator between God and man, namely, Jesus Christ." "Certainly," replied the aged parent; "and, with the help of his grace, I will remain faithful to him until the last moment." They all three thereupon began to repeat the words of the Lord's prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven." And in this spirit they crossed the castle bridge.

They were afterwards conducted to the place of execution; and John Wirth, whose heart was filled with a solicitude the most tender on account of his father, took a most affectionate leave of this old Christian. "My much beloved father," said he, "henceforth thou art no longer my father, and I am no more your son, but we are brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ, for whose name's sake I must suffer the penalty of death. To-day, if it please God, Oh, my well-

beloved brother! we shall go into the presence of him who is our father in everything. Fear nothing." "Amen!" responded the old man; "and may Almighty God bless thee, beloved son and my brother in Christ!"

In this manner, upon the threshold of eternity, did this father and son take leave of each other, in greeting the new state wherein eternal bonds were about to unite them in an everlasting brotherhood. The greater number of the people who surrounded the scaffold were bathed in tears. The bailiff Rutiman continued to pray in silence.

The whole three having knelt down on their knees, "in the name of Christ," their heads were severed from their bodies.

The multitude, when they recognised the traces of torture marked upon the dead bodies of the slain, expressed their sorrow in loud exclamations of horror. These two bailiffs left behind them twenty-two children and forty-five grand-children. Anna was, moreover, condemned to pay twelve crowns to the hangman who had deprived her husband and her son of their earthly existence.

Thus blood, and innocent blood, had been made to flow upon the scaffold. Switzerland and its Reformation were baptized with the blood of martyrs. The grand enemy of the gospel had performed his work; but in its accomplishment his power was broken. The death of the Wirths was destined to advance the triumphs of the Reformation.

CHAPTER VI.

* Abolition of the Mass—Dream of Zwingle—Celebration of the Lord's Supper—Brotherly Charity—Original Sin—The Oligarchy against the Reform—Diverse Attacks.

No desire was manifested to abolish in Zurich the observance of the mass immediately after the abolition of images, but the moment for such an enterprise appeared now to have arrived.

Not only had evangelical light been spread abroad before the eyes of the people, but, moreover, the blows which had been inflicted by its adversaries had warned the friends of the word of God to second these efforts by vivid demonstrations of their unshaken fidelity. On every occasion where Rome is seen to erect a scaffold and to deprive men of their lives, the Reformation shall be found to exalt the holy word of the Lord, and shall put an end to some flagrant abuse.

When Hottinger was executed, Zurich abolished the use of images; and now that the heads of the Wirths have been cut off, Zurich shall follow up this deed by the abolition of the mass. The more Rome increased in her desperate cruelties, the more shall the Reformation increase in strength.

On the 11th of April 1525, the three pastors of Zurich presented themselves, with Megander and Oswald Myconius, before the members of the grand council, and demanded the establishment of the Lord's Supper. Their speech was grave, their spirits collected; for every one was deeply impressed with the mighty importance of the resolution this council was requested to adopt. The mass, that mystery which, for more than three hundred years, had constituted the soul of worship in the Latin church, must be abolished. The bodily presence of Christ must be declared an illusion, and that very delusion must

be carried away from the minds of the people. Courage was required to determine upon a question so momentous, and there were men belonging to the council who shuddered at the contemplation of such an audacious proposal. Joachim Am-Grüt, the under secretary of state, took fright at the bold demand urged by the pastors, and opposed its claim with all his might. "These words, *This is my body*," said he, "irresistibly prove that the bread is the body of Christ himself." Zwingle begged it to be observed that there is no other word in the Greek language but *ἐστι* (is) to express the sense of *signify*; and he quoted a number of instances in which this word is employed in a figurative meaning. The grand council, thus convinced, did not hesitate in their opinion. The evangelical doctrines had indeed penetrated the recesses of their hearts; and, moreover, when a separation is made from the church of Rome, a certain satisfaction follows which encourages a determination to render this disunion as complete as possible, and to construct a wide abyss between Rome and the Reformation. The council, therefore, commanded the instant abolition of the mass, and resolved that on the next day, Holy Thursday, the Lord's Supper should be dispensed in conformity with the apostolic customs in this sacrament.

Zwingle was deeply interested in these opinions, and in the evening, when he shut his eyes, he still remained in search of thoughts to answer the arguments of his opponents. The ideas which had thus so forcibly occupied his waking hours still haunted him in his sleep. He dreamt that he was employed in a disputation with Am-Grüt, and that he could not reply to his principal objection. On a sudden a figure presented itself before him in his dream, and said, "Wherefore do you not quote Exod. xii. 11. You shall eat the lamb in haste; it is the passage (passover) of the Eternal." Zwingle then awakened, rose from his bed, and referred to the translation of the Septuagint, where he discovered the very word, *ἐστι*, (is,) whose meaning in this passage, according to the opinion of every one, can only intend "signifies."

Behold, therefore, in the identical institution of the passover, under the ancient alliance, the very sense which Zwingle contended for. Wherefore, then, not conclude that the two passages are parallel?

On the following day, Zwingle took this passage as the text of his sermon, and discoursed therefrom with so much ability that he overthrew every doubt in the minds of his hearers.

This circumstance, which so naturally explains itself, and the expression made use of by Zwingle to declare that he did not remember the appearance of the personage whom he had seen in his dream, have led to the presumptuous assertion that it was from the devil the reformer received an explanation of his doctrine.

The altars were taken away, and simple tables covered with the bread and wine of the eucharist were substituted in their place, while an attentive crowd eagerly sought to find a place at these tables. A very solemn aspect was presented by the action of this multitude. On Holy Thursday a company of young persons attended; on Friday, Passion Day, the seats were occupied by men and women in the vigour of life; and on Easter, an assembly of aged persons successively celebrated the death of our Lord.

The deacons read the passages of Scripture which have a reference

to this sacrament, and the pastors addressed to the flock an animating exhortation, warning all those who, by a perseverance in sin, defiled the body of Jesus Christ, to remain at a distance from the table of the Lord's Supper. The people knelt down on their knees, the bread was served round in large covers or dishes of wood, and every one broke off a morsel of it, afterwards the wine followed in wooden goblets, and in this manner it was believed a nearer approach was made to the observance of the primitive dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Surprise or joy took possession of the hearts of every one present.

Such was the progress of the reform in Zurich. The simple celebration of the death of our Lord seemed to have imparted anew to the members of the church a sense of the love of God and of the brethren. The words of Jesus Christ were again converted into the substance of spirit and life. While the various orders and different parties in the church of Rome had never ceased to quarrel and dispute among themselves, the first effect of the gospel, in gaining admittance once more within the church, was to re-establish vital charity among the brethren. The love of the first ages was brought back to the spirit of Christianity. Many enemies were seen to renounce the bitter feelings of old and inveterate hatred, and to embrace one another after they had in company partaken of the bread of the eucharist. Zwingle, impressed with a grateful sense of these touching manifestations, returned thanks to God for having permitted the supper of our Lord to work once more those miracles of charity which the sacrifice of the mass had for so long a time ceased to accomplish.

"Peace now dwells in our city," he exclaimed, "among us; there are no longer witnessed scenes of dissimulation, dissension, envy, or quarrelling. Whence can have proceeded an agreement so general, if it be not from the Lord, and in consequence of the fact that the doctrine which we proclaim assures to us a state of innocence and peace?"

Unity and charity were now both seen to exist, although uniformity was not in reality realized. Zwingle, in his "Commentary upon True and False Religion," which he dedicated to Francis I. in March 1525, the year in which the battle of Pavia was fought, had presented some truths in the most proper method for making them to be received by consent of human reason, following in this particular the example of many of the most distinguished scholastic theologians. It was in this fashion he had denominated disease the original corruption of our nature, and reserved the appellation of sin to the actual transgression of the law. But these assertions, which may excite some wonder, do not, however, inflict any injury upon the sense of fraternal love; because Zwingle, while persisting to call original sin by the term of disease, adds that the only remedy was to be found in Jesus Christ. There is, therefore, not the slightest imputation here of any Pelagian error.

But at the same time that the celebration of the Lord's Supper was accompanied in Zurich with a return of Christian brotherhood, Zwingle and his friends were just so much the more exposed to irritation from without, in contemplation of the work of their adversaries. Zwingle

was not merely a Christian teacher, he was likewise a real patriot; and we have seen with how much zeal he opposed the business of capitulations, pensions, and foreign alliances. He was thoroughly convinced that these outward influences were most destructive to the cause of piety; that they blinded the reason, and everywhere scattered abroad the seeds of discord. But these courageous protestations were fitted to injure the progress of the Reformation. In almost every canton the leaders who received pensions from foreign powers, as well as the officers who conducted the Helvetic youth to the scenes of battle, formed several powerful factions and formidable oligarchies, who assailed the Reformation, not so much as it regarded the affairs of the church, as because it was calculated to prejudice alike their feelings of honour and their more immediate interests. These authorities had already shaken the influences of the reform in Schwitz; and that canton wherein Zwingle, Leo Juda, and Oswald Myconius had formerly taught, and which appeared in a state of preparedness to follow the steps of Zurich, was also on a sudden opened to the operations of mercenary capitulations, and shut against the progress of the reform.

Even at Zurich some miserable beings, instigated by foreign intrigue, attacked Zwingle during the hours of night, threw a quantity of stones against the walls of his house, whose windows were broken in many parts, and made use of scurrilous expressions, such as the Red-haired Uli, or the Vulture of Glaris, in so much that Zwingle was awakened out of his sleep, and ran to take hold of his sword—an action which marked a peculiar characteristic in the conduct of Zwingle.

But these isolated attacks were unable to paralyze the movement which governed the proceedings of Zurich, and which now began to operate in every district of Switzerland. They resembled the opposition of a few pebbles cast into the water to stop the progress of a torrent. In every direction the rivers continued to swell and to threaten the overthrow of every obstacle.

The citizens of Berne, having declared to those of Zurich that several of the states had refused to meet with them in the assemblies of the diet, "Very well," replied the men of Zurich, with a calm voice, and raising at same time, in imitation of the subjects of Rutli, their hands towards heaven, "we have the firm persuasion that God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in whose name the confederation has been constituted, shall not forsake us, and shall make us at last to sit down, in his abundant mercy, at the right hand of his sovereign majesty." With a faith so fixed, the reform had nothing to fear. But shall she be able to gain victories equally brilliant in the other states of the confederation? Shall not Zurich remain single in its support of the word of God? Shall Berne, Basil, and many other cantons besides, continue under subjection to the power of Rome? The answer to these questions we are now about to see resolved. Let us therefore turn our attention towards Berne, and let us consider the progress of the reform in the most influential states of the Swiss confederation.

CHAPTER VII.

Berne—The Provost of Watteville—First Advantages of the Reform—Haller at the Convent—Accusation and Deliverance—The Monastery of Königsfeld—Marguerite of Watteville to Zwingle—The Open Convent—Two opposite Champions—Clara May and the Provost of Watteville.

In no quarter was the struggle doomed to be more obstinate than in Berne, because the gospel reckoned in that district at once a host of powerful friends and a multitude of formidable adversaries. At the head of the party in favour of the Reformation there were found the baronet John of Weingarten; Bartholomew de May, a member of the lesser council; his sons Wolfgang and Claudius; his grandsons James and Benedict; and more particularly the family of Watteville. The chief magistrate, James of Watteville, who occupied, from the year 1512, the highest station in the republic, had early read the writings of Luther and Zwingle, and had often conversed upon the subjects of the gospel with John Haller, the pastor at Anseltingen, whom he had protected against the attempts of his persecutors.

Nicolas, the son of the magistrate, at this time in the thirty-second year of his age, had for the last two years held the appointment of provost to the church at Berne, and officially enjoyed, in virtue of papal ordinances, many great privileges; in so much that Berthold Haller was in the habit of designating him "our bishop."

The prelates and the pope strove emulously to bind the provost over to the interests of Rome; and everything seemed destined to estrange him from a knowledge of the gospel; but the operations of God were more powerful than the flatteries of men. Watteville was converted from darkness to the mild light of the gospel, said Zwingle. As the friend of Berthold Haller, he read all the letters which that friend received from Zwingle, and he experienced an admiration for those productions more profound than he could find words to express.

The influence of the two Wattevilles, who were thus placed at the head, the one of the state and the other of the church, must, it might appear, have settled the procedure of the republic. But the adverse party was not less powerful.

Among the leaders of this latter party were distinguished the schultheiss of Erlach, the baronet Willading, and a number of patri-~~cians~~ whose interests were blended with those of the convents, subject to their administration. At the back of these influential individuals there was ranked a body of clergy not more corrupted than ignorant, and who termed the evangelical doctrine "an invention of hell." "Dear confederates," said the councillor Mullinen, in the month of July, to a full meeting of the council, "take care that this Reformation does not get the better of us: a person is not safe in his own house at Zurich, and it is requisite to keep armed men therein to defend life and property." In consequence of this advice the reader of the Dominicans at Mentz was brought to Berne, whose name was John Heim, and who displayed from the pulpit, in opposition to the reform, all the eloquence of St Thomas.

Thus were the two parties ranged in open defiance of each other, and the struggle appeared inevitable, the results of which could scarcely be deemed doubtful. In fact, a common faith united one part of the people to the most distinguished families of the state. Berthold Haller exclaimed, full of confidence in the future, "At all

events, should not the anger of God be turned against us, it will be impossible to banish from this city the word of the Lord, because its inhabitants are thirsting after righteousness."

Very soon, moreover, two acts of the government appeared to turn the scale in favour of the reform. The bishop of Lausanne having announced an episcopal visitation, the council made him to understand, through means of the provost Watteville, that he must abstain from that purpose. And at the same time the councils of Berne issued an ordinance which, while it in appearance granted some countenance to the enemies of the reform, consecrated in reality the principles of that reform. They passed a resolution enforcing, exclusively, freely, and openly, the preaching of the holy gospel or the doctrine of God, after the manner in which this doctrine could be proved by a reference to the contents of the Old and New Testament, and that every one should refrain from the use of every doctrine, dispute, or writing, proceeding from Luther or any other of the teachers. The surprise of the adversaries of the reform was great, when they heard the body of evangelical ministers loudly appeal to the substance of this ordinance. This resolution, which formed the basis of all those which followed, commenced, in a legal manner, the Reformation in Berne. There was henceforth more decision in the advance of that state, and Zwingle, whose attention was fixed upon every event that took place in Switzerland, was enabled to write to the provost de Watteville. "Every Christian is elevated with joy on account of that faith which the pious city of Berne has just resolved to receive." "The cause is that of Christ," exclaimed the friends of the gospel, "and they devoted their energies with greater courage to promote its advance."

The adversaries of the reform, alarmed at the prospect of these primary advantages, drew closer the ranks of their adherents, and determined to inflict a blow which must secure for them the benefits of victory. They conceived the project of freeing themselves from those ministers whose audacious words caused the overthrow of the most ancient customs, and a favourable opportunity soon presented itself. There was then in Berne, at the place where the hospital of Ile now stands, a convent of religious women attached to the order of St Dominic, consecrated to St Michael. The Saint-day of that archangel (the 29th September) was observed in said convent as one of great festival. Several members of the ecclesiastical body attended the feast at the date we now refer to, and among others Wittenbach from Bienne, Sebastian Meyer, and Berthold Haller. Having entered into conversation with the religious women, one of whom happened to be Clara, the daughter of Claudius May, one of the supporters of the Reformation. "The merits of the monastic state are imaginary," said Haller to Clara in the presence of her grandmother, "and marriage is an honourable condition, instituted by God himself." Several nuns, to whom Clara related the speech of Berthold, screamed out in horror at the sentiments thus declared, "Haller contends," it was speedily asserted in the city, "that all religious women are the children of the devil." The occasion which the enemies of the reform were anxious to find had now occurred. They waited upon the inferior council, and called to its remembrance the existence of an ancient ordinance which provided that whosoever should carry off a religious woman from the monastery should be condemned to death,

and they requested that the "sentence might be mitigated," and that, without granting the three ministers a hearing, it should be considered sufficient to banish them for life. The inferior council granted the request preferred, and the matter was thus quickly brought under the consideration of the grand council.

In this manner Berne was about to be deprived of her reformers ; the intrigues of the papal party had gained the ascendancy. But Rome, which triumphed when it addressed its wishes to the oligarchy, was repelled in the presence of the people or of their representatives. The moment that the names of Haller, Meyer, and Wittenbach, those men whom the whole of Switzerland venerated, were heard pronounced in the hall of the grand council, a powerful opposition was manifested against the acts of the smaller council and the clergy. "We cannot," exclaimed Tillman, "condemn these accused persons without granting them a hearing. . . . Their testimony is equally worthy with that of a few women." The ministers were therefore ordered to appear ; but it was not easily perceived how the affair was to be got rid of. "Let us believe both parties," said at last John de Weingarte ; and thus it was concluded : the ministers were relieved from the complaint, and were recommended, at same time, to employ themselves with the duties of their pulpit, and not to meddle with the affairs of the cloister. But the pulpit was quite sufficient for their work. The efforts made by adversaries redounded to their own confusion, and a manifest victory was obtained by the friends of the reform. In the sequel, indeed, one of the patricians exclaimed, "Now, all is done ; the business of Luther must continue to advance."

It did, in reality, make good progress, and even in the very places where such a result was least to be expected. At Königsfeld upon the Aar, close to the castle of Hapsburg, stood a monastery, thoroughly decorated in monastic magnificence, and inhabited by a crowd of aged monks, wherein also were deposited the ashes of several of the members of that illustrious house which has bestowed on Germany such a number of her emperors. The greatest families of Switzerland and Swabia consigned their daughters to adopt the veil within the walls of this monastery. It was not far from this locality where, on the 1st of May 1308, the emperor Albert had fallen under the stroke of his nephew John of Swabia ; and the elegant and spacious windows of the church at Königsfeld are covered with representations of the horrible punishments inflicted upon the relations and adherents of the guilty prince. Catherine de Waldburg-Truchsess, the abbess of this convent at the period of the Reformation, numbered among her religious wards Beatrix of Landenburg, the sister of the bishop of Constance, Agnes of Mullinen, Catherine of Bonnstetten, and Margaret of Watteville, sister of the provost. The liberty enjoyed by this monastic establishment, which in former times had led to the encouragement of criminal disorders, had now permitted the reception within its bounds of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of Luther and Zwingli, so that a new life had quickly been seen to change the aspect of its society. Near to that cloister, into which had retired Queen Agnes, the daughter of Albert, after having been bathed in torrents of blood as in "a dew-shower of May," and wherein, spinning wool or embroidering ornaments for the church, she had mingled in

her exercises of devotion thoughts of dire revenge, Margaret of Watteville only harboured meditations of peace, read the Scriptures, and contrived many salutary compositions in the occupations of an excellent electuary. Afterwards, buried in contemplation in the retreat of her cell, the young nun assumed the bold task of writing to the doctor of Switzerland. Her letter exhibits much better than a long list of reflections could do the Christian spirit imbibed by these pious women so grievously calumniated even in the times in which we live.

"May grace and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ be always given and multiplied to you by God our heavenly Father," said to Zwingle the nun of Königsfeld. "Very learned, reverend, and dear sir, I implore you not to take in bad part the letter which I now write. The love which is in Jesus urges on me this duty, especially since I have learned how the doctrine of salvation grows from day to day, in consequence of your manner of preaching the word of God. It is for this reason I present my praises to the everlasting God, for that he has again renewed our understandings, and has sent by his Holy Spirit so many heralds of his holy word; and, at the same time, I offer to him ardent prayers in supplicating him to clothe you with his strength, as well as all those who proclaim his good news; and that, arming you against all the enemies of the truth, he may cause his divine word to grow and increase within the hearts of all men. Very learned sir, I presume to send to your reverence this trifling mark of my affection. Be pleased not to despise the offering, for it is the offering of Christian charity. If this electuary prove agreeable to your taste, and you should desire a further supply thereof, let me be made acquainted with your wishes; for it will be cause of much joy for me to do anything that can be acceptable to you. And it is not I alone who think in this manner, but all those also who love the gospel in our convent of Königsfeld. They present to your reverence their salutations in Jesus Christ, and altogether we unceasingly recommend you to his all-powerful keeping.

"Saturday before *Lætare*, 1523."

Such was the pious letter which the nun of Königsfeld wrote to the doctor of Switzerland.

A convent, into which the light of the gospel had thus deeply penetrated, could not be long enthralled in the practices of monastic life. Margaret de Watteville and her sisters, persuaded that they could serve God better in the family mansion than in the cloister, demanded a release from their state of seclusion. The council of Berne, in much alarm, was at first anxious to bring these nuns back to a sense of reason, while the provincial and the abbess employed by turns the methods of threatening and promise; but the sisters, Margaret, Agnes, Catherine, and their friends, displayed an unshaken constancy. Then the rules of the convent were relaxed; the nuns were exempted from the observance of fastings and matins, and their allowances were increased. "It is not," replied these religious ladies to the council, "the liberty of the flesh we demand; it is that of the spirit. We, your poor and innocent prisoners, we ask that you should have pity upon us." "Our prisoners! our prisoners!" exclaimed the baronet Krauchthaler, "I do not wish they should be my prisoners." This speech, coming from one of the most ardent supporters

of convents, decided the council. The convent doors were opened, and soon after this event Catherine de Bonnstetten was united in marriage to William of Diesbach.

Still, far from adopting in an uncompromising manner the cause of the reformers, Berne took up a position as it were between the camps, and followed a system indicative of no settled purpose. An opportunity soon occurred in which this middle scheme of operation was clearly disclosed. Sebastian Meyer, the reader of the Franciscans, published a retraction of the Roman errors, which caused a great sensation, and wherein, describing the life followed in convents, he said, "In these places life is more impure, falls are more frequent, rising is more tardy, progress is more uncertain, repose is more dangerous, pity is more rare, cleansing is more slow, death is more desperate, and condemnation is more cruel." At the time when Meyer expressed himself thus in wrath against the cloisters, John Heim, the leader of the Dominicans, exclaimed from the pulpit, "No! Christ has not, as the evangelists declare, made satisfaction to his Father once for all. It is still necessary that God should every day be reconciled to men by the sacrifice of the mass and the performance of good works." Two citizens who were present in the temple, interrupted the speaker by crying out, "That is not true." A great tumult was thus raised in the church; but Heim kept silence, and although a number of the congregation entreated him to continue, he came down from the pulpit without finishing his discourse.

On the following day the grand council inflicted a blow alike upon Rome and the Reformation. That body ordered the two great controversialists, Meyer and Heim, to leave the town. "They are neither clear nor muddy," it was said of the people of Berne, by making a play upon the former word, as Luther signifies clear in the old German language.*

But it was in vain that efforts were made to stifle the spirit of the reform in Berne. It in every quarter hastened its progress. The religious women of the monastery at Ile had preserved a vivid recollection of the visit made by Haller. Clara May, and several of her friends, questioning themselves in great anxiety what it was their duty to do, wrote a letter to the learned Henry Bullinger. "St Paul," replied the scholar, "prescribed to young women, not to make vows, but to become married, and not to follow an idle life, under a

* Many Roman writers, and, in particular, M. de Haller, have quoted, upon the authority of Salat and Tschudi, enemies of the Reformation, a pretended letter from Zwingle addressed at this time to Kolb, in Berne. It runs as follows:—

"The salvation and blessing of God our Lord—Dear Francis, proceed calmly in this business; only cast at first to the bear one bitter pear among a great many sweet ones; then two, then three, and when he shall have begun to eat them, always throw in a greater quantity—bitter and sweet mixed together; at last shake out the whole contents of the sack, soft, hard, sweet, sour, and raw, he will swallow them all, and shall not allow that any person take them from him or drive him away. Zurich, Monday before St George, 1525.

"Your servant in Christ, ULRICH ZWINGLE."

† There are many decisive reasons against the authenticity of this letter. 1st, In 1525 Kolb was pastor at Wertheimer, and only came to Berne in 1527. (See Zw. Epp. p. 526.) M. de Haller substitutes, it is true, but most arbitrarily, 1527 for 1525. His correction is, no doubt, well meant, but unfortunately M. de Haller is in this respect at variance with Salat and Tschudi, who, although not agreeing upon the day when this letter was referred to in the diet, are at one as to the year, which, in the works of both, is really 1525. 2d, There is no proper understanding

a false appearance of piety. (1st Tim. v., 13, 14.) Follow Jesus Christ in all humility, charity, patience, purity, and honesty." Clara, invoking help from above, resolved to follow this advice and to quit a mode of life contrary to the injunctions of the word of God, invented by men, and full of seduction and sin. Her father, Bartholomew, who had passed fifty years upon the field of battle and in the councils, received with joy accounts of his daughter's resolution. Clara quitted the convent.

The provost, Nicolas de Watteville, whose very interest bound him to the Roman hierarchy, and who must have risen to the first episcopal seat vacant in Switzerland, renounced also all his titles, his benefices, and expectations, in order to preserve a clear conscience, and breaking asunder all the ties with which the pope had endeavoured to entangle him, he entered into the marriage state established by God since the creation of the world. Nicolas de Watteville espoused Clara May; and her sister, Margaret, the nun of Konigsfeld, became almost at the same time the wife of Lucius Tscharnier of Coire.

CHAPTER VIII.

Basil—Ecolampade—He Goes to Augsburg—He Enters the Convent—He Withdraws to the House of Seeking—Return to Basil—Ulric de Hutten—His Plans—Last Effort of the Knight—Hutten Dies at Utenau.

In this manner every event proclaimed the triumphs which the Reformation was destined speedily to accomplish in Berne. Another city not less important, and which might then be distinguished as the Athens of Switzerland, namely, Basil, began also to take an interest in the grand combat which has rendered the sixteenth century peculiarly famous.

Every one of the cities belonging to the confederation exhibited its particular individuality. Berne was the city wherein resided the families of the great, and the question appeared dependant for its solution upon the part which should be taken by such and such chiefs, who were inhabitants of the said city. At Zurich, the ministers of the word, the Zwingles, the Leo Judas, the Myconiuses, and the Schmidts, gained over to their opinions a host of powerful citizens. Lucerne was the city of arms and military capitulations; and Basil was the town of learning and printing. The leader of the republic of letters in the sixteenth century, Erasmus, had fixed his

how this letter became public. According to one version, it was intercepted; by another, it was communicated by the parishioners of Kolb to a man from the lesser cantons who happened to be in Berne. 3d, The original is in German, now Zwingli always wrote in Latin to his learned friends; besides, he salutes them as their brother; not as their servant. 4th, If any attention be paid to the letters of Zwingli, it is impossible to imagine a style more opposite to his than that of the pretended letter. Zwingli never wrote a letter of such trifling import; his epistles are usually long, and full of news. To call the little scrap of wit preserved by Salat a letter is a term of derision. 5th, Salat deserves little confidence as a historian, and Tschudi appears to have copied him with some variations. It is possible that a man from the lesser cantons may have received from some person belonging to Berne communication of the letter from Zwingli to Haller, of which we have spoken: See 2d vol. of this history, wherein Zwingli makes use of, with much grandeur, this comparison of bears, which is also to be found in the works of all the authors of the time. This fact must have created the notion in the head of some witty person of fabricating the letter which it has been supposed was addressed to Kolb by Zwingli.

habitation in this place ; and preferring the liberty he was therein enabled to enjoy, to the seducing invitations of popes and kings, he had in Basil become the centre of attraction to a numerous concourse of eminent scholars.

But a man of humble pretensions, mild and pious, and possessed of a genius inferior to that of Erasmus, was decreed to exercise upon this city an influence more powerful still than that of the prince of the schools. The bishop of Basil, Christopher de Uttenheim, in agreement with Erasmus, endeavoured to collect around himself men fitted to bring about a reformation of extreme moderation. With this view, he had called to offices of proximate position Capito and Ecolampade. There was in the character of this latter person a monastic disposition, which often gave offence to the illustrious philosopher. But Ecolampade soon attached himself with enthusiasm to his new friend, and might, perhaps, have lost all claim to independence in the fervour of that close intimacy, had not Providence separated him from such immediate intercourse with his idol. He returned in 1517 to Weinsberg, his native city, and there the disorders and profane amusements of the priests severely shocked his feelings ; and he has bequeathed to us a beautiful monument of the grave spirit which from that time animated his soul, in his celebrated work upon "The Laughters of Easter."

Called to Augsburg about the end of the year 1518, as preacher to the cathedral, he found that city still excited by the recollections of the famous conference which Luther had therein held with the legate of the pope, in the month of May. There was an absolute necessity to come to a decision either in favour or against the opinions of the reformer, and Ecolampade did not hesitate to adopt the doctrines supported by Luther. This frank avowal very soon exposed him to the attacks of a vile opposition ; and convinced that his timidity and the weakness of his voice would not permit him to cope successfully with the difficulties of public contention, he began to look about him for a safe retreat, and fixed his attention upon a convent situated in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, and inhabited by monks of the order of St Bridget, celebrated for their piety and profound and liberal studies. Feeling his need of repose, of leisure, of calm labour, and of prayer, he directed his discourse to these religious men, and said to them, "Can a person live in your house according to the precepts of the word of God?" Having received a favourable answer from the monks, Ecolampade entered within the doors of the convent on the 23d of April 1520, under the express condition that he should be at liberty to depart, if at any time the service of the word of God required his presence at some other place.

It was a lucky thing for the future reformer of Basil to become acquainted, like Luther, with the details of this monastic life, which formed the very essence of Roman Catholicism. But he did not find the requisite rest in this retreat ; his friends condemned the step he had taken ; and he himself declared that Luther was much nearer the truth than his adversaries ; for which reason Dr Eck, and other Roman doctors, pursued him even within the walls of his cherished seclusion.

Ecolampade could not at this time be properly called either reformed or a sectator of Rome, he desired to experience a certain

purified Catholicism, which has never been represented in history, but the idea of which has often been found to serve as a bridge of accommodation to many. He began to correct, in unison with the word of God, the statutes of his order. "I beseech you," said he to the brethren, "not to esteem your own ordinances more than the commandments of the Lord." "We have no wish to follow," replied the religious companions, "any other rule than that of the Saviour; take, therefore, our books, and mark, as in the presence of Christ himself, whatever passages you shall observe contrary to his word." Ecolampade commenced the proposed work; but he grew weary of the task, almost at the very outset. "O Almighty God!" exclaimed he, "of what abominations has not Rome approved in the contents of these statutes!"

At the moment he explained some of these horrors, the anger of the brethren was inflamed. "Heretic," it was said to him, "and apostate, you deserve to be thrown into a dark dungeon, there to remain to the last day of your life." He was excluded from the services of common prayer. But the danger was still more imminent outside of the convent, for Eck and his party had in no respects abandoned their projects. "In three days," he was told, "persons shall be sent to apprehend you." He made thereupon an appeal to the brethren. "Do you wish," said he to them, "to deliver me over to assassins?" The monks were thrown into a state of consternation and irresolution; . . . they neither wished to save him nor to be aiding in his destruction. At this very moment some friends of Ecolampade arrived in the vicinity of the convent, with horses to carry him off to some safe place of retirement. On receiving intelligence of this fact, the monks determined to permit the departure of a brother who had introduced disturbance within their tranquil abode. Adieu, said he to them, and he was set at liberty. He had remained nearly two years in the cloisters of St Bridget.

Ecolampade was saved, he was free to breathe in peace. "I have sacrificed the monk," he wrote to a friend, "but I have found again the Christian." Still his flight from the convent and his heretical writings were everywhere known, and thus everywhere his approach was shunned. He did not understand what might be the issue of his fate, when Seckingen made him an offer of shelter, and in the spring of 1522 he accepted the proffered protection.

His mind, oppressed by the observances of the monastic servitude, took a new start in the midst of the noble warriors of Ebernburg. "Christ is our liberty," exclaimed he; "and that which men regard as the greatest evil—death itself—is on our part a real gain." He forthwith began to read in presence of the people the gospel and the epistles, in German. "Whenever these trumpets shall have sounded," cried he, "the walls of Jericho shall fall to the ground."

Thus the most modest man of his age composed, in a fortress on the banks of the Rhine, occupied by a company of rude knights, the prelude to that transformation in worship to which Christendom was about so soon to submit. Nevertheless, the castle of Ebernburg was too confined as the scene of his actions, and he felt the need of another description of society than that of these armed men. The bookseller, Cratander, invited him to visit Basil, to which proposal Seckingen consented, and Ecolampade, happy in the prospect of

meeting his former friends, arrived there on the 16th of November 1522. After having lived for some time as a simple scholar, without any public vocation, he was named vicar of the Church of St Martin, and it was this appointment to a humble and unknown employment which perhaps decided the cause of Reformation in the city of Basil. Every time that Ecolampade mounted the pulpit, an immense crowd filled the church. At the same time, the public lessons given, either by himself or by Pellican, were crowned with such abundant success, that even Erasmus was obliged to cry out "Ecolampade does indeed triumph."

In reality, this mild but steadfast man diffused all around him, said Zwingle, the good odour of Christ, and all those who were privileged to hear him increased in their knowledge of the truth. Often, it is true, the news were spread abroad that he would be obliged instantly to quit Basil, and to recommence the wanderings of his adventurous travels. His friends, Zwingle in particular, were much disconcerted; but speedily the report of fresh successes obtained by Ecolampade dissipated their fears and augmented their hopes. The fame of his labours reached even to the city of Wittenberg, and imparted joy to the bosom of Luther, who conversed every day about this happy event with Melancthon. At the same time these Saxon reformers were not entirely free from disquietude. Erasmus was at Basil, and Erasmus was the friend of Ecolampade. . . . Luther considered it his duty to put this man whom he loved upon his guard. "I very much fear," he wrote to him, "that, like Moses, Erasmus may be doomed to die in the fields of Moab, without conducting us into the land of promise."

Erasmus had, as it were, taken refuge in Basil, as into a peaceful city, situated in the centre of the literary movement, and from whose retreat he might be able, with the assistance of the printing press of Frobenius, to act upon the countries of France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and England. But he was not willing that any one should approach the city of his choice to give him trouble, and if he beheld the doings of Ecolampade with some feelings of jealousy, another man inspired his heart with perceptions of more acute alarm. Ulric de Hutten had followed Ecolampade to Basil. For a long time this knight had attacked the pope in the style one of his order was accustomed to attack another. "The axe," said he, "is already put to the root of the tree. Germans, do not yield before the strong in battle; the lot of it is cast; the enterprise has begun. . . . Let liberty live!" He had abandoned the use of the Latin language, and only now wrote in German; for it was to the people he wished to address his words.

His thoughts were grand and generous. An annual assembly of the bishops should, according to his views, be intrusted with the regulation of the interests of the church. A Christian constitution, and, above all, a Christian spirit, must from Germany, as of old from Judea, be spread abroad throughout every quarter of the world. Charles V. had been regarded as the young hero appointed to fulfil the realization of this golden age; but Hutten, having found his hopes deceived in this respect, had turned his eyes upon Seckingen, and had implored that knight to accomplish the task the emperor had refused to undertake. Seckingen, placed at the head of the

feudal nobility, had performed a conspicuous part in Germany ; but the princes had speedily besieged him within the fortress of his castle at Landstein, and fresh arms—the cannon and the balls—had shattered to pieces those old walls, formerly exposed to blows of another description. The capture of Landstein had formed the final defeat of knighthood. This decisive victory, obtained by the forces of artillery over the weapons of the lance and the shield, marked the triumph of modern times over those of the middle ages. In this manner the dying efforts of chivalry were doomed to be made in favour of the Reformation, while the first attempts exhibited by the new-born instruments of war were destined to be urged in hostility to that auspicious movement. The men clad in armour, who fell under the unexpected blows of cannon balls, and who crumbled to dust among the ruins of Landstein, made way for another order of knighthood. It was other feats of arms which were about to be displayed—a spiritual knighthood was seen to succeed that of the Guesclins and Bayards ; and those old broken battlements, those walls heaped in ruins above expiring heroes, proclaimed with more powerful signs than Luther could propose, that it was neither with such allies nor such arms the gospel of the Prince of Peace was willing to secure the victory. With the fall of Landstein and of chivalry were buried all the fond hopes cherished by Hutten. He bade adieu, over the corpse of Seckingen, to the brilliant prospects his imagination had pictured, and, losing all confidence in man, he no longer sought for any other provision than some sequestered and lonely spot, wherein to end his days at rest. He came to seek those wants in Switzerland, in the company of Erasmus. These two men had long continued friends, but the rude and noisy knight, braving the judgment of others, always ready to put his hand upon his sword, attacking right and left every one who stood in his way, could but little agree with the delicate and timid Erasmus, whose manners were so polished, whose tones were so mild and persuasive, greedy to obtain approbation, with an equal willingness to sacrifice all in its pursuit, and fearing nothing in the world so much as a dispute. Hutten, who arrived at Basil poor, sick, and a fugitive, inquired at once for the dwelling of his former friend. But Erasmus trembled at the thought of harbouring in his house a man put under the ban alike of the pope and the emperor, who would agree with no person around him, who would be ready to borrow money, and who would, no doubt, bring along with him a multitude of those “evangelic individuals,” whom Erasmus now dreaded more than ever he did. He refused to see his friend, and the city magistrate requested Hutten to leave Basil. Hutten, wounded in his heart, and angry at the conduct of his timid acquaintance, took his departure for Mulhouse, where he published a work against Erasmus, filled with violent accusations, to which that scholar replied in a manner distinguished by surpassing spirit. The knight had seized upon his sword with both hands, and had directed unmerciful blows at his adversary ; the scholar, escaping with address from the stroke of these attempts, had answered the actions of the sword with the wounds of the beak.

Hutten again fled from his place of residence, and arrived in Zurich, where he received from the noble Zwingli a generous reception. But the bursting forth of cabals obliged him once more to

leave this city of refuge, and, after having passed some time at the baths of Pfeffers, he directed his steps, with a letter from the Swiss reformer, to the house of the pastor John Schnepf, who inhabited the small island of Ufnau, upon Lake Zurich. This poor minister received with most affectionate charity the sick and fugitive knight. It was within the recesses of this peaceable and unknown retreat that, after a life of constant agitation, chased by one, pursued by another, forsaken almost by all, having perpetually combatted superstition, without ever having, as it would appear, obtained a knowledge of the truth, Ulric de Hutten, one of the most remarkable geniuses of the sixteenth century, obscurely died, about the end of August, in the year 1523. The poor pastor, well instructed in the healing art, had in vain bestowed all his care upon the knight. With Hutten chivalry also perished. He left behind him neither money, nor furniture, nor books, nor, in fact, anything in the world except a pen. Such was the termination of that arm of iron which had dared to support the ark of God.

CHAPTER IX.

Erasmus and Luther—Incertitude of Erasmus—Luther to Erasmus—Writing of Erasmus against Luther upon Free Will—Three Opinions—Effect upon Luther—Luther upon Free Will—The Jansenists and the Reformers—Homage paid to Erasmus—Anger of Erasmus—The Three Days.

There lived in Germany a man more formidable to the prospects of Erasmus than the unhappy knight, and that man was Luther. The moment had now arrived when the two grand wrestlers of the sixteenth century must engage to try their strength within the limits of an enclosed circle. They individually pursued two reformations of very different extent; for while Luther anxiously longed to see a complete reform, Erasmus, the friend of the happy medium, sought to obtain from the hierarchy certain concessions which might result in the reunion of the two extreme divisions. The oscillations and incertitude of Erasmus was revolting to the spirit of Luther. "You strive to walk upon eggs without breaking them," said Luther, "and over glass without crushing it to pieces."

At the same time, he opposed to these vacillations of Erasmus a perfect decision. "We Christians," said he, "must be sure of our doctrine, and be prepared to say yes or no without hesitation. To pretend to hinder us from affirming, with a perfect conviction, that which we believe, is to take away from us the substance of faith itself. The Holy Spirit is not sceptical, and he has written on our hearts a fixed and powerful assurance, which renders us as certain of our faith as we are of our very lives."

These words alone are significant of the side on which the real strength was to be found. In order to accomplish a religious transformation, there is need of a firm and living faith. A salutary revolution in the church can never proceed from philosophical views or from human opinions. To fertilize the earth after a long drought, the lightning must rend asunder the clouds, so that the reservoirs of heaven may be opened. Criticism, philosophy, or even history, may succeed in preparing the way for the reception of a real faith, but they can never assume its place. It is in vain you clean out your canals or build up your dykes, so long as the water does not descend from

from heaven. All human knowledge without faith resembles the condition of canals dried up to the bottom.

Whatever was the essential difference which existed between the opinions of Luther and Erasmus, for a long time the friends of Luther, and even Luther himself, hoped to see Erasmus embrace their cause against Rome. Many speeches of his were related, as expressed in his caustic humour, which represented him as much at variance with the most zealous supporters of Catholicism. On one occasion, for example, when he was in England, and disputing eagerly with Thomas Moore upon the subject of transubstantiation, "Do you believe that you have the body of Christ," said Thomas, "and you really have it." Erasmus made no reply to this observation. He, however, soon after the said conversation had taken place, left the banks of the Thames, and Moore lent his horse to convey his friend as far as the sea-shore; but Erasmus took the animal along with him to the continent. The moment Moore became acquainted with this fact, he addressed a letter to Erasmus filled with angry expostulations; and Erasmus returned the following stanza as the only reply the circumstances demanded:—

What you told me one day of the body of Christ :
Whoe'er believes, without wavering, he has it, is right ;
The same of your horse I now truly indite,
For, only believe, and he's in your stable I wist.*

Nor was it only in Germany and England that Erasmus was considered as holding the same doctrine. "Luther," it was said in Paris, "has only pushed open the door of which Erasmus had already picked the lock."†

Erasmus was in reality placed in a delicate situation. "I will not be unfaithful to the cause of Christ," he wrote to Zwingle, "at least inasmuch as the present age shall permit." In proportion as he saw Rome rise vigorously against the friends of the Reformation, he prudently withdrew. From every quarter he was beset with entreaties : the pope, the emperor, a number of kings, princes, learned men, and even his most intimate friends, urged him to write in opposition to the reformer. "No work," the pope wrote to him, "could possibly be more agreeable to God or more worthy of yourself and your exalted genius."

For a long time Erasmus turned a deaf ear to these solicitations, for he could not conceal from himself the fact that the cause of the reformers was that equally of religion and of letters. Besides, Luther was an adversary with whom most men feared to contend, and Erasmus already imagined that he felt the formidable and vigorous blows of the champion of Wittenberg. "It is easy to say," Erasmus replied to one of the theologians of Rome, "Write against Luther, but it is nevertheless a business involving much danger." Thus he wished, . . . and at the same time did not wish, to try his strength.

This irresolute conduct on the part of Erasmus exasperated the

* Quod mihi dixisti nuper de corpore Christi :

Crede quod habes et habes ;

Hoc tibi rescribo tantum de tuo cabullo :

Crede quod habes et habes.

(Paravicini, *Singularia*, p. 71.)

† Cathol. Hist. of our times, by S. Fontaine, of the order of St Francis. Paris, 1562.

temper of the most violent men on both sides against him. Luther himself found it difficult to reconcile the respect he entertained for the knowledge of Erasmus with the indignation his timidity was calculated to inspire. The reformer resolved to free himself from this painful feeling, and wrote to Erasmus, in April 1524, a letter which he intrusted to the care of Camerarius. "You have not yet received from the Lord," this epistle went on to say, "the courage necessary to enable you to march on with us to the encounter of the Papists. We have compassion for your weakness. If learning flourishes, if it lays open to all the treasures of the Scriptures, it is a gift which God has bestowed on us through you—a magnificent gift, and for which our grateful thanks ascend to heaven. But do not abandon the task which has been imposed upon you, in order to enter our camp. Without doubt, your eloquence and your genius might be turned to great advantage on our behalf; but since courage has failed you, remain in the position you now hold. I am anxious that our party should allow your declining years to be passed away at rest in the Lord. The grandeur of our cause has for a long time exceeded the measure of your strength. But, on the other hand, my dear Erasmus, do you abstain from casting upon us, with a lavish hand, that smarting salt which you so well know how to conceal under the elegant flowers of rhetoric; because it is more grievous to be slightly wounded by Erasmus than to be reduced to powder by the united force of the whole body of Papists. Content yourself with becoming the spectator of our tragedy, and do not publish books against me, and, for myself, I will not publish any work against you."

In this manner Luther, the man of war, demanded an amicable arrangement, it was Erasmus, the lover of peace, who dissolved the bonds of concord.

Erasmus received the approaches of the reformer in the light of the most determined insult; and if he had not before formed a resolution to write against Luther, it is probable that he then decided upon such a course. "It is possible that Erasmus, in writing against you," was the sentiment of his reply, "shall prove more useful to the gospel than some insane persons who take up the pen on your behalf, and who do not permit me to remain any longer the simple spectator of this tragedy."

But he had other motives than these.

Henry VIII., King of England, and the nobles of that kingdom, insisted pertinaciously upon receiving from Erasmus a public declaration of his opposition to the cause of the Reformation. Erasmus, in a moment of bravado, allowed the promise to escape his lips. But his equivocal situation had, moreover, assumed the nature of a perpetual torment. He delighted in repose, but the obligation he experienced to justify his conduct at every turn was sufficient to render his life irksome. He was fond of glory, but even now he was accused of being afraid of Luther, and too weak to give him an answer; and he was accustomed to hold the first rank, but the insignificant monk of Wittemberg had dethroned the mighty Erasmus. There was, therefore, a necessity, on his part, to resume, by an act of distinguished courage, the high station he had lost. The whole region of ancient christendom joined in common supplications to him.

There was an eager desire felt to possess a master capacity and the greatest reputation of the age, in order to oppose the progress of the reform. Erasmus provided the want in question.

But with what weapons shall he arm himself? Shall he have recourse to the thunders of the Vatican? Shall he dare to defend the abuses which composed the shame of Popery? Erasmus could not adopt such a warfare. The great commotion which had agitated the minds of men, after a death which had lasted for so many ages, had filled his heart with joy, and he shuddered at the thought of again enslaving the human mind. Finding it impossible to constitute himself the champion of Roman Catholicism on account of the additions it had conferred on Christianity, he undertook to defend it on the score of the reductions it had practised. Erasmus chose for the point of attack upon Luther the mark where Catholicism comes into collusion with Rationalism, namely, the doctrine of free will, or the natural powers of man. In this manner, while undertaking the defence of the church, Erasmus gave satisfaction to the people of the world, and in fighting for the popes, he likewise protected the cause of philosophers. It has been said that he thus enclosed himself inadvertently within the limits of an obscure and useless question.* Luther, the reformers, and their age, judged after another fashion, and we think as they did. "I must acknowledge," said Luther, "alone in this combat, you have taken hold of the combatant by the throat. I give you thanks for your boldness with all my heart; for I prefer to occupy my thoughts upon this subject, rather than upon all those other secondary questions regarding the pope, purgatory, and indulgences, with which I have until now been pestered by the enemies of the gospel."

His own experience,* joined to a careful study of the Scriptures and of St Augustine, had convinced Luther that the actual faculties of man so much incline towards evil, as to render it impossible for him to attain of himself any perfection whatever beyond a certain outward honesty, altogether insufficient in the sight of the Divinity. He had at the same time recognised that it was God, who, operating freely in man, by his Holy Spirit, the work of faith, bestowed on him a real righteousness. This doctrine had become the principle of his religious life, the dominant idea of his theology, and the pivot upon which the whole body of the Reformation turned.

While Luther maintained that all that was good in man proceeded from God, Erasmus ranged himself on the side of those who think that this good comes from man himself. God or man—good or evil—these are assuredly not insignificant questions, and if the matter refers to idle stories, it is somewhere else it must be discovered.

It was in the autumn of the year 1524 Erasmus published his famous work entitled, "Diatribes on the Liberty of the Will;" and, from the moment of its appearance, the philosopher could scarcely believe in his own courage. He looked with dread, his eyes fixed upon the arena, towards the glove he had just thrown down in the

* One with difficulty takes the part of our own species, says, upon this subject, M. Nisard, (*Erasmus' Review of both Worlds*, iii., p. 411,) when we see that men capable of engaging hand to hand with eternal truths, have debated all their lives with idle stories, like so many gladiators employing their strength against an insect.

face of his adversary. "The lot is cast," he wrote, under strong emotion, to Henry VIII., "the book upon free will has appeared. . . . This, believe me, is a deed of great audacity. I expect to be stoned to death. . . . But I console myself by the example of your Majesty, whom the anger of these people has not even spared."

His alarm very soon reached to such a height that he bitterly repented of the step he had taken. "Why was it not permitted me to grow old in the garden of the muses? Behold me, a man sixty years of age, pushed by force into the arena, and, instead of holding a lyre, obliged to wear a net and gauntlet! . . . I know," said he, to the bishop of Rochester, "that in writing upon the subject of free will I was not in my own sphere. . . . You wish me joy of my triumphs. . . . Ah! I do not know wherein my triumph lies! The faction (that is, the Reformation) increases daily. Was this fate then reserved for me, that, at the age I have now reached, I should change from the friend of the muses into a miserable gladiator?" . . .

It was unquestionably much for the timid Erasmus to raise his voice in opposition to Luther; but he was nevertheless far from exhibiting in his conduct any extraordinary degree of intrepidity. He seemed, in his book, to attribute little to the will of man, and to leave to Divine grace the stronger part; but, at the same time, he selected his arguments in such a manner as to lead to a belief that it was man who did all, and that God did nothing. Not daring to say distinctly what he thought, he affirmed one thing and proved by it another, in so much that one is free to suppose that he believed the thing he proved and not that which he affirmed.

He distinguished three opinions, opposed in various degrees to that of Pelagius. "Some persons," said he, "think that man can neither wish, begin, nor far less accomplish anything good, without a peculiar and constant assistance from Divine grace, and this opinion appears sufficiently like truth. Others teach that the will of man has only the power to do evil, and that it is grace alone which effects in us the good; and, lastly, there are some who pretend that there never was in existence anything like free will, neither with angels nor with Adam, nor with us, either before or after the operations of grace, but that God produces in man both the good and the evil, and that everything that takes place happens by an absolute necessity."

Erasmus, while he seems to admit the force of the first of these opinions, employs arguments which tend to refute it, and whereof the most decided Pelagian might, with propriety, avail himself. It is after this fashion, when quoting the passages of Scripture, in which God offers to man the choice between good and evil, he adds, "We must allow then that man can wish or choose, for it would be ridiculous to say to any one, choose, when it was not in his power to do so."

Luther was no way afraid of the contest with Erasmus. "Truth," said he, "is more powerful than eloquence. Victory belongs to him who stammers out the truth, and not to him who eloquently declares lies." But when he received the work of Erasmus, in the month of October 1524, he discovered such traits of weakness in the book, that he hesitated about composing a direct reply. "Wherefore is so much eloquence bestowed on such a bad cause?" said he to the author; "it might be said that a man sure of the plates of gold and silver

makes use of the dust and dung. It is impossible to seize you in any direction. You are like an eel which slides through one's hand; or like the proteus of the poets, who changes in the very arms of those who desire to grasp him."

Nevertheless, Luther refraining to reply, the monks and the theologians of the divinity schools began to boast in fervid language. "Ah! well, where then is your Luther at present? What has become of the great Maccabeus? Let him appear in the lists, let him come forward. Ah, ah! he has at last, then, found the man able to baffle him. He knows now when to remain behind backs; he has learned to hold his tongue."

Luther perceived that he must complete a reply, but it was not until the end of the year 1525 he set himself in earnest to the work; and Melancthon having informed Erasmus that Luther would write with moderation, the philosopher was much alarmed at the prospect before him. "If I have written with moderation," said he, "it is in unison with my natural character, but there is in Luther the angry spirit of the son of Peleus, (Achilles.) And how is it possible to be otherwise? When a ship braves a storm equal to that which has risen up against Luther, what anchor, what ballast, what rudder, shall be found sufficient to prevent its being cast out of its proper course? If, therefore, he should reply to me in a manner inconsistent with his natural disposition, these sycophants shall be heard to cry out that we agree with each other." Erasmus, it shall be seen, must be very soon extricated from his fears.

The doctrine of an election of God, the sole cause of salvation for man, had always been dear to the heart of the reformer, but until now he had only considered this truth in a practical point of view. In his reply to Erasmus he examined the same idea, especially in a speculative point of view, and he endeavoured to establish the fact, by a train of arguments which appeared to him most conclusive, that God effects everything in the conversion of man, and that our heart is so far estranged from the love of God, that it cannot possess a sincere wish after good but through the regenerating action of the Holy Spirit.

"To designate our will a free will," said he, "is to follow the example of those princes who accumulate a long list of titles, naming themselves the lords of such kingdoms, principalities, and distant islands, (Rhodes, Cyprus, and Jerusalem,) while they do not exercise therein the slightest vestige of authority." Still Luther made here an important distinction, which demonstrated clearly that he did not in any way participate in the third opinion which Erasmus had signalized in attributing it to him. "The will of man," said he, "can be called a free will, not with reference to that which is above him, that is to say, to God, but in respect to that which is under him, that is to say, the things of this earth. When we treat concerning my goods, my fields, my house, or my farm, I am able to act, do, or administer freely; but in the things which pertain unto salvation, man is captive, he is subject to the will of God, or rather to that of the devil. Shew me one single individual among the whole number of these doctors of the free will," exclaimed he, "who has discovered in himself sufficient strength to endure the pain of a small injury, an attack of anger, or no more than the look of his

enemy, and to do so with joy in his heart, then—without even asking him to be ready to forsake his body, his life, his goods, his honour, and all things—I will declare that you have gained your cause.”

Luther's perception was too quick not to detect the contradictions into which his adversary had fallen. He, therefore, set himself in his reply to shut up the philosopher in the net within whose meshes he had placed himself. “If the passages which you quote,” said Luther, “establish the fact that it is easy for us to do good, why should we dispute? What need have we of Christ or of the Holy Spirit? Christ has then acted foolishly in shedding his blood in order to obtain for us a strength which we already possess in our own nature!” In reality, it is in another sense the passages quoted by Erasmus must be interpreted. This question, so often discussed, is more simple and clear than it at first sight appears to be. When the Bible says to man—Choose you! it supposes the help of the grace of God, through which alone he can do what it commands. God, in giving the commandment, bestows also the strength needed for its accomplishment. If Christ said to Lazarus, “Come forth,” it was not meant that Lazarus could of his own strength raise himself from the dead; but it shewed that Christ, in commanding him to leave the grave, conferred on him the required ability, and accompanied his word with the force of his creative power. He says, and it is done. Besides, it is very true that man, to whom God addresses himself, must be willing: it is he who is willing and not another: he can only receive this will from God; but it is also in him that it does exist, and even this commandment which God addresses to him, and which, in the opinion of Erasmus, establishes the power of man, is so reconcilable with the action of God, that it is precisely the means by which that action is effected. Thus, saying to man, Convert yourself, or, May God convert man, are synonymous terms.

But the idea most closely insisted upon by Luther in his reply is this, that the passages quoted by Erasmus are particularly designed to teach men the things they must do, and the power through which they are to accomplish their work, but in no manner to describe the pretended power Erasmus is anxious to attribute to man. “How often has it not happened,” says Luther, “that a father calls his feeble infant to come to him, to whom he says, ‘My son, do you wish to come? come, then, come,’ in order that the child may learn to implore his assistance, and to allow himself to be carried by his father.”

After having refuted the reasoning of Erasmus upon the question of free will, Luther defends his own against the attacks of his adversary. “Dear Diatribe,” says he, ironically, “powerful heroine, thou who pretendest to have overturned this word of the Lord related by St John, ‘Without me you can do NOTHING,’ which thou regardest, nevertheless, as the most sufficient word, and which thou callest the Achilles of Luther, listen to me for a little; at least, until you are able to prove that this word *nothing*, not only may, but also must signify, a *small matter*, all your high sounding words and all your magnificent examples are of no more avail than if a man were to attempt with a bit of straw to oppose the fury of a seditious multitude. Of what value are the following assertions to us—That is intended to

say or, It may thus be understood, . . . while you should positively demonstrate to us that such words *must* be in such a manner understood. . . . If you do not this, we adopt the said declaration in its natural sense, and we despise all your proofs, your grand preparations, and pompous triumphs."

At last, in an after head, Luther shews, and always by a reference to the Scriptures, that it is the grace of God which does all. "Finally," said he at the end, "since the Scriptures everywhere oppose Christ to that which has not the Spirit of Christ; since they declare that whatever is not Christ, and in Christ, is under the power of error, of darkness, of the devil, of death, of sin, and of the anger of God, it follows, consequently, that all the passages in the Bible which speak of Christ are against the notion of free will. Now these passages are innumerable, they complete the meaning of every part of the Holy Scriptures.

It will be observed that the discussion which took place between Luther and Erasmus is of the same import as that which came to be mooted, a hundred years afterwards, between the Jansenists and the Jesuites, between Pascal and Molina. How has it happened, then, that whilst the Reformation has produced such amazing consequences, Jansenism, illustrated by the efforts of the finest genius, has fallen into utter decay? The reason is, that Jansenism looked up to St Augustine, and rested its strength upon the fathers, while the Reformation fixed its attention upon the Bible, and sought support from the word of God. It is because Jansenism made a compromise with Rome, and wished to establish a just medium between truth and error, while the Reformation trusted in God alone, cleared the ground, carried away all human contrivances with which it had been covered for many centuries, and laid bare again the primitive rock. To halt half-way upon a journey is in every affair a useless labour; it is at all times necessary to persevere unto the end. Therefore it is that, while Jansenism has passed away, evangelical Christianity has still in charge the destinies of the world.

For the rest, after having bravely refuted error, Luther renders to the person even of Erasmus a brilliant homage, but, it may be, somewhat malicious. "I confess," said Luther, "that you are a great man. Where has there ever been witnessed a larger share of knowledge, of intelligence, or of aptitude, either in speaking or in writing? As for myself, I possess nothing of all these things; there is but one thing in which I glory: . . . I am a Christian. May God raise you in an acquaintance with the gospel far above me, so that you may at last surpass me even in this respect as much as you do in every other thing."

Erasmus was transported with rage while reading the reply composed by Luther, and he could only discover in the encomium referred to the honey dropped into the cup of poison, or the embrace of the serpent at the moment he darts his sting into your bosom. He wrote immediately to the elector of Saxony, with a view to obtain justice; and Luther, being willing to appease him, laid aside for a time his usual character, and set himself, as reported by one of his most ardent apologists, to "rail with a broken voice and in the forced strain of old age."

Erasmus was vanquished. His strength until now had lain in his

moderation, and he came to lose this superiority. In the face of Luther's energy he only exhibited paroxysms of anger. Wisdom forsook the bosom of the sage. He made a public reply in his "Hyperapistes," accusing the reformer of barbarity, of falsehood, and blasphemy. The philosopher went so far as to assume the language of the prophet. "I prophecy," said he, "that no name whatever under the sun shall receive more general execration than that of Luther." The jubilee, held in 1817, has recorded the answer to this prophesy, after a lapse of three hundred years, with shouts of enthusiasm, and the acclamations of the whole Protestant world.

Thus, while Luther claimed with his Bible the highest rank of his age, Erasmus, in his opposition to the reformer, endeavoured to attain the highest honours by means of philosophy. Of these two chiefs which has been followed? Both of them, without doubt; nevertheless the influence of Luther upon the nations of christendom has been infinitely greater than that of Erasmus. Even those who do not thoroughly comprehend the basis of the dispute, observing the convictions of one of the antagonists and the doubts of the other, cannot prevent themselves from believing that the former is right and the latter wrong. It has been said that the three last centuries, namely, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, may be represented before the mind in the resemblance of a mighty battle which lasted for three days. We willingly avail ourselves of this beautiful expression, but do not recognise the part assigned to each of these days. The same work is attributed to the sixteenth and to the eighteenth centuries. On the first day and on the last philosophy is represented as breaking through the hostile ranks. The sixteenth century to be called philosophical! A most singular error. No, no, each of these days is marked with its peculiar and distinct character. On the first day of battle it was the word of God—the gospel of Christ—which conquered; and then Rome was defeated, as well as human philosophy, in the fall of Erasmus and others who embraced the same cause. On the second day, we grant that Rome, with its authority, discipline, and doctrine, re-appeared on the field, and obtained a victory by means of the intrigues then prevalent in the midst of a celebrated society and the power of the scaffold, as well as by the aid of some characters of great beauty and of many sublime geniuses. On the third day, human philosophy marched up to the ground in all its pride, and finding on the battle-field Rome, and not the gospel, the assailant accomplished an easy conquest, and speedily carried all the entrenchments. The first day exhibits the battle of God, the second the battle of the priests, and the third the battle of reason. What shall the fourth display? The mingled contest, we think—the animated battle of all these powers together—in order to complete the triumph of him to whom victory alone belongs.

CHAPTER X.

The Three Adversaries—Source of the Truth—Anabaptism—Anabaptism and Zwingle—Constitution of the Church—Prison—The Prophet Biaurock—Anabaptism at St Gall—A Family of Anabaptists—Dispute at Zurich—The Limits of the Reformation—Punishment of the Anabaptists.

But the battle which the Reformation forwarded on the grand day of the sixteenth century, under the standard of the word of God,

was not a simple single combat, it was multifarious in its aspect. The Reformation had several enemies to encounter at once; and after having protested against the decretals and the sovereignty of the pope, as well as against the cold apophthegms of the Rationalists, philosophical or scholastic, she equally opposed the dreams of Enthusiasm and the hallucinations of Mysticism, combatting at once against these three peculiar powers with the shield and the sword of the holy revelations of God.

There is, it must be acknowledged, a great resemblance, a striking unity, between these three powerful adversaries. The false systems which, in every age, have been the most opposed to evangelical Christianity, have always distinguished themselves in this particular, that they make religious knowledge to proceed from within the nature of man himself. Rationalism supposes religion to proceed from reason; Mysticism from certain inward lights; and Roman Catholicism, from an illumination from the pope. These three errors seek to find truth in man; evangelical Christianity looks to discover it alone in God; and while Rationalism, Mysticism, and Roman Catholicism recognise a permanent inspiration in many of our fellow men, and thus open a door for the admission of every species of digression and variation, evangelical Christianity acknowledges this inspiration only in the writings of the apostles and prophets, and exhibits alone that grand, beautiful, and living unity, which continues constantly the same throughout every age.

The work of the Reformation has been to re-establish the laws and the rights of the word of God in opposition, not only to Roman Catholicism, but also to Rationalism and to Mysticism itself.

The fanaticism of the Anabaptists, extinguished in Germany at the time of Luther's return to Wittenberg, reappeared with increased strength in Switzerland, and it threatened to overthrow the edifice which Zwingli, Haller, and Ecolampade had reared upon the foundation of the word of God. Thomas Munzer, when forced to leave Saxony in the year 1521, had retreated to the very frontiers of Switzerland. Conrad Grebel, whose restless and ardent disposition we have already had occasion to describe, was bound in ties of amity with Munzer as well as Felix Mantz, the son of a canon, and some other citizens of the town of Zurich; while Grebel had likewise endeavoured to gain the support of Zwingli. In vain had this Swiss reformer advanced in that direction further than Luther; for he now beheld a party eager to outstrip the progress he had made. "Let us form," said Grebel to Zwingli, "a community of true believers; because it is to them alone the promise belongs, and let us establish a church wherein sin shall not be allowed to enter." "It is impossible," replied Zwingli, "to form a heaven upon earth; and Christ has taught us that we must allow the tares to grow along with the wheat."

Grebel, being frustrated in his attempts with the reformer, longed to make an appeal to the people. "The whole community of Zurich," said he, "must, with sovereign power, decide upon the affairs of faith." But Zwingli feared the influence these radical enthusiasts might exercise upon the minds of a numerous assembly. He believed that, with the exception of extraordinary cases, in which the people should be called upon to declare their adherence, it was much better to trust the management of religious interests to a college which

might be considered as the chosen representatives of the church. Consequently the council of the two hundred, who exercised the political sovereignty, were also intrusted in Zurich with the ecclesiastical authority, under the express condition of their conforming in all things to the rule of the Holy Scriptures. No doubt it would have been better to have constituted the church in a more perfect form, and to have requested it to name its own peculiar representatives, who might be intrusted with the religious interests of the people; because the man who is able to administer the affairs of the state, may be very incapable of managing those of the church, as the contrary is likewise known to be true. Nevertheless, the disadvantages were not at that time so momentous as they would certainly be at the present day, since the members of the grand council had frankly adopted the side of the religious movement. However that may be, Zwingle, while appealing to the church in the matter, avoided the extreme of bringing her too prominently forward on the scene, and preferred to the active sovereignty of the people, the representative system of the council. The example, after a period of three centuries, has, within the last fifty years, been followed by the states of Europe in the affairs of politics.

Repulsed by Zwingle, Grebel turned his attention elsewhere. Roubli, the ancient pastor at Basil, Brodtlein, the pastor of Zollekon, and Lewis Herzer, received his advances with eagerness. They resolved to form an independent community in the centre of the grand community, a church in the middle of the church. A new baptism was fixed upon as the means of gathering together their congregation, composed exclusively of true believers. "The baptism of infants," said they, "is a horrible abomination, a manifest impiety, invented by the evil spirit and Nicolas II., the pope of Rome."

The council of Zurich, alarmed at the prospect of these proceedings, issued an order for the observance of a public discussion; and the Anabaptists, still refusing to forsake their errors, some people of Zurich belonging to their sect were cast into prison, while a few strangers were banished from the district. But this persecution only served to augment the fervour of these enthusiasts. "It is not merely with words," exclaimed they, "but with our blood we are ready to bear witness to the truth of our cause." Some of their number, begirt with cords or willow wands, walked through the streets exclaiming, "In a few days Zurich shall be destroyed. Wo be to you, Zurich! Wo, wo!" Many of them gave vent to expressions of blasphemy. "Baptism," said they, "is the bathing of a dog, there is no more use in baptizing an infant than in baptizing a cat." Simple people were thrown into a state of commotion and dread. Fourteen men, and among their number Felix Mantz, in company with seven women, were taken into custody, in spite of the intercessions of Zwingle, and condemned to live upon bread and water in the tower of the heretics. At the end of fifteen days' confinement, they succeeded in raising some planks during the night, and, with the assistance of each other, they effected their escape. "An angel," they said, "had opened the prison and procured their deliverance."

A monk who had fled from his convent, George Jacobade Coire, surnamed Blaurock, because he always wore, as it would appear, a blue habit, joined the newly formed sect, and was, on account of his

natural eloquence, denominated the second St Paul. This bold monk went about from place to place, obliging people to receive the token of his baptism by means of his overheated appeals. On a certain Sunday, in Zollekon, at the moment when the deacon was delivering his sermon, the impetuous Anabaptist interrupted the speaker by exclaiming in a voice of thunder, "It is written, My house is a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves," then, raising a stick he carried in his hand, he struck with it on the ground four violent blows.

"I am the door," exclaimed he, "he who will enter through me shall find food. I am a good shepherd. My body I give up to prison; my life I give to the sword, to the funeral pile, or to the wheel. I am the commencement of baptism and of the bread of the Lord."

But Zwingle at same time offering a stern opposition to the torrent of Anabaptism in Zurich, St Gall was very soon overrun with the same plague. Grebel arrived in the latter city, where he was received with acclamations by the brethren; and on Palm Sunday, proceeding in company with an immense number of his adherents to the banks of the Sitter, he administered baptism to the whole multitude.

The report of these transactions quickly reached the neighbouring cantons; and a great concourse of people flocked from Zurich, from Appenzel, and from divers other places, towards "the little Jerusalem."

Zwingle's heart was broken at the sight of this violent agitation. He beheld a storm ready to burst upon those countries wherein the seed of the gospel had scarcely yet appeared above the ground. He resolved to restrain such unhappy commotions, and composed, with that view, a work upon "Baptism," which the council of St Gall, to whom it was addressed, ordered to be read in the church before all the people.

"Very dear brethren in God," said Zwingle, "the water of the torrent which gushes from our rocks, carries away rapidly everything that it overtakes. At first it was only some small stones which were displaced, but they have been dashed with so much violence against the larger, that the torrent has gathered a force sufficient to sweep before it every obstacle to its destructive course, and its track is marked only by fruitless regret, lamentations, or fertile fields converted into deserts. The spirit of dispute and of real justice follows the same wayward path, it excites confusion, it destroys charity, and in those places where stood beautiful and flourishing churches, it leaves behind only a number of flocks plunged in sorrow and desolation."

Such was the address prepared by Zwingle, the child of the mountains of Tockenbourg. "Read to us the word of God," cried an Anabaptist who was in the temple, "and not the words of Zwingle." Immediately a hubbub arose in the church. "Let them take away the book, let them take away the book," exclaimed the Anabaptists. Then they rose and went out from the church, crying, "Keep you the doctrine of Zwingle, as for us, we will keep the word of God."

After this, the spirit of fanaticism displayed itself in freaks of melancholy extravagance. Pretending that our Lord exhorts us to become like little children, these unhappy beings began to jump about in the streets, and to clap their hands together, to dance round and

round in numerous circles, to sit down upon the ground, and to roll one another about in the sand. Some of them threw the New Testament into the fire, saying, "The letter kills, but the Spirit gives life;" while many, falling into convulsions, pretended they had received revelations of the Spirit.

In a lonely house, situated in the vicinity of St Gall, upon the Müllegg, there lived an old husbandman, eighty years of age, named John Schucker, who had five sons to bear him company. The whole of this family, as well as their servants, received the ordinance of the new baptism, and two of the sons, Thomas and Leonard, particularly distinguished themselves by their extreme fanaticism. On the 6th of February 1526, the day being Shrove Tuesday, they invited a large number of Anabaptists to meet in their house, and the father killed a calf to provide for the feast. The viands and the wine sufficed to heat the imaginations of this numerous company, and they passed the whole night in conversation, fantastic gesticulations, convulsions, visions, and revelations.

In the morning, Thomas, still excited by the excesses of the past night, and having even, as it would appear, lost the power of his reason, took up the bladder of the calf and put into it the gall of the beast, desiring thus to imitate the symbolical actions of the prophets; and, going up to his brother Leonard, he said to him in a sombre tone, "Equally bitter is the death which you must die." Then he added, "Brother Leonard, kneel down upon your knees." Leonard did as he was commanded. In a little it was said, "Brother Leonard, arise;" and Leonard again stood upon his feet. The father, the brothers, and the rest of the Anabaptists, stared in amazement, wondering what might be the will of God. Very soon Thomas once more said, "Leonard, kneel down again," and the humble posture was resumed. The spectators, alarmed at the gloomy expression of the unhappy actor, said, "Reflect upon what you are about to do, and take care that no evil happens." "Do not fear," replied Thomas, "the will of the Father alone shall be fulfilled." At the same moment he hastily seized a sword, and aiming a blow with all his strength at the body of his kneeling brother, like a criminal before the executioner, he cut off his head, and exclaimed, "Now the will of the Father is accomplished!" Every one present shrank back in a state of consternation, and the house rung with groans and lamentations. Thomas, who was merely covered with his shirt and pantaloons, left home with his head and feet both naked, and ran with speed towards St Gall, performing at the same time a number of frantic gestures. He entered the house of the burgomaster Joachim Vadian, and said, in wild accents, to the magistrate, "I announce to you the day of the Lord!" The fearful news soon spread through the city of St Gall; and the cry became general, "He has, like Cain, slain his brother Abel." The guilty creature was taken hold of and confined. "It is true I have done it," he unceasingly repeated; "but it is God who has done it through me." On the 16th of February the wretched fratricide was beheaded by the hands of the hangman, and fanaticism had been seen to expend its last effort. The eyes of every one were opened; and, as an ancient historian has said, "the same blow served to decapitate alike the body of Thomas Schucker and that of Anabaptism in St Gall."

The sect, however, still lived in Zürich; and, on the 6th of November of the preceding year, a public dispute had there taken place, in order to give satisfaction to the Anabaptists, who continued to cry out, "The innocent are condemned without being heard." The three following theses were proposed by Zwingli and his friends as the subject of conference, and were victoriously maintained by them in the hall of the council:—

"Children born of faithful parents are the children of God, like those who were born under the Old Testament; and, consequently, they can receive baptism."

"Baptism is under the New Testament that which circumcision was under the Old, consequently baptism must so now be administered to children in the same way as circumcision was formerly administered."

"The usage of baptizing anew cannot be proved, either by example, or by passages, or by arguments drawn from the Scriptures; and those who submit to a new baptism crucify Jesus Christ."

But the Anabaptists did not confine themselves within the limits of religious questions merely; they demanded the abolition of tithes. "seeing," said they, "that these exactments are not in conformity with the divine law." Zwingli replied that it was upon the tithes the support of the churches and schools was settled. He longed to see a complete religious reform; but he was determined not to allow either public order or political institutions to be in the slightest degree disturbed. This was the boundary prescribed for him, written by the hand of God, in words emanating from heaven, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther."—Job, xxxiii. 11. It was necessary to find a limit somewhere; and such was the termination adopted by Zwingli and the reformers, in spite of the wishes of impetuous men who endeavoured to force them on to a more extended boundary.

If the reformers, however, resolved to stop, they could not arrest the progress of enthusiasts, who seemed placed close by their side, in order to manifest the truth of their wisdom and sobriety. It was not enough for the Anabaptists to have formed a church; this church was, in their opinion, the real constitution of the state. If they were cited before the legal tribunals, they declared that they did not recognise the civil authority; that it was no more than the dregs of Paganism, and that they would yield obedience to no other power than that of God. They asserted that Christians were not permitted to engage either in the exercises of public functions or in those of the sword; and, resembling in this respect the conduct of certain irreligious enthusiasts who have appeared in our own days, they regarded the community of property as the perfection of human nature.

In this manner the danger became more imminent; for the existence of civilized society was threatened. Society, therefore, roused its energies to cast from its bosom the pressure of these destructive elements. The government, in a fit of alarm, allowed itself to be hurried into the adoption of strange measures. Determined to make an example, it condemned Mantz to be drowned. On the 5th of January 1527, he was placed in a boat, and his mother, the former concubine of the canon, along with his brother, followed in the crowd which accompanied him to the water side. "Persevere unto the end,"

they cried to him. But at the moment when the hangman prepared to throw Mantz into the lake, his brother burst out into an agony of tears, while the mother consented, in a calm mood, with her heart resolved and her eye dry and composed, to the martyrdom of her son.

On the same day Blaurock was beaten with rods; and as he was led out of the city, he shook off against it his blue coat and the dust from his feet. It appears that this unhappy individual was, two years later, burned alive by the Roman Catholics of the Tyrol.

There was, without doubt, a spirit of rebellion in the system of the Anabaptists. Without doubt, the ancient ecclesiastical law, which condemned heretics to the punishment of death, was still in force, and it was impossible for the Reformation to reform, in the course of one or two years, all existing errors. Without doubt, also, the Catholic states would have accused the Protestant states with shewing favour to revolt, had they not punished these enthusiasts; but these considerations, which explain the rigorous conduct of the magistrate, cannot be supposed to justify the wrong done. Some measures might have been taken against those who threatened to injure the civil constitution, but religious errors, contended against by the constituted teachers, ought to find before the civil tribunals a perfect liberty. It is not with the scourge such opinions are driven out of the public mind; they are not drowned by casting those who profess them into the water; they rise again out of the deepest corner of the abyss, and fire only inflames to a higher pitch in their adherents the enthusiasm and the thirst after martyrdom. Zwingle, with whose sentiments we are acquainted in this respect, took no part in the infliction of these rigorous measures.

CHAPTER XI.

Movement and Immobility—Zwingle and Luther—Return of Luther to School Divinity—Respect for Tradition—Occasin—Contrary Tendency of Zwingle—Commencement of the Controversy—Ecolampade and the Syngramme of Swabia—Strasbourg—Mediator.

It was not, however, upon the question of baptism alone that dissensions were destined to arise at this period; disagreements more important still were doomed to manifest themselves upon the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

The human mind, emancipated from the yoke which had galled its spirit for so many centuries, made free use of the liberty it had obtained; and if Roman Catholicism exhibits the evils of despotism, Protestantism must fear those of anarchy. The character of Protestantism is movement, in the same manner as that of Rome is immobility.

Roman Catholicism, which possesses in Popery a means for establishing without ceasing many new doctrines, appears at first sight, it is true, to have a principle peculiarly favourable to variations. It has, in reality, made liberal use of this principle, and we behold Rome, from age to age, producing or confirming certain new dogmas. But its system once complete, Roman Catholicism has established itself the champion of immobility. Its salvation consists in this; it resembles those buildings so easily shaken that it is impossible to remove the smallest particle without endangering their ruin. Give back the

privilege of marriage to the priests of Rome, or inflict the least injury upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, the whole system is shaken and the whole edifice must fall.

It is not thus with evangelical Christianity. Its principle is much less favourable to variations, but is much more consistent with movement and life. In reality, on the one hand it only acknowledges as the source of truth one scripture, single and always the same, from the commencement of the church to the end of it; how then can the principle vary in like manner with Popery? But, on the other hand, it belongs to every Christian to go and draw for himself knowledge from this source; and out of this privilege proceeds the essence of movement and liberty. Wherefore evangelical Christianity, while continuing the same in the nineteenth as it was in the sixteenth and in the first centuries, is at every period of time full of voluntariness and activity, and does actually overspread the world with researches, labours, Bibles, missionaries, light, salvation, and life.

It is a great error to co-ordain and almost to confound with evangelical Christianity the spirits of Mysticism or Rationalism, and to impute to it their labours. Movement is inherent in the nature of Christian Protestantism; it is antipathetical to immobility and to death; but it is the movement of health and life which characterises its being, and not the aberrations of men deprived of sense or the excited notions of the sick. We are now about to see this character manifested in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

One must here be careful to distinguish; for this doctrine had been compromised in many diverse ways during the ancient times of the church. This diversity of opinion subsisted up to the period when the doctrine of transubstantiation and scholastic theology began simultaneously to reign over the public mind of the middle ages. But this domination being shaken, the ancient diversities were destined to reappear.

Zwingle and Luther, after having developed their minds in separate conditions, the one in Switzerland and the other in Saxony, were, nevertheless, appointed to come one day into contact with each other. The same spirit, and, in many respects, the same character distinguished these two men. Both were equally filled with a love of truth and a hatred of injustice; both were violent in their natural dispositions; and this violence of temper was softened in both the one and the other by the impressions of sincere piety. But there was in the character of Zwingle one trait which was calculated to push him more towards extremes than Luther. It was not only as a man he admired liberty, but also as a republican, and as the compatriot of William Tell. Accustomed to the decision of a free state, he did not allow himself to be restrained by certain considerations, in contemplation of which Luther shrunk back afraid. Zwingle had, moreover, bestowed less study upon the subjects of school divinity than Luther, and thus felt himself more at liberty in his own adopted course. Both strongly attached to their inward convictions, both decided in their defence thereof, and little used to yield to the convictions of others, they were fitted to meet each other in the spirit of two gallant chargers, which, rushing across the battle-field, suddenly inflict injury upon themselves in the fierceness of the combat. A practical tendency at sametime ruled in the character of Zwingle and of the

Reformation of which he was the author, and this tendency proposed to itself two grand results, namely, in worship simplicity, and in life sanctification. To organize worship in accordance with the wants of the spirit, which seeks not to find the exhibitions of outward pomp, but the invisible things of the heart, such was the first care of Zwingle. The idea of the bodily presence of Jesus Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the source of all the ceremonies and superstitions of the church, must, therefore, be abolished. But another desire of the Swiss reformer conducted him to the same results. He found that the doctrine of Rome upon the Lord's Supper, and even that of Luther, supposed a certain magic influence injurious to sanctification, for he feared that the Christian, imagining himself to receive Jesus Christ in the consecrated bread, would no longer desire with so much zeal to become united to him in the living faith of the heart. "Faith," said he, "is not an understanding, an opinion, or an imagination, it is a reality. It begets a real union with divine things." Thus, whatever the adversaries of Zwingle may be pleased to say, it was not a feeling in favour of Rationalism, but a view profoundly religious, which directed him to the doctrines which were more particularly his own.

The results of the labours of Zwingle coincided with his peculiar tendencies. In studying the Scriptures as a whole, as he was accustomed to do, and not merely in detached pieces, and in having recourse, in order to resolve the difficulties of language, to classic antiquity, he arrived at the conviction that the word *is*, which is found at the dedication of the institution, must be taken in the sense of *signifies*; and, as early as the year 1523, he wrote to a friend that the bread and wine are no more in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper than the water is in that of baptism. "It is vain," added he, "to plunge a man a thousand times in the water who does not believe. Faith is what is specially required."

Luther adopted, in the first instance, principles very much in unison with those of the doctor of Zurich. "It is not the sacrament which sanctifies," said he, "it is faith in the sacrament." But the digressions of the Anabaptists, the mysticism of which spiritualized everything, produced a great change in his views. When he saw a host of enthusiasts, who pretended to receive particular inspiration, begin to destroy images, reject baptism, and deny the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, he was struck with alarm; he seemed to experience, as it were, a sort of prophetic presentiment of the dangers which would encompass the church if this ultra-spiritualist tendency obtained the ascendant, and he with haste turned his thoughts in an opposite direction, like the pilot who, seeing his bark inclining deeply to the one side, and ready to sink, rushes to the other side, in order to regain the just balance of the vessel.

From this time Luther attributed to the sacraments an importance too exalted. He contended that they were not only so many signs, by means of which Christians outwardly acknowledged their profession, but a set of testimonies to the Divine will fitted to strengthen our faith. And, even beyond this, Christ, in his opinion, had been willing to communicate to the faithful a full assurance of their salvation, and, in order to seal this promise in the most efficacious manner, he had incorporated his real body with the bread and the wine.

"In the same way," added he, "that iron and fire, which are nevertheless two distinct substances, are blended together in the burning iron, in so much that in each of its portions there is at once contained both iron and fire, in the same way, and with much more reason, the glorified body of Christ is found in all the portions of the bread."

Thus, at this period, there was, perhaps, on the part of Luther, some returning inclination towards scholastic theology. He had formally divorced all connexion therewith in the doctrine of justification through faith, but in this of the sacrament he only abandoned one tie, that of transubstantiation, and held by the other of the corporeal presence. He even went the length of declaring that he would prefer to receive nothing but blood, with the pope than to partake of nothing but wine with Zwingli.

The grand principle of Luther was to disengage himself from the doctrine and the custom of the church, only when the words of Scripture rendered it absolutely necessary. "Where has Christ commanded the raising of the host and the shewing of it to the people?" demanded Carlstadt. "And in what passage has he forbidden this observance?" replied Luther. Here we discern the principle of the two Reformations. Ecclesiastical traditions were dear to the Saxon reformer. If he separated himself from them on several points, it was only after the endurance of a hard struggle, and because that, before all, it was necessary to obey the word. But when the letter of the word of God appeared to him in harmony with the tradition and usage of the church, then he attached himself thereto with unshaken constancy. Now this is the very thing which happened in the instance of the Lord's Supper. He did not deny that the word *is* might be taken in the sense attributed to it by Zwingli. He acknowledged, for example, that it must be so understood in this passage, the stone was Christ, but he denied that this word must be accepted in the same meaning at the institution of the Lord's Supper. He found in one of the later scholastics, the one he preferred to all the others—in Occam—an opinion which he readily embraced. Like Occam, he abandoned the miracle, unceasingly repeated, in virtue of which, according to the tenets of the Roman church, the body and blood replace on every occasion, after the consecration of the priest, the bread and wine; and, like the same doctor, he here substituted a universal miracle, effected once for all, that namely of ubiquity, or of the constant presence of the body of Jesus Christ. "Christ," said he, "is present in the bread and wine, because he is present everywhere, and, above all, in every place he desires to be."

Zwingli had quite another tendency from that of Luther. He cared less about preserving a certain union with the universal church, and of remaining in relation with the tradition of former ages. As a theologian, he turned his attention exclusively upon the Scriptures, and it was from them he desired to receive freely and immediately his faith, without concerning himself anent the opinions which had been of old entertained by others. As a republican, he looked to his commonalty of Zurich. It was the idea of the existing church, and not of the church of other times, which pre-occupied his thoughts. He particularly fixed upon these words of St Paul—"Because there is only one means of life, we who are many, are one body." And he

recognised in the Lord's Supper the sign of a spiritual communion between Christ and the whole body of Christians. "Whoever," said he, "behaves unworthily, renders himself guilty towards the body of Christ, of which he is a part." This idea had a great practical influence upon the minds of men; and the effects which it produced in the life of many, confirmed Zwingli in his opinion.

Thus Zwingli and Luther had been insensibly separated from each other. Perhaps, however, peace might have been maintained for a longer period between them had not the turbulent Carlstadt, who went from Germany into Switzerland, and from Switzerland into Germany, succeeded in kindling the fire of these contradictory opinions.

A procedure intended to maintain peace was the means of provoking war. The council of Zurich, willing to prevent all occasion of controversy, prohibited the sale of Carlstadt's writings. Zwingli, who disapproved of the violent expressions of Carlstadt, and especially blamed those which were of a mystical and obscure tendency, now considered it a duty to defend his doctrine, whether in the pulpit or before the council; and, very soon after this prohibition was issued, he wrote a letter to the pastor, Albert of Reutlingen, in which he said, "Whether Christ speaks of the sacrament or not, in the sixth chapter of the gospel according to John, it is always evident that he therein teaches a manner of eating his flesh and drinking his blood in which there is nothing corporeal." He then endeavoured to prove that the Lord's Supper, in calling to the remembrance of the faithful, according to the intention of Christ, his body broken for them, procured for them that spiritual feast which, on their behalf, is alone truly salutary.

Nevertheless Zwingli recoiled still at the thought of a rupture with Luther. He trembled to think that these sad discussions might lacerate the semblance of that new society which was then rearing its form in the very heart of decayed Christianity. But it was not the same with Luther. He did not hesitate to reckon Zwingli among the number of those enthusiasts with whom he had already engaged in so many conflicts. He did not reflect upon the fact that, if the images had been carried away from Zurich, it was legally, and in compliance with the orders of public authority. Accustomed to the governments of Germanic principalities, he was little versed in the operations of the Swiss republics, and he declared himself at variance with the grave Helvetic theologians in a similar sort as with the Munzers and Carlstadts.

Luther having published his work "Against the Celestial Prophets," Zwingli did not longer hesitate in bringing out, almost at the same time, his "Letter to Albert," and his "Commentary upon the True and False Religion," dedicated to Francis I. It was said in these works, "Seeing that Christ attributes to faith, in the sixth chapter of St John, the power of communicating eternal life and of uniting the faithful with him in the most intimate alliance, what need have we of any other thing? Wherefore should he have afterwards attributed this virtue to his flesh, whilst that he himself declares that his flesh is good for nothing? The flesh of Christ, in so far as it was put to death for us, is of immense value to us, because it saves us from perdition, but inasmuch as it is eaten by us, it is of no use to us."

The struggle was now begun. Pomeranus, the friend of Luther, also exhibited his valour in the combat, and attacked, in a manner

somewhat disdainful, the evangelist of Zurich. Ecolampade began also to blush for having so long combated his doubts, and for having preached doctrines which wavered already in his mind. He took courage, therefore, and wrote from Basil to Zwingle, "The dogma of the real presence is the fortress and safe-guard of their impiety. As long as they possess this idol, no person shall be able to vanquish them." Then he too entered the lists by publishing a book upon the meaning of these words used by our Lord, "This is my body."

The mere fact that Ecolampade took part with the reformer of Zurich was sufficient to excite, not only at Basil, but throughout all Germany, an immense sensation. Luther was deeply affected by this event. Brentz, Schnepff, and twelve other pastors from Swabia, to whom Ecolampade had dedicated his book, and almost all of whom had been his pupils, experienced on this occasion the most lively sorrow. "At this very moment, in which I separate myself from him for a just cause," said Brentz, in taking up his pen to compose a reply, "I honour and admire his character as much as it is possible to do. The cord of love is not broken between us because we do not agree in opinion." Then he published, along with his friends, the famous "Syngramme of Swabia," in which he replied to Ecolampade with manliness, although with charity and respect. "If an emperor," said the authors of the "Syngramme," "gives a baton to a judge, saying to him, 'Take it, this is the power of judging,' the baton, without doubt, is only a simple sign; but the word being added thereto, the judge possesses not only the sign, he holds also the power itself." Persons really reformed may easily admit of this comparison. The "Syngramme" was received with acclamation; its authors were regarded as the champions of the truth; and several theologians, as well as some laymen, willing to share a portion of this glory, set themselves to defend the attacked doctrine, and began to write against Ecolampade.

At this juncture Strasburg adopted the part of mediator between Switzerland and Germany. Capito and Bucer were great lovers of peace, and the debated question was, in their opinion, of secondary importance; they, therefore, interfered in the heat of the conflict, and despatched towards Luther one of their own colleagues, George Cassel, who was instructed to implore the Saxon reformer to be careful not to break the bonds of fraternity which united him in fellowship with the doctors of Switzerland.

On no occasion does the character of Luther appear in a more striking point of view than during this controversy upon the Lord's Supper. Never was the firmness with which he supported a conviction in his belief really Christian more fully displayed, nor his fidelity in seeking for its foundations alone in the Holy Scriptures, nor the sagacity of his defence, and his animated argumentation, so eloquent, yea, often overwhelming. But never at the same time was the stubbornness with which he clung to his opinions more conspicuous, or the little attention he granted to the reasoning of his adversaries, or the promptitude, but little influenced by charity, which urged him to attribute their errors to wickedness of heart or to the cunning of the demon. "Of necessity," said he, to the mediator from Strasburg, "the one or other of us must be the ministers of Satan, either the Swiss doctors or ourselves."

These were the words which Capito designated "The Furies of

the Saxon Orestes ;" and these furies were followed by corresponding weakness. The health of Luther was injured by his exertions. One day he fainted away in the arms of his wife and friends, and he continued for the course of a week in a state of "death and hell." "He had," he said, "lost Jesus Christ, and was driven here and there by the tempests of despair. . . . The world shook, and announced by many prodigies, the near approach of the last day."

But the divisions among the friends of the Reformation were destined to bring forth consequences still more mournful. The Roman theologians triumphed, especially in Switzerland, at the power they possessed of opposing Luther to the views of Zwingle. Nevertheless, if, after the lapse of three centuries, the remembrance of these divisions bestows upon evangelical Christians the precious fruits of unity in diversity, and of charity in liberty, they shall not have occurred in vain. Even at that time, the reformers, in testifying their opposition to each other, shewed that it was not a blind hatred to Rome which influenced their conduct, and that truth was the first object of all their researches. In this particular there is, it must be admitted, a degree of generosity ; and a behaviour so disinterested did not fail to secure some advantages, and to exact, even from enemies, the tribute of applause and esteem.

But it may be still farther remarked, and in this place acknowledged, that that sovereign hand which directs every event, never permits a single occurrence to happen without evidences of the most perfect design. Luther, in spite of his opposition to Popery, was eminently distinguished by an instinct truly conservative. Zwingle, on the contrary, was pressed forward towards a radical Reformation. These two opposite tendencies were essentially necessary. If Luther and his adherents had been alone in the days of the reform, the work would have been too soon brought to a conclusion, and the reforming principle could not have obtained its accomplishment. If, on the contrary, there had been no other champion but Zwingle, all bonds would have been hastily broken, and the Reformation would have found itself insulated from the ages which had preceded its existence.

These two tendencies, which, to a superficial observer, can only appear as having met to contend with each other, had, on the contrary, the purpose to complete their individual intention, and we are able to declare, at the end of 300 years, that they have fulfilled their mission.

CHAPTER XII.

Tokenburg—An Assembly of the People—Reformation—The Grisons—Dispute of Ilantz—Results—Reform at Zurich.

It was thus the Reformation was doomed to maintain on every side an accumulation of struggles ; and that, after having fought against the Rationalist philosophy of Erasmus and the fantastic Enthusiasm of the Anabaptists, it had still to contend with difficulties created by itself. But its grand combat was always in opposition to Popery ; and it now pursued, even as far as the most remote mountains, the attacks commenced within the cities of the plain.

The mountains of Tokenburg had heard at their highest elevation the sounds of the gospel, and three ecclesiastics had been there

accused, by order of the bishop, of inclining towards heretical doctrines. "Let them convince us," said Militus, Doring, and Farer, "holding the word of God in their hand, and we will submit, not only to the chapter, but also to the least among the brethren of Jesus Christ; otherwise, we shall yield obedience to no one, not even to the most powerful among mankind."

Such was truly the spirit of Zwingle and of the Reformation. Very soon an additional circumstance occurred, calculated to irritate the minds of men in these elevated valleys. An assembly of the people had there taken place on the anniversary of St Catherine. The citizens were gathered together, and two men from Schwitz, who had visited Tockenbourg on matters of business, were accommodated at one of the public tables, where the conversation was already in progress. "Ulric Zwingle," exclaimed one of these two strangers, "is a heretic and a thief." The secretary of state, Steiger, undertook the defence of the reformer, and the noise of the debate attracted the undivided attention of the assembled multitude. George Bruggman, the uncle of Zwingle, who sat at one of the adjoining tables, rose from his seat in a state of great agitation, crying out, "Unquestionably it is of Master Ulric they are speaking," and the whole body of guests stood up, some following Bruggman, in the fear of witnessing a hostile engagement. The tumult still increased in earnestness, and the bailiff called together, at a moment's warning, the council to meet in the open street. Meanwhile, Bruggman was entreated, for the love of peace, to content himself with saying to these strangers, "If you do not retract your words, it is you who are guilty of theft and falsehood." "Remember yourself the words which you have just uttered," replied the men from Schwitz, "we will keep a good recollection of them." They then mounted their horses, and set out on their return to Schwitz at a rapid pace.

The government of Schwitz immediately afterwards addressed to the inhabitants of Tockenbourg a letter filled with angry threats, which conveyed to the minds of these inhabitants feelings of unusual terror. "Be you resolute and without fear," wrote Zwingle to the council of his native home, "let not the falsehoods which are promulgated against me cause you any uneasiness! There is not a brawler upon earth who may not call me a heretic; but do you abstain from injuries, from disorders, from dissipation, and from mercenary wars; succour the poor, protect the oppressed, and whatever may be the insults with which you are harassed, retain unshaken your confidence in Almighty God."*

The encouragement imparted by Zwingle produced its effects. The council hesitated still; but the people, at the instance of parochial meetings, resolved that mass should be abolished, and that fidelity should be shewn to the word of God.

The conquests were not less decisive in La Rhetia, whose districts Salandronius had been forced to leave, but in which Comandre proclaimed the gospel with consistent courage. The Anabaptists, it is true, by preaching in the Grisons their fanatical doctrines, had, at the outstart, done much harm to the Reformation. The people were

* One of the dates of the letters, 14th and 24th, 1524, must be incorrect, or a letter from Zwingle to his countrymen of Tockenbourg must have been lost.

thus divided into three parties. Some had embraced the notions of these new prophets, whilst others, in astonishment and dismay, regarded this schism with alarm. The partisans of Rome at last gave vent to their feelings in shouts of triumph.

An assembly was held at Ilantz, in strong league, to celebrate a formal dispute; and the supporters of Popery on the one hand, with the friends of the reform on the other, congregated together in full force. The vicar of the bishop at first used means whereby he sought to avoid the issue of the combat. "These disputes incur a heavy expense," said he, "I am ready to deposit 10,000 florins to cover the requisite outlay; but I require as much more from the friends of the adverse party." "If the bishop has 10,000 florins at his disposal," exclaimed a peasant in angry tones from the centre of the crowd, "it is from us he has extorted it: to give still as much more money to these poor priests would really be too much." "We are poor people with empty purses," said, at the same time, Comandre, the pastor of Coire, "we have scarcely sufficient means to pay for our supper: where shall we be able to find 10,000 florins?" This expedient was thus passed over amidst the general laughter of the multitude.

Among the disputants were observed Sebastian Hofmeister and James Amman from Zurich; they held in their hands copies of the Holy Scriptures, in Hebrew and Greek; and the bishop proposed that strangers should be excluded from the hall. Hofmeister supposed this intimation referred to him, and said, "We have come here provided with a Greek and a Hebrew Bible, in order that no one may be permitted to do violence to the Scriptures. Still, rather than interrupt the business of the conference, we are ready to retire." "Ah!" cried out the curate of Dintzen, casting a look upon the books of the men from Zurich, "if the Greek and Hebrew languages had never entered within our country, there would have been less heresy." "St Jerome," said another, "has given us a translation of the Bible, we have no need to refer to the books of the Jews!" "If the gentlemen from Zurich are excluded," said the baronet of Ilantz, "the community will interfere." "Very well," it was said, "let them listen to the debate; but let them remain silent!" Hofmeister and Amman, therefore, retained their places and the possession of their Bibles. Comandre now rose and read the first of the theses which he had published. "The Christian Church," it is said, "is born of the word of God; she must consequently hold and listen to no other voice than that of this word." He then proved this proposition by numerous quotations from the Scriptures. "He proceeded with a firm step," said an eye witness, "and placed his foot at every advance with the strong impression of the ox." "This continues for too long a time," said the vicar. "When at table with his friends he hears the flute-players," said Hofmeister, "he does not find their music continues too long."

At this moment a man was seen to advance from the middle of the crowd waving his hands, winking with his eyes, and frowning, in a manner which led one to suppose that he had lost his senses; he walked up to Comandre, and many of the spectators believed he intended to assault the speaker. This angry intruder was a school-master in Coire. "I have addressed to you in writing several questions," said he to Comandre, "reply to them now, at this instant."

"I am here," said the Grison reformer, "to defend my doctrine, attack it, and I will defend its truth; if this be not your purpose, return to your place; I will reply to you when I shall have finished my present task." The schoolmaster remained for a moment in a state of suspense. "Very good," said he at last, "and went back to resume his seat."

It was proposed to pass over the doctrine of the Sacraments. The abbot of St Luke declared that it was not without fear he approached the consideration of such a subject, and the alarmed vicar made the sign of the cross.

The schoolmaster of Coire, who had already evinced a desire to attack Comandre, undertook to establish, with much volubility, the doctrine of the Sacrament, in conformity with these words, "This is my body." "Dear Berre," said Comandre, "how do you understand this phrase—John is Elias?" "I comprehend by it," replied Berre, who perceived the object Comandre had in view, "that he was truly and essentially Elias." "Wherefore, then," continued Comandre, "has John the Baptist himself said to the Pharisees, that he was not Elias?" The schoolmaster was silent, but finally replied, "It is true." The whole audience were constrained to laugh, even those who had urged Berre to speak on the subject.

The abbot of St Luke made a long speech on the question of the Lord's Supper, after which the conference was terminated. Seven priests embraced the evangelical doctrine; perfect liberty in religious matters was proclaimed, and the Roman forms of worship were abolished in several churches. "Christ," in accordance with the expression of Salandronius, "grew everywhere on the mountains like the tender herbs of the spring, and the pastors became like living streams which watered these elevated valleys."

The reform advanced at a pace still more rapid in Zurich. The Dominicans, the Augustines, and the Capuchins, so long hostile to each other, were induced to live together, the very hell anticipated in the case of these poor monks. In the places of these corrupted institutions, schools, hospitals, and a college of theology were established; thus learning and charity everywhere replaced the remains of selfishness and sloth.

CHAPTER XIII.

Punishments—Dispute of Baden—Rules of the Dispute—Riches and Poverty—Eek and Ecolampade—Dispute—Part of Zwingle—Boastings of the Romans—Injuries of a Monk—End of the Dispute.

The victories of the reform could not continue unobserved. Monks, priests, and prelates, in a state of consternation, felt the ground everywhere to slip from below their feet, and beheld the church ready to sink under an accumulated pressure of misfortune. The oligarchy of the cantons, the men of pensions or of foreign capitulations, perceived that they must no longer delay active operations, if they wished to preserve their peculiar privileges; and, at the moment when the church was overwhelmed with fear and about to fall, they came to her assistance with an arm furnished by the sword. Another de Stein, and one John Hug, from Lucerne, joined the party of John Faber, whilst the civil authority hastened to the succour of that powerful hierarchy which delivered discourses full of pride, and declared war against the saints.

For a long time past the public opinion had clamoured in favour of a regular dispute, and there now remained no other means whereby this strong excitement of the people could be appeased. "Convince us by references to the Holy Scriptures," said the councils of Zurich to the diet, "and we will submit to your proposals."

"The men of Zurich," it was everywhere said, "have made you an offer; if you are able to convince them by decisions drawn from the Bible, wherefore should you not do so? and if you cannot thus succeed, wherefore do you not conform to the precepts of the Bible?"

The colloquies held at Zurich had exercised an amazing influence; and there was a necessity to oppose such a power by a conference solemnized within the confines of a Roman city, whereat every needful precaution should be adopted to ensure victory on the part of the pope.

It is true these disputes had been declared illegal; but a method was devised to escape from these difficulties. "The only question at issue," it was said, "is to put a stop to and condemn the pernicious doctrines published by Zwingle." The Swiss reformer granted his assent to this proposition, and a strong wrestler was inquired after, when Doctor Eck offered to engage in the contest. He entertained no fears on the occasion. "Zwingle has, no doubt, reared more cattle than he has read books." . . . he said, as reported by Hofmeister.

The grand council of Zurich despatched a safe-conduct to Doctor Eck, so as to enable him to enter the very city of that name; but Eck returned a message that he waited the reply of the confederation. Zwingle then offered to dispute either at St Gall or Schaffouse; but the council, grounding their command upon an article of the federal compact which decreed "that all accused persons should be judged in the place wherein they dwelt," ordered Zwingle to withdraw his offer.

The diet at last resolved that a conference should take place at Baden, and fixed, for this purpose, the 16th of May 1526. This conference must, of necessity, prove an important affair; for it formed the seal and substance of the alliance which had just been concluded between the ecclesiastical and the oligarchical powers of the confederation. "Behold," said Zwingle to Vadian, "the things at present attempted by the oligarchy and Faber."

The decision of the diet, therefore, made a lively impression upon the public mind of Switzerland. No doubt was entertained but that a conference, celebrated under similar auspices, would redounded in favour of Rome. "Do not the five cantons most devoted to the cause of the pope," it was said in Zurich, "rule in the city of Baden? Have they not already declared the doctrine of Zwingle heretical, and employed against it both fire and sword. Was not the image of Zwingle burned to ashes after being exposed to every sort of insult? Have not his writings been thrown into the fire at Friburg? Is not his death everywhere longed for in these districts? Have not the cantons which exercise in Baden the sovereign sway declared that, in whatever part of their territories Zwingle shall appear, he shall be put into prison? Has not Uberlingen, one of their leaders, said that the thing he most desired on earth, was to lay hold upon Zwingle, although he should ever afterwards be called hangman during the

remainder of his life? And has not Doctor Eck himself exclaimed, for some years past, that heretics must be attacked alone with fire and sword? What, therefore, can be the nature of this dispute, and what must be its result, if it be not the death of the reformer?"

Such were the fears which agitated the breasts of the commission elected in Zurich to take cognisance of this affair. Zwingle, observing the evidences of this agitation, rose and said, "You know what has been in Baden the fate of these courageous men from Stammheim, and in what manner the blood of the Wirths has flown upon the scaffold, . . . and it is to the very place of their sufferings we are called upon to go. . . . Let choice be made for the conference of Zurich, Berne, St Gall, or even Basil, Constance, or Schaffhouse. Let an agreement be made to enter upon the discussion only of essential points, with a simple reference to the word of God; let no judge be established above this word, and then I am ready to obey their summons."

Even before this, however, fanaticism had resumed its operations and had sacrificed its victims. A presbytery, at the head of which was placed this same Faber who had given such provocation to Zwingle, had condemned to be burned as a heretic, on the 10th of May 1526, that is to say, about eight days before the dispute was appointed to take place in Baden, an evangelical minister, named John Hugle, the pastor of Lindau, who walked to the place of execution singing the hymn *Te Deum*. About the same time, another minister, Peter Spengler, was drowned at Friburg, in compliance with the orders of the bishop of Constance.

From every quarter unhappy reports reached the ears of Zwingle. His brother-in-law, Leonard Tremp, wrote to him from Berne, "I conjure you by the hopes of your life not to present yourself in Baden. I know that they will not observe the protection of a safe-conduct."

It was declared that a project was formed to carry him away, to put a gag into his mouth, to hurry him into a boat, and to convey him into some secret place of confinement. On hearing the details of such threats, and of the executions above referred to, the council of Zurich resolved that Zwingle should not be allowed to proceed to Baden.

The 19th of May being fixed upon as the day of dispute, the combatants and the representatives of the bishops were seen one by one to arrive at the place of meeting. On the part of the Roman Catholics, appeared in the first rank, the warlike and victorious Doctor Eck; and on behalf of the Protestants, the mild and modest Ecolampade; this latter doctor comprehended, in a lively degree, the dangers of this discussion. "Like," says an ancient historian, "a timid stag vexed by a number of furious dogs, he had a long time hesitated how to act, deciding at last to proceed to Baden; but making beforehand this solemn protestation, 'I only acknowledge as the rule of judgment the word of God.'" He was at first very anxious that Zwingle should come to share in the dangers of this contest; but he was very soon convinced that, if the intrepid doctor had appeared within the boundary of that fanatical city, the rage of the Roman Catholics would have been inflamed, at his very appearance, to such a pitch as to have encouraged them to put both the Protestant teachers to death.

The first object of the meeting was to decide upon the rules of disputation. Doctor Eck proposed that the deputy from Wallenstein should be appointed to pronounce a definitive judgment—a proposal which decided beforehand the condemnation of the reform. Thomas Plater, who had come from Zurich to Baden to assist at the conference, was dispatched with a message from Ecolampade to Zwingle to ascertain his opinion on this proposition. Plater arrived at midnight, and found great difficulty in gaining admittance into the house of the reformer. “Unhappy disturber of my rest,” said Zwingle, while rubbing his eyes, “it is now six weeks, thanks to this dispute, since I have dared to go to bed. . . . What news do you bring me?” Plater explained the pretensions of Doctor Eck. “And who,” replied Zwingle, “has put these peasants into a condition fit for comprehending these matters? They are much better acquainted with questions regarding the bringing up of cattle.”

On the 21st of May the conference commenced. Eck and Faber, accompanied by a host of prelates, magistrates, and doctors, clothed in garments of silk and damask, and adorned with many rings, chains, and crosses, went in procession to the church. Eck proudly mounted the steps of a pulpit magnificently ornamented, whilst the humble Ecolampade, meanly clad, was destined to place himself opposite to his superb adversary upon a rudely constructed tressel. “During the whole time the conference lasted,” says the reporter, Bullinger, “Eck and his friend were lodged in the house of the curate of Baden, leading a gay and scandalous life, faring upon sumptuous viands and rich wines, supplied for their use by the abbot of Wettingen. Eck bathed often in Baden,” it was said, “but in wine.” The evangelists, on the contrary, exhibited a poor appearance, and they were laughed at as representing a band of mendicants. Their manner of living contrasted strangely with that of the champions of Popery. The landlord of the inn of Brochet, in which Ecolampade dwelt, having felt a desire to see what his visitor did in his chamber, declared that every time he went into the room, the doctor was engaged either in reading or praying. “It must be confessed,” said the innkeeper, “he is a very pious heretic.”

The dispute lasted eighteen days, and during the whole of that time the clergy of Baden made every day a solemn procession, singing various litanies, in order to secure the victory. Eck alone had spoken in favour of the Roman doctrine. He was still the champion of the dispute of Leipsic, in the German acceptation, with his broad shoulders, his strong loins, and resembling rather, in outward form, the figure of a butcher than the presence of a theologian. He disputed, according to his custom, with great violence, seeking at all times to wound the feelings of his adversaries with cutting remarks, and even now and then allowing an oath to escape his lips. But the president never presumed to call the offender to order.

Eck strikes both with feet and hands ;
 He swears, rails, and seeks to maim.
 “What you but think, I dare proclaim,
 Ye popes, cardinals, and Roman bands.”

Ecolampade, on the contrary, with a serene countenance and noble patriarchal demeanour, spoke with so much composure, but, at the same time, with so much ability and courage, that his very ad-

versaries, moved and ingratiated with his speech, said to one another, "Oh, if the tall sallow man had been on our side." . . . He was, however, sometimes affected with the extravagant hatred displayed by the audience. "Oh," said he, with some impatience, "they listen to me; but God does not abandon his own glory, and it is it alone we seek."

Ecolampade having refuted the first thesis supported by Doctor Eck on the subject of the real presence, Haller, who had arrived in Baden after the commencement of the dispute, undertook to combat the second. But little versed in the business of such conferences, of a disposition naturally timid, restricted by the orders of his government, and embarrassed by the attendance of his superior magistrate, Gaspard de Mullinen, a great enemy to the reform, Haller did not exhibit the proud confidence of his antagonist, but he possessed more genuine force. After Haller had finished his discourse, Ecolampade again resumed the debate, and so closely pressed Doctor Eck, that this latter personage was reduced to the necessity of appealing exclusively to the usages of the church. "Custom," replied Ecolampade, "has no force in Switzerland here, but in conformity with the constitution; now, in matters of faith, the Bible forms the constitution."

The third thesis, on the invocation of the saints; the fourth, upon images; and the fifth, upon purgatory, were successively argued. No person, however, undertook to contest the truth of the two last, which had reference to original sin and to baptism.

Zwingle took an active part in the whole of the dispute. The Catholic party, who had appointed four secretaries, had forbidden, under pain of death, every other person to take notes of the debate. But a Valaisian student, Jerome Walsch, endowed with a retentive memory, retained in his recollection all that he had heard, and, upon his return home, committed the substance of the dispute to writing as speedily as possible. Thomas Plater and Zimmerman de Winterthur carried each day to Zwingle these secret notes and the letters of Ecolampade, and brought back the replies of the reformer. All the gates of Baden were guarded by soldiers armed with halberds, and the two special couriers only gained permission to pass by means of well-contrived excuses, which they repeated in answer to the soldiers' questions, who could not understand upon what errands these young men so frequently visited the tower.* In this manner Zwingle, although absent from Baden, in person, was present there in mind.

He advised and strengthened his friends and refuted his adversaries. "Zwingle," said Oswald Myconius, "has done more work in virtue of his meditations, watchings, and counsels sent to Baden, than he could have accomplished by carrying on the discussion himself in the midst of his enemies."

During the continuance of this colloquy, the Roman Catholics were constantly employed, and wrote letters to every district, proclaiming their certain victory. "Ecolampade," they declared, "vanguished by Doctor Eck, and extended on his back in the lists, has recanted;

* When I was asked what I came to do, I replied, I am bringing fowls to sell to serve the gentlemen who are come to the baths; for I get a supply of fowls at Zurich; and the guard could only suppose that in this manner I required to go and come so often. (Life of Plater, written by himself, p. 262.)

the reign of the pope is about to be re-established in every quarter." These assertions were spread abroad in every one of the cantons, and the people, quick at believing all they heard, admitted the truth of these boasting asseverations of the partisans of Rome.

The dispute being finished, the monk, Murner of Lucerne, who was usually called the "tom cat," came forward and read a list of forty accusations against Zwingli. "I thought," said he, "that the coward would have been here to reply; but he has not appeared. Therefore, by all the laws which regulate affairs, either human or divine, I now forty times declare that the tyrant of Zurich and all his partisans are a set of disloyal beings, liars, perjurers, adulterers, infidels, thieves, sacrilegious, real Newgate birds, and that every honest man must blush to have any connexion, however distant, with such miscreants!" Such were the insults which, even at that period, many doctors, whom the Roman Catholic Church itself must have been willing to disown, embellished with the name of "Controversial Christianity."

The fermentation was lively in Baden, the general sentiment being that the Roman champions had cried the loudest, but reasoned the most ineffectually. Ecolampade and ten of his friends alone signed the rejection of the thesis prepared by Doctor Eck; whilst that eighty persons, among whom were included the presidents of the debate and all the monks of Wittenberg, gave their sanction to these writings. Haller had quitted Baden before the termination of the dispute.

Thus the majority of the diet resolved that Zwingli, the leader of this pernicious doctrine, having refused to appear, and the ministers who came to Baden, not having allowed themselves to be convinced, they were all, both the one and the other, cast out of the Universal Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

Consequences at Basil, Berne, St Gall, and in other Places—Diet at Zurich—The Lesser Cantons—Threatenings at Berne—Foreign Assistance.

But this famous conference, the offspring of the zeal of the oligarchy and the clergy, was destined to become of mournful consequences to both those interested parties. Those who had then contended in favour of the gospel were calculated, on their return to their own dwellings, to excite the minds of their fellow countrymen with enthusiasm for the good cause they had courageously defended; and two of the most important cantons belonging to the Helvetic alliance, namely, Berne and Basil, were seen from this period to commence their deliverance from the trammels of Popery.

It was upon Ecolampade, a stranger to Switzerland, the first blows were doomed to fall; and it was not without fear he returned to Basil. But his disquietude was very speedily assuaged. The mildness of his demeanour and of his words had made an impression upon the minds of impartial witnesses more deep than the clamorous declamations of Doctor Eck, and thus Ecolampade was most courteously received by all persons of pious inclinations. The adversaries, it is true, exerted all their powers in order to drive him from his pulpit, but in vain: he taught and preached with more acceptance than formerly, and

never had the people displayed a more earnest desire to receive the truths of the word.

Occurrences of a very similar nature happened in Berne. The conference of Baden, which was expected to smother the existence of the reform, imparted to it a fresh vigour in the districts of this canton, the most powerful of all in the Swiss league. The moment that Haller's arrival in the capital was known, the inferior council cited him to appear before it, and commanded him to resume the celebration of mass. Haller requested to have his answer heard before the assembly of the grand council, and the people, believing that they were authorized to defend their pastor, met together in great numbers. Haller, in a state of alarm, declared that he would much rather leave the city than encourage therein any scenes of disorder; and in consequence of this avowal the public peace was maintained. "If I am required," said the reformer, "to celebrate this ceremony, I must resign my charge; because the honour of God and the truth of his holy word are more dear to my heart than any anxiety I experience with regard to what I shall eat or wherewithal I shall be clothed." Haller delivered these words with earnest feeling, and the members of the council were so much moved by their force, that some of them, even his adversaries, were constrained to weep. Moderation proved once more of greater potency than force. In order to afford Rome a degree of satisfaction, Haller was deprived of his offices of canon, but he was elected as a preacher. His most inveterate enemies, Louis and Anthony de Diesbach and Anthony de Erlach, indignant at the terms of this resolution, immediately quitted both the council and the city, and renounced their privileges as burgesses. "Berne has made a fall," said Haller, "but it has risen again in greater strength than ever." Such decision on the part of the people of Berne produced an amazing effect upon the whole of Switzerland.

But the consequences of the conference of Baden were not confined to Berne and Basil. At the same moment that these things were passing within the boundaries of these powerful cities, a movement, more or less similar, was in operation throughout the limits of several of the states belonging to the confederation. The preachers of St Gall, who had returned from Baden, announced in that city the glad tidings of the gospel, and, as a sequel to the conference, the images in the parish church of St Lawrence were carried away at the same time that the inhabitants sold their costly garments, their jewels, their rings, and gold chains, for the express purpose of establishing houses of charity. The Reformation despoiled, but with the intention of clothing the poor; and the persons deprived of their wealth were the actual promoters of the reform.

At Mulhouse a new courage was infused into the spirit of preaching; and Thurgovia and Rheinthal approached nearer and nearer to the condition of Zurich. Immediately after the dispute, Zurzach carried away the images out of the churches, and almost in every quarter the province of Baden received the doctrines of the gospel.

No evidence could be more conclusive than these facts to prove on which side really remained the triumphs of victory. Therefore Zwingli, contemplating the events which happened around him, gave thanks and glory to God. "We are attacked in divers ways," said he, "but the Lord is more strong, not only than the threats of our

enemies, but also than their real and determined wars. There is within the city and the canton of Zurich an admirable harmony in favour of the gospel. We shall overcome every difficulty by means of prayers offered to God in faith." Shortly after this, addressing himself to Haller, Zwingle said, "Everything here below follows its appropriate destiny. To the rude winds of the north succeeds a more calm breath of air. After the burning days of summer, autumn enriches us with its treasures. And now, after many hard battles, the Creator of all things, to whose service we are devoted, opens up the road for us, whereby we may penetrate into the very camp of our adversaries. We are at least able to receive the Christian doctrine—that dove so long repelled, and which did not cease to watch the hour of its return. Be thou the Noah who received and saved the happy bird."

During the course of this same year, Zurich had obtained another important acquisition. Conrad Pellican, the guardian of the convent of the Franciscans at Basil, a professor of theology since the twenty-fourth year of his age, had been called, at the instance of Zwingle, to act as professor of Hebrew in Zurich. "It is a long time since," said he, at the time of his arrival, "I have renounced the authority of the pope, and desired to live as the follower of Jesus Christ." Pellican became, in consequence of his superior talents, one of the most useful labourers in the work of the reform.

Zurich, always excluded from the diet by the Roman cantons, and wishful to profit by the improved dispositions now exhibited in the heart of many of the confederated provinces, convoked, at the beginning of the year 1527, a diet to assemble in Zurich itself. The deputies from Berne, Basil, Schaffouse, Appenzell, and St Gall, obeyed the issued summonses. "We desire," said the deputies of Zurich, "that the word of God, which alone directs us to Jesus Christ crucified, should alone be preached, taught, or magnified. We abandon all human doctrines, whatever may have been the former custom of our fathers; assured that if they had possessed the same light of the Divine word which we now enjoy, they would have embraced it with more respect than we their unworthy descendants." The deputies present promised to take into consideration the representations of Zurich.

Thus the breach made in the defences of Rome was every day enlarged. The dispute of Baden was intended to repair all defalcations, but from that time, on the contrary, many wavering cantons appeared willing to advance in the same steps with Zurich. Already the people of the plain were disposed to adopt the cause of the reform, already the reform had pressed closer upon the mountain regions; it invaded their territories, and the primitive cantons, which formed, as it were, at once the cradle and the citadel of Switzerland, appeared, concealed within their lofty alps, alone resolved to hold with pertinacity the doctrine of their fathers. These mountaineers, exposed incessantly to heavy storms, to sweeping avalanches, and to the overflowing torrents and rivers, were destined to struggle all their lives against these formidable enemies, and to sacrifice everything in order to preserve the fields on which their flocks were fed, or the cabin wherein they found shelter from the blast, and which the first deluge was likely to hurry into ruins in its relentless course.

Thus the instinct of preservation is strongly developed in their character as transmitted from generation to generation through a long succession of ages. To preserve whatever has been received from their fathers constitutes the wisdom of these Highland races. Such rude sons of Helvetia, therefore, struggled against the Reformation which sought to change their faith and manners of worship, as they now struggle at this hour against the torrents which fall with fury from the snowy summits of the hills, or against the new political notions which are practised at their doors, in the cantons round about. They shall be the last who shall be seen to lay down their arms in front of the double power which already displays its signals upon the neighbouring heights, and always threatens to approach more closely the recesses of these conservative inhabitants.

Wherefore these cantons, at the period of which I speak, still more irritated against Berne than against Zurich, and trembling to behold the former powerful state escape from their alliance, assembled their deputies at Berne itself, eight days after the conference of Zurich. They requested the council to dismiss the new teachers, to proscribe their doctrines, and to maintain the true and ancient Christian faith, the same as it was established by the confirmation of ages and the confession of martyrs. "Convoke the whole magistracy of the canton," added they, "and, if you refuse to do so, we will take upon ourselves the performance of this duty." The enraged citizens of Berne replied, "We have sufficient authority to speak in our own name to the people under our jurisdiction."

This response delivered by Berne only served to augment the rage of the Waldstettes, and these cantons, which had formed the cradle of the political liberty of Switzerland, alarmed at the progress gained by religious liberty, endeavoured to engage, even from abroad, allies on their side to secure its destruction. In order to oppose the enemies of capitulations, it is possible to seek for help by means of these very capitulations themselves; and if the oligarchy of Switzerland were found insufficient to ensure such an object, was it not natural to have recourse to the princes who were their allies? In reality, Austria, which had found itself unable to maintain its power in the confederation, was ready to interfere among these cantons in order to confirm therein the authority of Rome. Berne learned with dread that Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V., was making preparations to attack Zurich, as well as all the adherents of the Reformation.

Circumstances thus assumed a more critical aspect. A succession of events, more or less unfortunate—the excesses of the Anabaptists, the disputes with Luther upon the observance of the Lord's Supper, besides other disagreements—seemed to have largely compromised in Switzerland the cause of the Reformation. The dispute of Baden had disappointed the expectations of the friends of Popery, and the sword which had been brandished in the face of their antagonists had been broken in their own hands; but disdain and rage were only the more increased, and preparations were making to engage in new attempts at victory. Even now the imperial power itself began to shew symptoms of hostile activity; and the Austrian bands, which had been compelled to fly from the defiles of Morgarten, and from the heights of Sempach, were ready to enter again upon the territo-

ries of Switzerland with banners unfurled, in order to re-establish there the tottering power of Rome. The moment was decisive. It was impossible longer to halt between two opinions, or not to be "either muddy or clear." Berne and other cantons, so long in a state of doubt, must now come to a resolution. They must now either return quickly to the ranks of Popery, or range themselves manfully under the standard of Christ with fixed purpose.

A man who came from France, from the mountains of Dauphiny, named William Farel, imparted at this moment to Switzerland a powerful impulsion, decided the reform of the Roman Helvetia; and thus turned the scale, throughout the whole confederation, in favour of the new doctrines. Farel arrived upon the field of battle, like those fresh troops which, at the moment the fate of war is still uncertain, march boldly into the heat of the fray and decide the question of victory. He prepared the way in Switzerland for the appearance of another Frenchman, whose austere faith and powerful genius were destined to give the last impulse to the reform, and to render its work complete. France in this manner assumed a place in the persons of these illustrious men, in that grand commotion which then agitated Christian society. It is time for us, therefore, to turn our views towards that celebrated country.

BOOK XII

THE FRENCH.—(1500-1526.)

CHAPTER I.

Universality of Christianity—Enemies of the Reform in France—Heresy and Persecution in the Dauphiny—A Small Country House—The Farel Family—Pilgrimage to La St Croix—Immorality and Superstition—William wishes to Study.

Universality is one of the essential characteristics of Christianity. But such is not the case with religions of human invention. These latter institutions accommodate themselves to the condition of certain populations, or to the degree of cultivation they may have attained; they maintain these people in a state of immobility, or if, on account of some extraordinary circumstance, they improve in disposition, the religion surpassed by them becomes in this transition utterly useless.

There has been an Egyptian, a Greek, a Latin, and even a Jewish religion; Christianity is the only religion for all mankind.

There is in man a distinguishing mark, namely, sin, and this is not a quality which exclusively belongs to any particular race, it is, in fact, the general portion of mankind. Therefore it is that, satisfying the most universal as well as the most elevated wants of our nature, the gospel is received as coming from God, alike by nations the most barbarous and the most highly civilized. It does not deify national specialties, as the religions of antiquity are known to do, but neither does it destroy those peculiarities, as the modern cosmopolitanism would wish to achieve; it performs a much greater service; for it sanctifies, ennobles, and elevates to holy unity such distinctions, by the new and living principle which it bestows upon them.

The introduction of Christianity into this world has effected a grand revolution in history. Until this took place there was nothing ~~more~~ recognised on earth than a history of certain people; but there is

now visible an acknowledged history of mankind; and the idea of a universal education of the human race, promulgated by Jesus Christ, has become the guide of the historian, the very key to history, and the hope of the people.

But it is not merely upon every nation Christianity operates, it is equally upon every period of their history.

At the moment of its appearance, the world resembled a flambeau just about to become extinct, and Christianity imparted to the dying embers a celestial flame.

At an after period, barbarous nations, having thrown themselves headlong upon the Roman empire, had there converted everything into a heap of confusion and desolation; and Christianity, opposing the cross to this devouring torrent, subdued with it the savage offspring of the north, and created a new state of humanity.

A corrupting element, however, had already infested the religion brought home by these courageous missionaries to those uncultivated tribes. Their faith proceeded from Rome almost as much as from the Bible. And this baneful ingredient quickly increased, and man everywhere substituted himself in place of God—a character essential to the nature of the Roman Church—so that a revival in religion became a thing absolutely necessary. Christianity effected this grand purpose at the period of which we are engaged to give a description.

The history of the Reformation in those countries, which we have up to this part of our labours scrutinized, had displayed to us the new doctrine in the act of rejecting the digressions of the Anabaptists, or of the new prophets; but it is now the stumbling-block of incredulity that especially obstructs the progress of that doctrine in the countries whose annals we are about to investigate. In no quarter of the world had more energetic remonstrances been made against the superstitions and abuses of the church. In no dominion was a love of letters more powerfully betrayed, but betrayed independently of Christianity—a spirit which often produces the results of a determined irreligion. France experienced at once within its own bosom two distinct Reformations, the one proceeding from man the other from God. “Two nations were enclosed within her womb, and two descriptions of people must receive from her their natural birth.”

Not only had the reform to encounter in France the evils of incredulity and superstition, she there found a third antagonist which she had not met with, at least in so gigantic a form, among the nations of Germanic origin—this was the vice of immorality. The disorders in the church were flagrant; and debauch occupied the throne possessed by Francis I. and Catherine de Medicis, while the austere virtues of the reformers irritated the feelings of these “Sardanapalus.” Everywhere, unquestionably, but still more particularly in France, the reform was destined to be, not only ecclesiastic and dogmatic, but moreover moral.

These enemies full of violence which the reform encountered together in the habitations of the French, imparted to it a character altogether peculiar. In no portion of the globe was the reform more frequently confined in dungeons or resembled more the features of primitive Christianity in the proofs of faith, charity, and the number of its martyrs. If in the countries of which we have been formerly speaking the Reformation was made glorious in consequence of its

triumphs, in the provinces we are now about to consider it was made still more so on account of its defeats. If, in other regions, it had counted upon more thrones and more sovereign councils, in this it was able to point to more scaffolds and more assemblies of the faithful in the desert. Whoever, therefore, is fully aware of the real nature of the glory attached to Christianity upon earth, and of the traits which bring it into closest resemblance to its Head, will study with a lively sentiment of respect and love the history, often stained with blood, which we are here invited to begin.

It was in the provinces the larger number of the men were born and began to disclose their characters who have in the sequel appeared and shone upon the theatre of the world. Paris is a tree which exhibits to view a quantity of blossom and fruit, but whose roots are found to stretch far into the bowels of the earth, in search of that nourishment which brought them to perfection. The Reformation was distinguished by the same distinctive law.

The Alps, which witnessed in each canton, and almost in every valley of Switzerland, the appearance of many Christian and courageous men, were destined, in France also, to shelter in their extended coverings the infancy of some of the first French reformers. They had for some centuries preserved the treasures of reform in a state more or less pure within their high valleys among the Piedmontese districts of Lucerne, Angrogne, and Peyrouse. The truth, which Rome had not been able to push forth to such a distance, had been spread from these valleys along their declivities, and from the foot of the mountains into Provence and Dauphiny.

The year which followed the accession to the throne of Charles VIII., the son of Louis XI., a sickly and timid child, saw Innocent VIII. crowned with the pontifical tiara, (1484.) This pope had seven or eight sons by different mothers; and thus, according to the saying of an epigram of the times, Rome was unanimous in applying to him the name of *Father*.

There was at this time upon the sides of the Alps, in the district of Dauphiny, and along the banks of the Durance, a growing inclination in favour of the ancient Vaudois principles. "The roots," said an old chronicler, "extended unceasingly, and everywhere displayed a quantity of new shoots." Some audacious men designated the Roman Church the church of evil spirits, and maintained that there was as much advantage to be gained by praying in a stable as in a church.

The priests and the legates of Rome gave the signal of alarm, and on the 5th of the calends of May 1487, Innocent VIII., the father of the Romans, issued a bull against the practices of these humble Christians. "Run to arms," said the pontiff, "and trample these heretics under foot as if they were venomous serpents." At the approach of the legate, backed by an army of eighteen thousand men, and a multitude of volunteers who were eager to share in the spoil of the Vaudois, these poor peasants forsook their dwellings and escaped to the mountains, where they hid themselves in caverns and in clefts of the rocks, as the birds fly for refuge when they hear the first growlings of the storm. Not a valley, nor a wood, or even a rock, was left unexplored by such fierce persecutors. In every corner of this part of the Alps, and particularly on the side of Italy, the

simple disciples of Christ were tracked among the hills like so many deer. At last the satellites of the pope were wearied with the chase; their strength was exhausted, their feet could no longer climb to the steep retreats of the "heretics," and their arms refused to inflict another blow.

In the midst of the Alpine districts which were then agitated by the fanaticism of Rome, at three leagues distance from the ancient city of Gap, (chief place of the higher Alps,) in the direction of Grenoble, not far from the greenswards which cover the table land of the mountain of Bayard, at the bottom of Mount Aiguille, and near to the defile of La Glaize, towards the place where the Buzon takes its rise, was, and still is seen, a group of houses, half concealed by the trees with which they are surrounded, and which bears the name of Farel, or, in the vulgar tongue, Farean.* Upon an open space, elevated above the neighbouring cottages, is still seen a house of the description of those called a small country house. It is surrounded by an orchard which reaches to the village. In this abode there lived, at the time of the troubles we recount, a family of long standing, piety, of noble origin, as it would appear, and of the name of Farel. In the course of that year in which Popery most vigorously displayed its authority in the province of Dauphiny, in the year 1489, there was born in this modest mansion a son, who received the name of William. Three brothers, Daniel, Walter, and Claude, with one sister, grew up along with William, and shared in his infant amusements upon the banks of the Buzon and at the foot of the Bayard.

The infancy and early youth of William were passed over in the sequestered spot above described. His father and mother were devoted servants of the Popish ritual. "My father and mother believed everything," he has himself said. William was thus, with the rest of the family, trained up in the strict observance of Roman devotion.

God had endowed William Farel with rare natural talents, qualified to ensure for him pre-eminent distinction. Possessed of an inquiring mind, with a lively imagination, full of sincerity and uprightness, with a grandeur of soul which would never permit him to betray, at whatever cost, the convictions of his heart, he was more particularly distinguished by an ardour of spirit, a fire, a hardihood, and indomitable courage, which could never be found to yield even in sight of the most enormous obstacles. But, at the same time, he was invested with the corresponding faults which accompany these high qualifications, and his parents were often obliged to correct the violence of his temper.

William embraced with all his heart the superstitious notions of his credulous family. "I am struck with horror," said he, "at the recollection of the hours, the prayers, and the divine services which

*Review of the Dauphiny, July 1837, p. 35. In going from Grenoble to Gap, a quarter of an hour after having passed the last posting station, about a stone-throw to the right of the high road, is seen the village of this Farel. The spot where the house of Farel's father stood is still pointed out. It is no longer occupied, it is true, by anything more than a hut, but still its dimensions prove that it could not be the remains of an ordinary house. The inhabitant of this hut bears the name of Farel. I am indebted for this information to the pastor of Mens, M. Blanc.

I have both rendered, and caused to be rendered, to the cross and other images of worship."

To the south of Gap, and four leagues distant from that place, near to Tallard, upon a hill which rises above the impetuous currents of the Durance, was situated a much-famed spot, called St Croix. William was not more than seven or eight years old when his father and mother resolved to conduct him on a visit of pilgrimage to this reputed locality. "The cross which stands on this ground," it was said, "is made of part of the very wood upon which Jesus Christ was crucified."

The family began the journey, and finally reached the cross held in such awful reverence; they prostrated themselves in adoration at its foot. After having examined the holy wood and the brass of the cross, composed, said the priest, of the basin in which our Lord and his apostles were in the habit of washing their feet, the attention of the pilgrims was attracted towards a small crucifix attached to the cross. "When the devils," rejoined the priest, "prepare their hail and thunder, this crucifix becomes so much agitated that it seems ready to detach itself from the cross, as if in haste to chase away the devils, and it emits sparks of fire at the appearance of tempestuous weather; were these miracles not performed by it, nothing would be left upon the earth."

The pious pilgrims were greatly moved at the recital of prodigies so momentous in their view. "No person," continued the priests, "knows or sees anything of these matters, with the exception of myself and this man." . . . The pilgrims turned round their heads and saw close to them an individual of most singular aspect. "On looking upon him one was struck with fear," said Farel. Two white spots covered the pupils of both his eyes; "whether they were thus disfigured naturally, or whether Satan made him to appear in such a guise." This extraordinary being, whom the incredulous named "The Sorcerer of the Priests," upon being referred to by his master, also asserted that the described prodigies did actually occur.

Another fresh episode served to complete the picture, and to add to prevailing superstitions the thought of criminal disorders. "Behold a young woman, having another object of devotion besides that of the cross, who carried her infant covered with a cloth. And then behold the priest who comes between her and you, takes the woman with the child and leads them into the chapel. I dare truly affirm that never a dancer took a woman and led her with a better grace than these two did. But the blindness was such, that no regard was paid to the one or the other, and even when they practised movements of great impropriety before us, everything appeared in our sight good and holy. It was very evident that the woman and the gallant priest knew well this miracle, and took advantage of the lucky covering of their visitation."

Such is a faithful representation of religion and manners in France at the instant the Reformation began to attempt a change.

Morals and doctrine were equally corrupted, and there was wanted, for both the one and the other, an effectual regeneration. The more outward works had been esteemed as of great value, the more was the sanctification of the heart placed at a distance; dead ordinances

had everywhere assumed the place of living Christianity, and there were exhibited in strange union, not, however, more wonderful than natural, scenes of the most scandalous debauch and most superstitious devotion.

Theft was committed before the altar, seduction completed in the confessional, poison administered in the mass, and adultery perpetrated at the foot of the cross. . . . Superstition, in abolishing the true doctrine, had equally ruined morality.

There were, however, witnessed numerous exceptions even among Christians who lived during the course of the middle ages. A faith, although in itself superstitious, may be sincere. William Farel affords a real proof of this assertion. The same zeal which at a later period urged him to wander over so many districts, in order to obtain a knowledge of Jesus Christ, induced him, at the time we speak of, to visit every spot at which the church boasted to perform some singular miracle or claimed the submission of devout worship.

Dauphiny had its seven wonders, for many years engaged in over-awing the imagination of the people.* But the beauties of nature which embellished this province were also well fitted to raise his thoughts towards the contemplation of the Creator.

The magnificent ridge of mountains formed by the Alps, their summits covered with eternal snow, those vast rocks which at one time push their sharp-pointed tops into the air, and at another extend their huge arched brow beyond the clouds, and seem to be an isolated island swimming in the heavens; all these accumulated grandeurs of creation, which at this time impressed the soul of Ulric Zwingli in the solitude of Tockenburch, also spoke with force to the heart of William Farel amidst the mountains of Dauphiny. He thirsted for the pleasures of life, for knowledge and light; he aspired after the accomplishment of something grand; . . . he wished to study.

Such a wish strongly affected the mind of the father, who believed that a young noble required nothing beyond a knowledge of his chaplet and the use of his sword. At this juncture, the valour of a young countryman was much extolled; he too, like William Farel, was a native of Dauphiny, and called Du Terrail, although better known under the appellation of Bayard, and who, in the battle of Tar, on the other side of the Alps, had just evinced superabounding courage. "Such sons," it was said, "were like arrows in the hand of a powerful man; happy is the person who has filled his quiver with similar weapons." Thus the father of Farel opposed the wishes expressed by William with reference to learning. But the young man was steadfast in his preference. God destined him to acquire nobler conquests than those of Bayard. William, in this spirit, constantly urged his single request, and the old gentleman at last gave his consent.

Young Farel immediately applied himself to the labour of study with astonishing fervour. The masters provided for him in Dauphiny were incapable of affording him much assistance, and he was forced to struggle against the wrong methods and folly of his private tutors. The difficulties he encountered excited his desires, instead of dis-

* The burning fountain, the steep ditches of Sassenage, the manna of Brangon, &c.

couraging his purpose, and he very soon overcame the obstacles thus early obtruded upon his plans. His brothers followed the good example shewn them. Daniel entered after this date into the field of politics, and was employed in important negotiations concerning the affairs of religion. Walter obtained the entire confidence of the Count of Furstemberg.

Farel, ardent in his love of knowledge, having acquired as much learning as he could receive within his native province, turned his views upon more distant districts. The fame of the university of Paris had for many years filled with admiration all the nations of Christendom. William longed, therefore, to behold "that mother of every science, that true light of the church, which can never suffer an eclipse, that splendid and polished mirror of faith which no cloud could obscure or any touch defile;" he obtained the permission of his parents, and set out on his journey towards the capital of France.

CHAPTER II.

Louis XII. and the Assembly of Tours—Francis and Margaret—Learning—Lefevre—His Teaching in the University—Lefevre and Farel Meet together—Hesitations and Researches of Farel—First Alarm—Prophecy of Lefevre—He teaches Justification through Faith—Objections—Disorders of the Colleges—Effects upon Farel—Election—Sanctification of Life.

Soon afterwards, on one of the days of the year 1510, the young native of Dauphiny entered the city of Paris. In the province he had been brought up an ardent follower of Popery; but the capital was destined to work in him a marvellous change. In France, it was not within the confines of a small town, as in Germany, the Reformation was doomed to appear. It was from the very metropolis the impulsions which agitated the people were appointed to issue. A concourse of providential events constituted Paris, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a happy centre whence might easily proceed a pure offspring of intellectual light. The young man from the environs of Gap, who now reached the seat of learning, humble and ignorant, was destined to receive a portion of this light within his heart, and many other individuals were preparing to become his companions.

Louis XII., the father of his people, had just convoked in Tours the representatives of the clergy of France. This prince seemed to have anticipated the times of the Reformation; in so much that, if that grand revolution had occurred in the course of his reign, the whole of France might, perhaps, have become Protestant.

The assembly of Tours declared that the king possessed the right of declaring war against the pope and of executing the decrees of the council of Basil. These resolutions formed the subject of universal conversation in the colleges, as well as in the city and at the court, and they were calculated to make a lively impression upon the mind of young Farel.

Two children were, at this time, growing up to full maturity in the Court of Louis XII. The one was a young prince, of an elegant figure and remarkable countenance, who displayed little restraint in his actions, and was carried away into the commission of every folly his youthful passions suggested, to such a degree that the king was wont to say, "This big boy will assuredly spoil everything." We refer to Francis of Angouleme, the Duke of Valois,

and cousin to the king. Boisy, his tutor, however, instructed him to shew a becoming reverence to the pursuit of letters.

By the side of Francis lived his sister Margaret, who was two years his senior. "A princess of very great spirit, and extremely clever," says Brantome, "equally in her natural talents and in her acquired knowledge." Under such circumstances Louis XII. had spared no cost in completing her education; and the most intelligent men in the kingdom did not hesitate to call Margaret their *Mécénas*.

In truth, a phalanx of illustrious men already surrounded these two nobles of Valois. William Bude, who, when twenty-three years of age, given up to the sway of his passions, and especially devoted to the pleasures of the chase, living solely in the company of birds, horses, and dogs, had suddenly changed his views, sold his hunting stud, and embraced the pursuit of letters, with the same avidity he had betrayed in ranging the fields or the forest, attended by his speechless companions. The physician Cop; Francis Vatable, whose acquaintance with Hebrew the doctors among the Jews themselves admired; James Tusan, the celebrated Greek scholar; with other learned men, besides encouraged by the Bishop of Paris, Stephen Poncher, by Louis Ruze, the sub-lieutenant, and by Francis of Luy-nes, as well as protected by the noble children of the house of Valois, resisted the violent attacks made by Sorbonne, who regarded the study of Greek and Hebrew as the most miserable of all heresies. At Paris, equally as in Germany and Switzerland, the establishment of the salutary doctrine was decreed to be preceded by the restoration of learning. But the hands which thus prepared the materials, were not privileged, in France, to become those who should construct the venerable building.

Among the throng of doctors who then bestowed lustre upon the capital, there was seen a man of very diminutive stature, of mean appearance, and humble origin, whose thoughts, knowledge, and powerful eloquence exercised in the minds of all who heard him an inexpressible attraction. The name of this person was Lefevre, and he was born in 1455, at Etaples, a small village in Picardy. He had received nothing more than a rude education, and even barbarous, says Theodore de Beza; but his genius had served him in the place of every master, and his piety, his knowledge, and the nobleness of his soul only shone forth with more resplendent lustre. He had travelled a great deal, and it appeared that his thirst after knowledge had even encouraged him to visit the territories of Asia and Africa. Since the year 1493, Lefevre, a doctor in theology, performed the duties of a professor in the university of Paris. He enjoyed in this university eminent distinction, and held the first rank there in the eyes of Erasmus.

Lefevre was well aware that he had a task to perform. Although attached to the observances of the Romish Church, he was earnest in his wish to overcome the barbarity which reigned in the university; and he set himself to teach the sciences of philosophy with a perspicuity until then unknown. He endeavoured to revive the study of languages and of ancient learning. He even exceeded these limits; for he distinctly perceived that when engaged in a work of regeneration, philosophy and learning were insufficient guides. Escaping, therefore, from the shackles of the divinity schools, which for so many

centuries had alone occupied the thoughts of teachers, he reverted to the Bible, and re-established in christendom the study of the Holy Scriptures and evangelical sciences. Neither was it to sterile researches he applied his talents: he penetrated into the deepest recesses of the Bible. His eloquence, his frankness, and amiability, captivated the hearts of his hearers. Grave and instructive in the pulpit, he was in his intercourse with his pupils mild and familiar. "He loves me extremely," wrote one of these students, Glarean, to his friend Zwingle. "Full of candour and benevolence, he sings, he plays, he argues with me, and often laughs at the follies of this world." A great number of students from every nation consequently assembled to receive instruction at his feet.

This man of such extensive acquirements, was at the same time submissive, with the simplicity of a child, to all the ordinances of the church. He passed as much time in the temple as he did in his study, and thus it might be said a peculiar resemblance of character united the old doctor from Picardy with the young scholar from Dauphiny. When two natures of such direct similitude are brought into relative positions, even within the wide circle of a capital, they are attracted towards each other by their original instinct. In his pious pilgrimages, the young Farel quickly observed an aged man who drew his attention by the ardour of his devotions. He prostrated himself in the front of images, and, remaining for a long time upon his knees, he prayed with fervour, and devoutly fulfilled his hours. "I have never," said Farel, "heard mass chanted with reverence more profound than that displayed by this old man." He here spoke of Lefevre. William Farel experienced an anxious wish to approach the person of the good Catholic; and he was overcome with joy when he found himself received by this much celebrated man with great cordiality. William had attained the object of his research in Paris. From this moment his greatest happiness consisted in conversing with the doctor from Etaples, in listening to his observations, or following the admirable instructions of his teaching, and in devoutly kneeling down with him before the same images. Often were the old Lefevre and his young disciple seen to adorn carefully with flowers a figure of the Virgin, and to murmur alone, in each others company, far from the haunts of Paris, and from the scholars and their teachers, the fervent prayers which they addressed to Mary.

The attachment evinced by Farel for Lefevre was remarked by many individuals, and the general respect entertained for the old doctor was reflected upon the person of his young disciple. This distinguished friendship emancipated the native of Dauphiny from his former obscurity. He speedily acquired a good name in consequence of his zeal, and several rich and pious citizens of Paris intrusted him with the distribution of divers sums intended for the maintenance of poor students.

A considerable time intervened before Lefevre and his disciple arrived at a clear knowledge of the truth. It was neither the hope of some rich benefice nor the love of a dissolute life which attached Farel to the pope, such vulgar bonds were not made to entice a soul thus elevated. The pope, in his opinion, constituted the visible head of the church, a sort of god, whose commandments had power to save men's souls. Did he hear any one daring to speak against

this pontiff so highly revered by him; he ground his teeth, like a furious wolf, and longed to see the guilty person struck with fire from heaven, so that he might thereby be "completely felled and destroyed." "I believe," said he, "in the cross, in pilgrimages, in images, in vows, and in the bones of the dead. That which the priest holds in his hand, puts into the box, shuts up, eats and gives to eat, is my only true God, and for me there is none other but he, either in the heavens or on the earth." "Satan," said he at another time, "had lodged the pope, popery, and all that belongs to it, in my heart to such a degree, that even the pope himself was not so deeply impregnated with this same spirit."

The more, therefore, that Farel appeared to seek after God, the more his piety languished, and the more superstition increased within his soul; everything went on from bad to worse. He has himself described his condition with great energy. "Oh, what a horror do I feel for myself and my errors when I reflect on the past," said he, "and how great and admirable is the work of God, which has provided that man may be able to escape from the depths of such an abyss."

But it was only by degrees he was extricated from this perilous state. He had at first undertaken to read the writings of profane authors; but his piety finding no nourishment in that employment, he devoted his attention to the lives of the saints, and, fool as he was, these studies only served to render him more foolish still. He then joined the society of several doctors of the age in which he lived; but his acquaintance with these unhappy beings only led to a separation from them under convictions yet more miserable. At last he had recourse to the study of ancient philosophy, and expected to learn from Aristotle the duties of a Christian, but his hopes were again deceived. Books, images, relics, Aristotle, Mary, and the saints, were all of them utterly useless. This ardent soul wandered from one species of human wisdom to another, without at any time finding any provisions wherewithal to appease the cravings of his hunger.

The pope, however, having suffered the appellation of *Holy Bible* to be applied to the writings of the Old and New Testament, Farel resolved to read these books, as Luther had before done in the cloister of Erfurt; and he was much amazed to learn that everything upon earth was totally different from the representations given of the truth in the sacred Scriptures. Perhaps he is now at the threshold of the true doctrine, but on a sudden a grosser cloud of darkness intercepted his view. "Satan quickly re-appeared," said he, "so as not to lose his possession, and worked in me according to his custom." A terrible struggle was at this time raised in his soul, between the claims of the word of God and the word of the church. Did he meet with certain passages in the Scriptures at variance with the practices of Rome, he shut his eyes, blushed, and did not dare to believe the things he read. "Ah," said he, "fearing to fix his looks upon the Bible, I do not sufficiently understand these matters; it is necessary for me to give to these Scriptures another meaning from that which they appear to me to bear. I must submit myself to the understanding of the church and the views of the pope."

On one occasion, while he was reading the Bible, a doctor visited his apartment, and eagerly reproved him. "No person," said the doc-

tor, "ought to read the Holy Scriptures before he has learned philosophy and finished his course in the arts." This was a preparation not insisted upon by the apostles, but Farel believed it just. "I was," said he, "the most miserable of men, shutting my eyes so that I might not see."

For a time there was in the mind of the young native of Dauphiny a fresh impregnation of Roman fervour. The legends of the saints sufficed to exalt his imagination. The more severe the monastic rules appeared, the more he felt a reverence for their enactments. A band of Carthusians inhabited dark cells in the middle of the woods; he paid respectful visits to these hermits, and joined in their regulations of abstinence. "I employed myself entirely," said he, "day and night, in the service of the devil, in compliance with the terms of the man of sin, the Pope. I had my Pantheon in my heart, and such a quantity of intercessors, saviours, and gods, that I might indeed have been reckoned a papal register."

The darkness could not be increased in thickness; the morning star must therefore soon be seen to arise; and it was at the word of Lefevre this light was destined to appear. There were even now in the mind of the doctor from Etaples certain glimmerings of light; an inward feeling apprized him that the church could not continue long in the condition in which it was then placed; and often at the very moment of his return from the observances of the mass, or of his rising from before some image, the old man would turn towards his young disciple, and, seizing his hand, say to him with solemn accents, "My dear William, God will renew the world, and you shall see this work performed!" Farel did not thoroughly comprehend the force of these words. Lefevre, however, did not confine himself to the expression of their mysterious import; a great change was then in operation within his bosom, and a similar revival must be produced in the heart of his disciple.

The aged doctor was engaged in the accomplishment of an arduous task, he was collecting together with care the legends of the saints and martyrs, and arranging them according to the order in which their names appeared in the calendar. Even now two months were finished when one of those faint glimpses which descend from above enlightened all at once the perceptions of his soul. He could no longer restrain the disgust which puerile superstitions are fitted to create within a Christian heart. The grandeur of the word of God impressed upon his mind the baseness of these miserable fables. They seemed henceforth of no more value than the "sulphur needed to kindle the fire of idolatry." He abandoned his present occupation, and, casting away these numerous legends, he turned with affection to the study of the Holy Scriptures. This moment, wherein Lefevre, throwing aside the marvellous writings of the saints, adopted the cause of the word of God, formed the commencement of a new era in France, and attested the principle of the Reformation.

In short, Lefevre, rejecting the stories of the Breviary, began to read the epistles of St Paul, and the light increased so rapidly in his heart, that he immediately determined to communicate to his pupils the same knowledge of the truth which we at this day find in his published commentaries.* These were strange doctrines for the

* The first edition of his Commentary upon the Epistles of St Paul is, I be-

school and the age, which were now delivered in Paris, and which the press spread abroad throughout the Christian world. It is easy to understand the effects which must have been produced upon the minds of the young students who were privileged to listen to these discourses, and that thus, even as early as the year 1512, the aurora of a new day was perceived to break upon the horizon of France.

The doctrine of justification by faith, which overthrew with one blow all the subtilities of the divinity schools and the practices of Popery, was now loudly proclaimed within the bosom of Sorbonne. "It is God alone," said the doctor, and the arches of the university must have re-echoed a strange sound as they carried back the meaning of these singular words. "It is God alone who, by his grace and by faith, justifies the soul for eternal life. There is a righteousness of works and a righteousness of grace; the one proceeds from man, the other comes from God; the one is terrestrial and passes away, the other is divine and eternal; the one forms the sign and the shadow, the other constitutes the light and the truth; the one imparts a knowledge of sin in order to urge the necessity of a flight from death, the other exhibits grace as the means of acquiring life."

"How now," said one of the listeners to these precepts which contradicted the maxims promulgated for more than four hundred years, "has there ever been a single man justified without works?" "A single person!" replied Lefevre; "there have been a quantity innumerable. How many among the people of an irregular life, who have requested with ardour the grace of baptism, having no other quality but that of faith in Jesus Christ, and who, if they have died immediately afterwards, have entered into the enjoyment of celestial life, without the performance of works." "If, therefore, we are not justified by works, is it in vain that we complete them?" replied some of the students. The doctor of Paris responded, and perhaps other reformers would not entirely approve of his answer, "Certainly not, it is not in vain. If I hold a mirror turned towards the brightness of the sun, it will receive the image thereof; the more the glass is polished and cleaned the stronger shall be the reflection of the sun's lustre; but if the mirror is allowed to be obscured, that splendour of the sun is lost. It is the same with justification in those who lead an impure life." Lefevre, in this sentence, like Augustine in many, does not perhaps sufficiently distinguish the graces of justification and sanctification. The doctor from Etaples brings back vividly to remembrance the bishop of Hippone. Those who lead an impure life have never received justification, and consequently they cannot lose it. But perhaps Lefevre meant to say, the Christian, when he falls into any fault, loses the assurance of his salvation, but not his salvation itself. In this sense there is nothing objectionable in his doctrine.

In this manner a new life and a new method of teaching had been introduced into the university of Paris. The doctrine of faith, of old preached in the provinces of Gaul, by the Pothins and the Irenæes, was once more brought into notice. From this period two parties and two people were organized "within the precincts of this grand

lieve, dated 1512. It is to be seen in the Royal Library at Paris. Of the second edition, the one I quote from, the learned Simon says—(observations upon N. 3)—"James Lefevre ought to be placed among the most able commentators of his age."—We are willing to say more than that.

school of Aristotendom. The lessons of Lefevre and the zeal of his disciples formed a striking contrast to the scholastic teaching of the larger number of the doctors and the light and wanton life of the greater portion of the students. More attention was paid in the colleges to learn the parts of a comedy, to dress in a ridiculous fashion, and to play tricks upon the stage, than to receive instructions in the word of God. Often even those farces exposed to contempt the honour of the great, of princes, and indeed sometimes of the king. The parliament interfered about the time of which we now speak. It summoned to appear before it the principals of many of the colleges, and prohibited these indulgent masters from allowing such comedies to be acted within the walls of their institutions.

But a diversion more powerful than the resolutions of parliament interposed on a sudden to secure the correction of these disorders. Jesus Christ was taught in the seminary. The rumour was great among the benches of the university, and the students began to occupy themselves almost as much with the study of evangelical doctrines as with the subtilities of the school or the amusements of the comedy. Many of them whose life was less irreproachable, held, however, by the idea of works, and understanding that the doctrine of faith condemned the practices of their life, they declared that St James was opposed in opinion to St Paul. Lefevre, determined to defend the treasure he had discovered, demonstrated the harmony of the sentiments expressed by the two apostles. "Does not St James say (chap. 1st) that all excellent grace and every perfect gift comes *from above*? Now, who denies that justification must be a perfect gift, an excellent grace? If we perceive a man moving himself, the respiration which we witness in him is for us the sign of life. Thus works are necessary, but merely as the sign of a living faith which accompanies justification. Is it these anointings or the purifications which illuminate the eye? No, it is the virtue of the sun. Very well, these purifications and ointments are our works. The single ray which the sun darts down from above is justification itself."

Farel listened to these instructions with avidity. That idea of salvation through grace immediately attracted his notice, and was received by him with inexpressible rapture. Every objection was ~~here~~ answered, and all fighting was at an end. Lefevre had scarcely declared this doctrine before it was embraced by Farel with all the ardour of his soul. He had endured sufficient toil and struggling to be convinced that it was impossible for him to save himself. Wherefore, the moment he understood through the word that God gratuitously saves the soul, he believed the doctrine. "Lefevre," said he, "withdrew me from the false notion of merit, and taught me that everything proceeded from grace; this I believed from the moment I heard him declare the truth." Thus was faith imparted, by a quick and decisive conversion, like that of St Paul, to the same Farel, who, in the words of Theodore de Beza, not being alarmed either by threats, injuries, or blows, gained over to the cause of Jesus Christ the districts of Montbelliard, Neufchatel, Lausanne, Aigle, and finally Geneva.

Lefevre meanwhile pursued his public lectures, and amused himself, like Luther, by employing many contrasts and paradoxes, which covered great truths, and exalted the grandeur of the mystery of

redemption. "Unutterable exchange!" exclaimed he, "innocence is condemned, and the guilty is pardoned; the blessing is cursed, and he who was accursed is blessed; life dies, and the dead receive life; glory is covered with confusion, and he who was ashamed is covered with glory." The pious doctor, penetrating still deeper into the realities of the truth, acknowledged that it was from the sovereignty of the love of God all salvation flowed. "Those who are saved," said he, "are saved by election, by grace, by the will of God, and not by their own will. Our election, our will, and our work, are devoid of all efficacy; the election of God alone is very powerful. When we are converted, it is not our conversion which renders us the elect of God, but it is the grace, the will, and the election of God which causes our conversion."

But Lefevre did not stop at the attainment of doctrines; if he gave to God the glory, he required from man the tribute of obedience, and he insisted upon the obligations which accompany the great privileges of the Christian. "If you be of the church of Christ, you are of the body of Christ," said he, "and if you belong to the body of Christ, you are filled with divinity; for the fulness of the divine nature dwells in him bodily. Oh, if men could but comprehend this privilege, how pure would they uphold themselves, how chaste and holy, and how would they esteem the glory of this world real ignominy in comparison with that inward glory which is hidden from the eyes of the flesh."

Lefevre believed that the trust of doctor of the word was a high and important magistracy, and he exercised its authority with unwavering fidelity. The corruption of the times, and particularly the irregularities of the ecclesiastical body, excited his indignation, and became the subject of severe remonstrances. "How shameful is it," said he, "to see a bishop soliciting people to drink with him, applying himself to play, handling continually the dice and box, directing all his attention to birds or dogs, in a perpetual round of hunting after crows or wild beasts, or entering into houses of bad fame. . . . O men deserving of a greater punishment than ever fell to the lot of Sardanapalus!"

CHAPTER III.

Farel and the Saints—The University—Conversion of Farel—Farel and Luther—Other Disciples—Date of the Reform in France—Voluntariness of the various Reforms—Which was the First?—Place of Lefevre.

Such were the sentiments expressed by Lefevre. Farel listened to their delivery with anxious delight, adopted their purport, and eagerly entered upon the new path of study thus unexpectedly disclosed to his view. There was one point in his ancient creed, however, which he could not immediately consent to relinquish, namely, the worship and invocation of the saints. The most enlightened minds often display a remnant of superstition, even after their illumination. Farel heard with astonishment the illustrious doctor declare that Christ alone should be invoked. Religion has but one foundation," said Lefevre, "one end, and one head, Jesus Christ eternally blessed; he has alone trod the wine-press. We do not, therefore, make mention of the name of St Paul, of Apollos, or of St Peter. The cross of Christ alone serves to open heaven or to shut the gates of hell." On hearing these sentences spoken, a keen contest was raised within the soul

of Farel. On the one side he beheld ranged the multitude of the saints along with the church, on the other side Jesus Christ alone was his master. At one time he inclined towards the one side, and anon he turned his attention upon the other; this was his last error, and, at the same time, his last struggle; he entertained doubts, for he still felt attached to the memory of these venerable men at whose feet Rome willingly did homage. At last the decisive blow was given from on high. The scales fell from his eyes. Jesus appeared to him as alone worthy of adoration. "Then," said he, "Popery was entirely overthrown, I began to detest it as diabolical, and the holy word of God occupied the first place in my heart."

Certain public events hastened the proceedings of Farel and his friends. Thomas de Vio, who at a later period contended with Luther at Augsburg, having declared in a work that the pope was absolute monarch of the church, Louis XII. submitted this book to the notice of the university in the month of February 1512. James Allmain, one of the youngest doctors, a man of profound genius and indefatigable labour, read in full assembly of the faculty of theology a refutation of the assertions made by the cardinal, and this controversial reply was received with unbounded applause.

How strong must have been the impressions produced by discourses of this description upon the young disciples of Lefevre! Shall they hesitate when the university seemed impatient of the yoke of Popery! If the main body of the army itself appears agitated, must they not hasten to the front, and act as pioneers? "It was a matter of necessity," said Farel, "that Popery should by degrees fall from my heart; because at the first shaking it did not totter to the ground." He contemplated the abyss of superstition into which he had been plunged. Arrested for a moment on its brink, he once more regarded with perplexity its awful depths, and then fled from the spot in anxious terror. "Oh, how I abhor myself and my faults, when I think upon their enormity," exclaimed he. "O Lord," continued he, "had my soul but served thee in a living faith, in the manner done by thy faithful servants; if it had but prayed to and honoured thee as I have devoted my heart in earnestness to the observances of the mass and the worship of that enchanted morsel, attributing to it all honour." Thus the young native of Dauphiny deplored the errors of his past life, and repeated in tears, like St Augustine of old, "~~Too late have I known thee; too late have I loved thee.~~"

Farel had found Jesus Christ, and, arrived within the haven, he felt happy in the prospect of repose after the experience of a tempest so fearfully prolonged. "Now," said he, "everything presents to my contemplation a new aspect. The Scriptures are illustrated, the prophets are opened, and the apostles impart a great light to my soul. A voice, until now unknown, the voice of Christ, my shepherd, my master, my teacher, speaks to me with power." . . . He was changed to such a degree that, "in the place of the murderous heart of an enraged wolf, he went away," as he said, "tranquilly, like a mild and peaceable lamb, having his heart entirely withdrawn from the pope and devoted to Jesus Christ."

Escaped from an evil so appalling, he turned his views upon the Bible, and began to study assiduously the Greek and Hebrew languages. He read regularly the Holy Scriptures, with an affection al-

ways increasing, and God enlightened his understanding from day to day, in order to render their meaning more obvious. He still continued to attend the churches wherein the ancient form of worship was observed; but what did he find there? So many exclamations, a number of chants, and words pronounced without intelligence. . . . Thus, often whilst standing in the centre of the multitude, which pressed close upon the figure of an image or towards the altar, he exclaimed, "Thou alone art God! Thou alone art wise! Thou alone art good! Nothing must be taken from thy holy law, nor anything added thereto; for thou art the only Lord, and it is thou alone who either can or must command."

In this manner every man and every teacher fell, in his eyes, from the heights on which his imagination had placed them, and he no longer recognised any other object in the world but God and his word. Even before this the persecutions which the other doctors of Paris had obliged Lefevre to undergo, had driven them from his mind; but very speedily Lefevre himself became for him no more than a man. He loved him, and venerated his character to the last; but God alone was acknowledged as his master.

Of all the reformers, Farel and Luther are perhaps those whose first spiritual developements we have the most certain knowledge of, and who were constrained to endure the most active struggles. Of a disposition lively and ardent, men of conflict and attack, they maintained stronger conflicts before they reached the abodes of peace. Farel may be termed the pioneer to the reform in Switzerland and France; he threw himself among the brushwood, and applied the hatchet to the secular forests. Calvin appeared at a later period, like Melancthon, from whom he differs undoubtedly with respect to character, but with whom he shared the distinction of a theologian and an organizer. These two latter individuals, who, the one of a gracious and the other of an austere nature, resembled somewhat many legislators of antiquity, constructed, constituted, and enacted laws, in those countries wherein the two former personages had obtained conquests. Nevertheless, if Luther and Farel exhibited a likeness to each other in particular traits, it must be confessed that the last named person possessed only one half of the qualities displayed by the Saxon reformer. Over and above his superior genius, Luther shewed, in those things which concerned the church, a moderation, a wisdom, a regard for the past, a perception of the whole design, and even a strength of organization, which were not observable to the same degree in the conduct of the reformer from Dauphiny.

Farel was not the only young Frenchman into whose mind the glimmerings of a new light had at that time penetrated. The doctrines which were then announced from the lips of the illustrious doctor from Etaples sufficed to animate the spirit of the many students who waited on his teaching; and it was under his training the courageous soldiers were reared, who, in the day of battle, were appointed to struggle even in defence of an ignominious death. Instruction was listened to, comparisons were made, discussions were carried on, and earnest discourses were delivered on both sides of the question. It is most probable that among the small number of scholars who defended the truth was included the youthful Peter Robert Olivant, born

at Noyon towards the close of the fifteenth century, who, at a later period, translated the Bible into French, according to the translation of Lefevre, and who seems to have been the first to point out the doctrines of the gospel to the attention of a young man of his own family, a native also of Noyon, and who afterwards became the most distinguished leader of the work of the reform.

Thus, anterior to the year 1512, at a time when Luther had not yet made any figure in the world, and was prosecuting his journey to Rome on business connected with the interests of monks; at a period in which Zwingle had not even begun to think seriously of the sacred writings, and was marching across the Alps with an army of confederates to fight on behalf of the pope, Paris and France were privileged to receive instructions in those vital truths, out of whose substance the Reformation was destined to issue; and many souls fitted to propagate a knowledge of these truths were decreed to embrace them with all their intellectual powers in a spirit of holy reverence. Wherefore Theodore de Beza, speaking of Lefevre of Etaples, recognised him as the person "who commenced with courage the revival of the pure religion of Jesus Christ." And he farther remarked that, "in the same manner as of old the school of Isocrates was seen to prepare the best orators, there were also observed to proceed from the pupils of the doctor of Etaples many men the most noted for superior excellence alike in their age and in the church."

The Reformation was not, therefore, in France, an object of foreign importation. It was sown in the soil of France; it shot up in Paris, and had its first roots fixed even in the university, that second power of the Roman christendom. God planted the principles of this work in the honest hearts of men belonging to Picardy and Dauphiny, before it was begun in any other country on the earth. The Swiss Reformation, we have seen, was altogether independent of the German Reformation; and the Reformation of France was equally independent in its turn of that either of Switzerland or Germany. The works commenced at once in these different countries, without the intervention of any mutual communications, as in a battle all the divisions of an army are agitated at the same instant, even although the one has not given the signal to the other to march, but because one and the same commandment, proceeding from a higher authority, has been sent forth into every portion of the whole body. The times were accomplished, the people were prepared, and God commenced everywhere at once the revival of his own church. Facts of this description clearly demonstrate that the grand revolution of the sixteenth century was the work of God.

If attention, therefore, is to be paid solely to dates, it must be acknowledged that it is neither to Switzerland nor to Germany belongs the glory of having commenced that noble enterprise, although these two countries alone, up to the present moment, have disputed the priority of such a distinction. This envied glory reverts to France. The truth of this fact we have sought to establish, because it has been, perhaps, until now, unknown. Without fixing our regard upon the power which Lefevre directly practised over the minds of many men, and particularly, perhaps, over Calvin himself, let us reflect upon the influence he exercised over merely one of his disciples, over Farel, and upon the energetic activity afterwards displayed by

that faithful servant of God. Can it be possible for us after such attentive consideration to withstand the conviction that, even although Zwingle and Luther should never have appeared, there would, nevertheless, have happened in France a movement of reform? It is, no doubt, beyond our imagination to calculate what might have been the extent of such an advance; and it must certainly be granted that the rumours of the events which were passing on the other side of the Rhine and the Jura, served, at an after period, to animate and hasten the march of the French reformers. But it was they (the French reformers) who were first awakened by the sound of the trumpet which, in the sixteenth century, resounded from heaven, and who, before every other body, approached the field of battle, armed and with a manly bearing.

Still Luther must be confessed the great workman in the affairs of the sixteenth century, and, in the most extensive sense, the first reformer. Lefevre was not complete, like Calvin, like Farel, or like Luther. He partook of Wittenberg and of Geneva, but also a little of Sorbonne; he was the first Catholic in the movement of the reform, and the last reformed in the Catholic movement. He remained until the last a sort of go-between, a mediating person, somewhat mysterious, destined to bring to remembrance that there was a connexion between those ancient and modern things, which a wide abyss seemed about to separate for ever. Repelled and persecuted by Rome, he still adhered to Rome by a slender tie he did not desire to rend asunder. Lefevre of Etaples held a distinct place in the theology of the sixteenth century—he formed the link which connected ancient and modern times, and was the person through whom was accomplished the transition from the theology of the middle ages to the theology of the Reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of Francis I.—Commencement of Modern Times—Liberty and Obedience—Margaret of Valois—The Court—Brissonet, Count of Montbrun—Lefevre directed him to the Bible—Francis I and his "Sons"—The Gospel brought to Margaret—A Conversion—Adoration—Character of Margaret.

Such was the manner in which a general agitation was commenced within the confines of the university. But the Reformation in France was not destined to affect merely the hearts of the learned men. It was appointed to establish itself among the great ones of the earth, and even in the court of the king.

The young Francis of Angoulême, the cousin german and son-in-law to Louis XII., had also succeeded that monarch on the throne. The elegance of his person, his fascinating manners, and his love of pleasure, constituted him the first knight of his age. He aspired, however, to the attainment of higher accomplishments, he longed to be a great and even a good king, provided everything could be brought to accord with the designs of his sovereign will. Valour, love of learning, and gallantry, these few words sufficiently portray at once the character of Francis I. and of the times in which he lived. Two other distinguished kings, viz. Henry IV., and especially Louis XIV., exhibited at an after period traits of a similar nature. There was wanting in the minds of these princes that spirit which the gospel alone confers; and while there may have always been

in the bosom of the French nation many elements of a holy and elevated Christianity, it may be said that these three great monarchs of modern France have in some measure impressed upon its people the stamp of their character, or rather that they have exhibited the faithful portraiture of the national qualities. If the gospel had been introduced into France by the most illustrious member of the family of Valois, he would have imparted to the nation that which it had not—a spiritual tendency, a holy Christianity, an intelligence of divine things—and he would thus have bestowed upon his country the very essence of the strength and grandeur of a people.

It was under the reign of Francis I. that France and Europe completed their transit from the epoch of the middle ages to the era of modern times. The new world, which was in the bud at the time when this prince ascended the throne, expanded its tendrils and became full in its strength. Two classes of men operated with vigour upon society in its newly organized condition. On the one hand were seen the men of religious faith, who were, at same time, those of wisdom and holiness, and in a position very close to this compact body were discovered the writers attached to the court, the friends of the world and of disorder, who, by the laxity of their principles, contributed as much to the corruption of manners as their near neighbours did to complete their reformation.

If Europe, in the days of Francis I. had not witnessed the appearance of the reformers, or had she been delivered over by a severe judgment of Providence to the agency of incredulous renovators, what would have become of her or of Christianity? The danger was imminent. During a considerable space of time, the two antagonist classes we have noticed, the adversaries of the pope and the adversaries of Jesus Christ, were mingled together in strange confusion, and both invoked the spirit of liberty; they appeared to be making use of the same arms against the same enemies. An inexperienced eye could not distinguish the different ranks amidst the dust occasioned by the arduous conflict. If the former combatants were permitted to carry the others along with them, all was lost. The enemies of the hierarchy rapidly passed over to the extremes of impiety, and drove Christian society into the pit of a fearful abyss; while Popery itself aided such a horrible catastrophe, and accelerated by its ambition and its disorders the ruin of those shelters to life and truth which still remained in the church. But God gave birth to the Reformation, and Christianity was saved. The reformers who had clamoured in favour of liberty, very soon uttered cries as importunate on behalf of obedience! The very men who had overturned the throne whence the Roman pontiff issued his oracles, threw themselves prostrate before the word of God. Then was a separation effected which was final and decisive: war was indeed proclaimed between the two divisions of the army. The one portion only desired liberty for themselves, whilst the other claimed it in support of the word of God. The Reformation produced the most formidable opponent to that incredulity through means of which Rome was accustomed to secure, on many occasions, terms of amnesty. After having given back liberty to the church, the reformers restored religion to the world. Of these two reciprocal sects the latter was the most necessary.

The partisans of incredulity expected for some time to engage on

their side the interest of Margaret of Valois, the Duchess of Alençon, whom Francis eagerly loved and always called his darling favourite, says Brantome. The same tastes and the same acquirements distinguished alike the brother and the sister. Lovely in form, like Francis, Margaret united to the stronger qualifications which constitute greatness those milder virtues which captivate the mind. In the world, in feasts, or at the courts of the king and the emperor, she shone in the character of a queen, and equally charmed, amazed, and subdued the hearts of all around her. Passionately devoted to the pursuits of learning, and naturally endowed with a rare genius, she abandoned herself with delight, in the retirement of her cabinet, to the pleasures of reflection, study, and knowledge. But her greatest care was to accomplish good and prevent the occurrence of evil. When the ambassadors had been received by the king, they proceeded to offer their homage to Margaret. "They were greatly delighted with her behaviour," says Brantome, "and rendered pleasing accounts thereof to the people of their own nations." Often, too, the king intrusted to her the transaction of important business, "allowing her to form the final resolution."

The princess of whom we speak always betrayed a dignified composure of manners; but while many individuals have been known to apply severity of demeanour to the form of their expressions, and give license to the freedom of their manner, Margaret followed an opposite course. Irreproachable in her conduct, she was not always equally guarded with respect to her writings. Instead, however, of being surprised at such inconsistency, one is rather led to wonder that a woman so corrupt in heart as Louisa of Savoy should have been the mother of a daughter so pure and amiable as Margaret. During her excursions through the country in company with the court, she devoted her talents in portraying the manners of the times, and especially the corruptions of the priests and monks. "I have heard this story," says Brantome, "told by my grandmother, who always accompanied her personally as her lady of honour, and was in the habit of holding her inkstand." Such was, in the opinion of some, the origin of the *Heptameron*, but the modern critics most justly esteemed are convinced that Margaret was altogether a stranger to that production, sometimes more faulty than barely light in the style, and that the said collection was the work of Desperiers, the valet de chambre to the queen.

This Margaret, so beautiful, so full of spirit, and living in the corrupted atmosphere of a court, was destined to be enticed among the first who were affected by the religious movement which then began to operate in France. But how was it possible for Margaret, in the heart of a society so profane, and among the frivolous stories with which she amused herself, to be attracted by the claims of the Reformation? Her elevated soul experienced wants which the gospel alone was qualified to satisfy; grace acts in every possible condition; and Christianity, which, even before the appearance of an apostle in Rome, had already secured adherents in the house of Narcissus and at the court of Nero, rapidly penetrated, at the time we speak of, with its new-born light, into the palaces of Francis I. Many ladies and many lords spoke to the princess the language of faith; and that sun which was about to rise upon the country of

France, shed one of its first beams upon an illustrious individual, who immediately reflected the pleasing light upon the heart of the duchess of Alençon.

Among the most distinguished nobles of the court was included the Count William of Montbrun, the son of Cardinal Brignonnet of St Malo, who had entered the church after he had become a widower. This Count William, full of a love of study, himself took holy orders and became successively the bishop of Lodeve and of Meaux. Twice sent to Rome in the capacity of ambassador, he returned to Paris without having been seduced by the charms and pompous display of Leo X.

At the moment of his return to France, every gradation of society began to exhibit signs of agitation. Farel, now master of arts, delivered lectures in the celebrated college of Cardinal Lemoine, one of the first principal establishments of the faculty of theology in Paris, and equal in rank to the university of Sorbonne. Two countrymen of Lefevre, Arnold and Gerard Roussel, and other persons besides, augmented the number of free and generous spirits. Brignonnet, scarcely returned from the feasts of Rome, was amazed at the changes which had taken place in Paris during the time of his absence. Thirsting after a knowledge of the truth, he renewed his former acquaintance with Lefevre, and quickly entered into precious fellowship with the doctor of Sorbonne, Farel, the two Roussels, and their friends. Full of humility, this illustrious prelate was anxious to receive instruction at the hand of the most humble associate, but more especially from the words of the Lord himself. "I am in a state of darkness," said he, "waiting the grace of Divine benignity." He was, as it were, dazzled by the lustre of the gospel. The pupils of his eyes were closed at the appearance of that unheard-of splendour. "The eyes of the whole world together," said he, "are not sufficient to receive the full light of this glorious sun."

Lefevre had forwarded to the bishop a copy of the Bible; he had designed this book to him as the guiding thread which always conducted one towards the original truth of Christianity, as being in existence before all schools, sects, ordinances, or traditions, and as the powerful means by which the religion of Jesus Christ is renewed. Brignonnet read the Scriptures. "The sweetness of the divine food is so great," said he, "that it renders the appetite insatiable, the more it is tasted, the more one desires to be fed with it." The simple and powerful truth of salvation ravished his soul; he found Christ, he found even God himself. "What vessel is capable," said he, "to receive such copiousness of inexhaustible sweetness? But the longing increases in conformity with the desire expressed to receive the worthy guest." Still the good bishop was, at the same time, afflicted to behold that doctrine of life which the Reformation had restored to the world, so little regarded within the precincts of the court, the mansions of the city, or among the people; and exclaimed, "O singular, most worthy, but, by my equals, still little relished innovation!"

Such was the manner in which evangelical sentiments made an entrance for themselves into the frivolous, dissolute, and learned court of Francis I. Many of the men who were attached to that court, and who enjoyed the full confidence of the king, John de Bellay, De

Bude, Cop, physician to the court, and even Petit, confessor to the king, seemed to give a favourable reception to the sentiments expressed by Briçonnet and Lefevre. Francis, who was ardent in his love of letters, who invited into his states many learned men admirers of "Lutheranism," and who "thought," says Erasmus, "thus to adorn and enlighten his reign in a manner more magnificent than could be accomplished by numerous trophies, pyramids, or the most pompous constructions," was himself enticed by his sister, Briçonnet, and the learned men of the court and universities. He attended the disputes of these learned individuals, was pleased to listen to their discourse when seated at his own table, and bestowed on them the familiar appellation of "my sons." He prepared a way for the advance of the word of God by founding seats for the study of Greek and Hebrew. Wherefore Theodore de Beza said, when placing his likeness at the head of those of the reformers, "O pious spectator! do not tremble at the sight of this adversary. Ought he not to share in this honour, he who, having driven barbarism from the world, established in its stead, with a firm hand, three languages and healthful learning, in order to become like the door-keeper of the new edifice which is soon about to be built up."

But there was more particularly one soul, at the court of Francis I., which seemed prepared to accept the evangelical influences exercised by the doctor of Etaples and the bishop of Meaux. Margaret, whose mind was pained with wavering and uncertain notions amidst the throng of a corrupted society, with which she was surrounded, eagerly sought to find a main support, and she discovered this stay in the gospel. She turned her face in the direction of that new breath of air which then re-animated the world, and inhaled its fragrance with delight, as a sweet scent issuing forth from heaven. She learned from some of the ladies of the court the nature of the instruction afforded by the new teachers. Their writings were presented to her, their little books, designated, in the language of the day, "Tracts;" "and she was spoken to about the primitive church, of the pure word of God, of worship in spirit and in truth, and of Christian liberty, which shook off the yoke of superstitions and of the traditions of men, in order to attach itself exclusively to God." This princess very soon received into her presence Lefevre, Farel, and Roussel. Their zeal, their piety, their manners, and their whole deportment, made a deep impression upon her mind; but it was more particularly the bishop of Meaux, long an intimate of the palace, who became her guide in the paths of faith.

Thus was accomplished, in the very heart of the brilliant court of Francis I., and of the dissolute house of Louisa of Savoy, one of those real conversions which, in every age, has been the work of the word of God. Margaret gave vent, at an after period, in poetry, to the various movements of her soul at this epoch of her life; and we shall therein discover the traces of the road she then travelled steadily along. It is evident how strong a sense of sin at the time engrossed her thoughts, and how she wept at the remembrance of the frivolity with which she had treated the scandal of this world. She exclaimed,

"Where hath sorrow near so great a depth
Full dark enough to punish but the tenth part of my sins

This corruption, of which she had been so long ignorant, she discovered in every direction, now that her eyes were opened to the light.

"Well I feel within me grows this noxious root,
And outwardly I shew the branch, flower, leaf, and fruit."*

Nevertheless, amidst the fears engendered by a knowledge of the condition of her soul, she recognised a God of peace, willing to visit her in her affliction.

"My God here below to me hath come,
Who on earth am but a naked worm."

And soon afterwards the love of God in Christ was shed abroad in her heart.

"Father, then; . . . but what a father! . . . Eternal,
Invisible, immutable, and immortal;
Who pardon gives of his all-perfect grace;
I throw myself, dear Lord, in guilty spell,
Beneath thy sacred feet, most sweet Emanuel!
Have pity, and from me hide not thy face.
Thou art at once the sacrifice and altar,
Whose all-atoning death acquits us at the bar
Of God, who thus accepts our wicked race."

Margaret had obtained the true faith, and her enraptured soul is filled with holy transport.

"Word divine, Christ the Saviour,
Son unique of God Creator,
First and last, of all dictator,
Bishop, king, and mighty conqueror,
And from death true liberator.
Man is by faith made son testator,
Man is by faith, just, holy, benefactor,
Man is by faith restored to innocence,
Man is by faith in Christ regenerator,
By faith *Christ's* mine in full affluence."

From this moment a great change was effected in the disposition of the Duchess of Alençon.

"She poor, ignorant, and powerless,
Hath in you riches and wisdom boundless."

Still the power of evil was not yet completely overcome in her. She found in her soul a want of harmony, a struggle at which she was amazed.

"Noble of spirit, yet serf of nature,
Derived from heaven, yet a vile creature,
Seat of God, yet vessel of iniquity,
Immortal, and still made of dust impure,
God feeds me, while on earth's my pasture.
Right I love, and yet hate equity.
As long as life I see upon this star,
I must to live be in continual war."

Margaret, seeking to find in nature certain symbols which might best express the wants and affections of her soul, adopted as an emblem, says Brantome, the flower of marigold, "which, by its roots and leaves, has the strongest affinity with the sun, and constantly turns in the direction of that great luminary." She added to the emblem this device,

"Non inferiora secutus.
I search after nothing here below,"

"as a token," adds the court author, "that she directed all her actions,

* The quotations I make appear to have belonged to the queen of Navarre herself, and some notes, found in the same work, are, it is said, written with her own hand. The book is in the possession of one of the author's friends.

thoughts, will, and affections, towards that great Sun, which was God, and on this account she was supposed to cherish the religion of Luther."

In reality, the princess very soon experienced the truth of these words, "No person can live in conformity with the piety which is in Jesus Christ without suffering persecution."

The new opinions entertained by Margaret were much spoken of in the court, and caused therein manifest agitation. How has this come to pass! the very sister of the king taking part with these strange people! At times it was believed that Margaret's fate was sealed. She was accused before Francis I. But the king, who dearly loved his sister, affected to be little concerned about the matter. The conduct of Margaret served to lessen by degrees the opposition shewn to her opinions. "Every one admired her character; for," says Brantome, "she was very good, mild, gracious, charitable, easy of access, liberal in alms-giving, despising no person, but gaining the hearts of all, in consequence of the amiable disposition she displayed."

In the midst of the corruption and frivolity of that age, the mind rests with delight upon the thought of this chosen soul, which the grace of God had proved sufficient to emancipate from the thralldom of so much vanity and grandeur. But her character of woman stayed her progress. If Francis I. had entertained the convictions of his sister, these convictions would have, without doubt, remained steadfast to the end. The timid heart of the princess trembled in anticipation of the king's displeasure. She was in a continual state of suspense between the love of her brother and that of her Saviour, and felt unwilling to sacrifice the esteem of either. We cannot recognise in her a Christian fully endowed with the liberty of the children of God; a perfect type she was of those elevated souls, so numerous in all ages, and more particularly among women, who, powerfully attracted towards heaven, have not, at same time, the strength sufficient to disengage themselves entirely from the ties that bind them to the earth.

Still, even to the extent of her persuasions, she formed a very interesting object in the history of her times. Neither in Germany nor in England are we privileged to speak of a character like that of Margaret of Valois. She was a star whose lustre was undoubtedly somewhat dimmed, but still possessed of incomparable mildness, and sufficiently bright to have ensured a perfect recognition of its light, even in the days of which I now speak. It was at an after period, when the enraged mind of Francis I. expressed a mortal hatred for the gospel, his sister concealed her faith under a veil. But at the date we allude to she raised her head above the pursuits of that corrupted court, and therein appeared like the spouse of Jesus Christ. The respect evinced for her character, and the high opinion entertained of her intelligence and disposition, pleaded at the court of France the cause of the gospel more effectually than could have been accomplished by any regular preacher.

This womanly and pure influence secured a ready introduction for the new doctrine. It is perhaps from this time may be dated the desire the French nobility evinced to embrace the cause of Protestantism. If Francis had likewise adopted the same views with

his sister, and if the nation had been persuaded to embrace the Christian faith, the conversion of Margaret would have proved the salvation of France. But while the nobles shewed favour to the gospel, the throne and the people remained faithful to Rome, and the Reformation was exposed to great misfortune on account of the support it received from the provinces of Navarre and Conde.

CHAPTER V.

Enemies of the Reform—Louisa—Duprat—Concordat at Bologna—Opposition of Parliament and University—Sorbonne—Beda—His Character—His Tyranny—Berquin, the most Learned among the Nobles—The Leaders of Sorbonne—Heresy of the Three Magdalenes—Luther Condemned at Paris—Sorbonne Addresses itself to the King—Lefevre quits Paris for Meaux.

We have seen in what manner the gospel had obtained, even thus early, valuable conquests in France. Lefevre, Brignonnet, and Margaret, united themselves eagerly in Paris to the movement which now began to shake the world. Francis I. himself appeared then more attracted by the renown gained in the pursuit of letters than repulsed by the severity of the gospel. The friends of the word of God entertained the most auspicious hopes; they believed that the celestial doctrine would be extended without obstacle throughout the various districts of their country, when a formidable opposition was formed within the precincts of Sorbonne and the court. France, which was doomed to make herself conspicuous in the Roman Catholic cause during a term of 300 years, rose in opposition to the Reformation in a spirit of merciless rigour. If the seventeenth proved to be the era of a bloody victory, the sixteenth century must be considered that of a cruel struggle. In no other quarter of the globe, perhaps, did reformed Christians encounter, on the very grounds in which they had planted the gospel, adversaries more devoid of pity. In Germany it was in different states the enemies exhibited their thirst of vengeance, and in Switzerland in other cantons; but in France the contending parties met face to face. An unprincipled woman and an avaricious minister at this time threw open the gates of the spacious lists to the enemies of the Reformation.

Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Margaret and the king, distinguished for the gallantry of her behaviour, absolute in her desires, and surrounded by a court of ladies of honour whose profligate manners introduced at the court of France a long reign of immorality and scandal, was naturally found to take part against the word of God; and she was the more to be feared, as she continued to exercise unremittingly an influence almost without limit over the mind of her son. But the gospel met with an opponent still more formidable in the favourite of Louisa, Anthony Duprat, whom she got appointed chancellor of the kingdom. This man, designated by a contemporary historian the most vicious of all bipeds, was still more avaricious than Louisa was dissolute. Having, in the first place, become rich at the expense of justice, he afterwards longed to increase his wealth at the expense of religion, and entered into holy orders with the view of securing for himself the possession of the richest benefices.

Luxury and avarice to this degree distinguished the characters of these two personages, who, both devoted to the cause of the pope, endeavoured to cover the shame of their lives by shedding the blood of numerous heretics.

One of their first acts was to deliver over the kingdom to the ecclesiastical dominion of the pope. The king, after the battle of Marignan, had an interview with Leo X. at Bologne, at which place was concluded the famous concordat, in virtue of which these two princes shared between them the spoils of the church. They removed the supreme authority from the councils in order to bestow it upon the pope, and from the churches the right of conferring bishopricks and benefices, in order to give it to the king. Afterwards Francis I. bearing the train of the pontiff's robe, appeared in the cathedral church of Bologne, to ratify the terms of this negotiation. He was sensible of the injustice completed in the concordat, and, turning round towards Duprat, he whispered in his ear, "There is sufficient in this document to damn us both." But of what importance was salvation to him? It was money and the alliance of the pope he wished to secure.

The parliament opposed a vigorous resistance to the enactments of the concordat. The king compelled its deputies to remain for several weeks at Amboise, and having called them into his presence one day, at the moment he had finished his dinner, "There is a king in France," he said to them, "and I do not intend that there shall be formed in this country, as at Venice, an independent senate." He then commanded them to leave the place before sun-set. Evangelical liberty had nothing to expect from the hand of such a prince. Three days after this occurrence, the grand chamberlain, La Tremouille, appeared in parliament and gave instructions for the registering of the concordat.

At this time also the university was thrown into a state of commotion. On the 18th of March 1518, a solemn procession, attended by all the students and bachelors with their caps, proceeded towards the church of St Catherine of the Novices, there to request from God the preservation of the liberties of the church and of the kingdom. "Colleges were seen shut up, and students fully armed paraded the city in large bodies, to threaten, and at times to maltreat important personages, who, by the order of the king, superintended the publication and execution of the said concordat."—(Fontaine.) The university finished, however, by tolerating the fulfilment of this compact, but without ever revoking the deeds by means of which it had exhibited its opposition; and from that time "the king," said the ambassador from Venice, "began to distribute liberally many bishopricks at the request of the ladies of the court, and to give abbeyes to his soldiers, in so much that a commerce was begun at the court of France, in the disposal of abbeyes and bishopricks, similar to that carried on at Venice in pepper and cinnamon."

Whilst Louisa and Duprat made preparations to destroy the cause of the gospel by the destruction of the liberties of the Gallican church, a fanatical and powerful party was formed in another quarter against the contents of the Bible. Christian truth has at all times met with two special enemies, viz., the dissipation of the world and the fanaticism of priests. The scholastic Sorbonne and an impure court were doomed to join hands in a crusade against the confessors of Jesus Christ. The unbelieving Saducees and the hypocritical Pharisees were, in the early age of the church, the most desperate enemies to the progress of Christianity; and the same characters are found to

be so in every succeeding period. The darkness of the schools very soon vomited forth against the gospel its most merciless opposition. At the head of this body was placed Noel Bedier, commonly called Beda, a native of Picardy, and an assignee of Sorbonne, who has been denominated the greatest bawler and the most factious spirit of his time. Reared amidst the arid sentences of the divinity schools, and having grown up in the contemplation of the Theses and Antitheses of Sorbonne, venerating all the distinctions of the school much more than the word of God, he was exasperated to a high degree against all those who dared to acknowledge a preference for doctrines of another stamp. Possessed of an uneasy disposition, and thus unable to find repose, having always to seek for new objects of pursuit, he tormented every person placed in neighbouring positions; disturbance was his peculiar pleasure; he seemed formed to raise the tempest, and when he could not encounter an enemy, he began to attack his friends. An impetuous charlatan, he caused the city and the university to ring with the sound of his ignorant and violent declamations against learning, against the innovations of the day, and against all those who were not, in his opinion, sufficiently anxious to repress these evils. Many laughed when they heard these violent displays of oratory, but others lent a credulous ear to the words of the impassioned speaker, while the ardour of his temper procured for him a tyrannical dominion in the university of Sorbonne. It was necessary for him at all times to be at war with some enemy, some victim whom he might be able to drag towards the scaffold, and thus he created heretics before any were known to exist, and insisted upon having Merlin, the vicar-general of Paris, burned, for having attempted to defend Origen. But when he became aware of the appearance of the new teachers, he sprang forward like a wild beast that discovers on a sudden an easy opportunity of devouring its close lying prey. "There are in Baden alone three thousand monks," said the prudent Erasmus.

His very excesses, however, did injury to his own cause. "How now," exclaimed the best instructed men of the age, "is it on the shoulders of an Atlas like this the Roman Church reposes? Whence proceeds the mighty tumult if it be not from the follies of Beda?"

In fact, this same manner of acting, which alarmed weak minds, became revolting in the sight of generous souls. In the court of Francis I. there was at this time a gentleman from the province of Artois, called Louis de Berquin, then in the thirtieth year of his age, and who was never married. The purity of his life, his profound knowledge, which ensured for him the appellation of "the most learned among the nobles," the frankness of his demeanour, the constant attention he paid to the poor, and the devoted regard he bestowed on his friends, made him peculiarly noted in the circle of his equals. The rites of the church, fastings, festivals, and the mass, had not a more strict observer of their practices; he especially displayed a great horror for everything alleged to be heresy. It was indeed a wonderful sight to witness an instance of such earnest devotion in the court of the king.

It appeared impossible to prevail upon a disposition like this to incline towards the side of the Reformation. There were, however, two or three traits in his character which were calculated to draw his

views in the direction of the gospel. He had an inveterate dislike to all kinds of dissimulation, and as he was most anxious never to give offence to any one whatever, he could not suffer the appearance of wrong done by another to any person in the world. Now the tyranny of Beda and other fanatics, their blusterings and their persecutions, enraged his generous soul; and as he did nothing by halves, he was soon seen, in whatever place he was, in the city or at court, "in company of the most eminent individuals of the kingdom," to kindle fire and flame against the tyranny of these doctors, and to attack "even in their nests," says Theodore de Beza, "those odious hornets who were the terror of every one."

He did not, however, stop here; opposition to injustice induced Berquin to make a search after the truth. He wished to become acquainted with those Holy Scriptures so much esteemed by these men against whom Beda and his tools directed their fury; and very soon after he had begun to read the said writings his heart was turned to delight in their contents. Berquin immediately joined the society of Margaret, Brignonnet, Lefevre, and all who felt a love of the word, and tasted in their conversation the pleasures of the most lasting enjoyment. He perceived that there were other things to do besides opposing the wild men of Sorbonne, and he desired to make known throughout every province of France the convictions of his own soul. He set himself, therefore, to the work of writing and translating into French several books upon Christian subjects. It appeared to him that every one should be enticed to acknowledge and embrace the truth, as promptly as he himself had been persuaded to do. The same impetuosity of temper which Beda applied to encourage the traditions of men, Berquin devoted to the service of the word of God. Younger than the syndic of Sorbonne, less prudent, and less talented, he had on his side the noble allurements of the truth. They were both able wrestlers who were thus destined to attempt the overthrow of each other. But Berquin proposed to himself an object beyond the defeat of Beda. He longed to distribute among the people a multitude of proofs concerning the truth. Wherefore Theodore de Beza was tempted to say that France might perhaps have found in Berquin another Luther, had the former met in Francis I. another elector.

Many obstacles were sure to cripple his efforts. Fanaticism always obtains a host of followers. It is a fire which procures its nutriment by slow degrees. The ignorant monks and priests joined the ranks of the leader of Sorbonne. The spirit of fellowship guided the designs of this company, a manner of acting which intriguing and fanatical men know well how to profit by in their intercourse with the stupidity or vanity of their colleagues, in order to make their hatred mutual. On every occasion, these firebrands are seen to assume the lead, to overrule the minds of others by their violence, and to constrain men of weak or moderate views to hold their tongue. Whenever any proposition was made, they cried out, in threatening accents, "Here we shall discover those who belong to the faction organized by Luther." Should any person express sentiments of an equitable nature, a cold shudder came over Beda, Lecouturier, Duchesne, and all their troop; they exclaimed in unison, "He is worse than Luther." . . . These manœuvres were crowned with success; for

timid spirits, who preferred rather to live in peace than to dispute, as well as those who are ready to abandon their own opinions at the prospect of their particular advantage, with those who do not comprehend the most simple questions, and those, in short, whom the clamour of others has always induced to forsake their own real interests, were allured by Beda and his attendants. Some remained silent, while others let their voices be heard, but all showed themselves submissive to that authority which a bold and tyrannical spirit invariably exercises over the feelings of vulgar souls. Such was the condition of this party which was regarded with veneration, and which, at this time, composed the most inveterate enemy to evangelical truth. It would often be sufficient to cast a hasty glance over the most celebrated bodies to ascertain correctly the value of the war they incessantly waged against the truth.

Thus the university which, under the reign of Louis XII., had applauded the vile independence encouraged by Allmain, plunged again suddenly, at the suggestions of Duprat and Louisa of Savoy, into fanaticism and servility. If the Jansenists and a few other teachers are excluded from the reckoning, there can never be recognised any symptoms of real or noble independence in the behaviour of the Gallican clergy. They have never exhibited any other appearance beyond a vacillating movement between the servility tendered at one time to the court and at another to the pope. If under Louis XII. or Louis XIV. some evidence of a free spirit is discovered, it is discernable in the struggle carried on by their master of Paris against their master of Rome. It is thus we are able to explain the transformation we have above alluded to. The university and episcopacy ceased to regard either their rights or their duties from the moment that the king ceased to exact them.

For many a day Beda cherished a hatred for the person of Lefevre; the renown achieved by the doctor from Picardy, in consequence of his able teaching, irritated and increased the pride of his compatriot, and Beda longed to stop the mouth of the eloquent Lefevre. The former compatriot had already on one occasion attacked the doctor from Etaples, and, still little capable of discerning the light of evangelical doctrines, he had aimed a blow against his colleague on a point which, however strange it may appear to us, failed in dragging Lefevre on to the scaffold. The last named doctor had asserted that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, and the female sinner of whom saint Luke speaks in the seventh chapter of his gospel, were three distinct persons. The Greek fathers had made a distinction between these personages, while the Latin fathers had confused their identity. This terrible heresy regarding the three Magdalenes roused the rage of Beda and all his army, Christianity was thereby compromised, and Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, one of the most notable prelates of that age, wrote against the idea of Lefevre, and the whole body of the church declared itself at this time opposed to an opinion now freely admitted by every Roman Catholic. Even now Lefevre, condemned by Sorbonne, was being pursued by the parliament as a heretic, when Francis I., delighted at finding an opportunity of striking a blow against Sorbonne and of humiliating the order of the monks, delivered the prisoner out of the hands of his persecutors.

Beda, enraged at the escape of his victim, resolved to be better

upon his guard a second time. The name of Luther began to be spoken of in France; for the reformers, after the dispute at Leipsic with Doctor Eck, had consented to recognise as judges the universities of Erfurt and Paris. The zeal which the latter university had displayed in its opposition to the concordat, had, no doubt, encouraged Luther to expect the presence of impartial judges within its walls. But a change had come over the aspect of affairs, and the more this faculty had evinced decision in its defiance of Rome's impiety, the more it desired with all its heart to establish its own orthodoxy. Beda thus found the university strongly inclined to favour all his particular views.

Since the 20th of January 1520, the national censor of France had purchased twenty copies of the conference between Luther and Doctor Eck, with the purpose of distributing them among the members of the body chosen to take this matter under its consideration. The examination here referred to lasted for more than a year; and meanwhile the Reformation of Germany began to excite in France an immense sensation. The universities, which were, at this period, institutions of a truly Catholic spirit, to which individuals hastened from every quarter of christendom, placed Germany, France, Switzerland, and England, in a state of more intimate and speedy communion, with regard both to the matters of theology and philosophy, than similar institutions, at present in existence, afford. The fame acquired in Paris by the works of Luther strengthened the hands of Lefevre, Brignonnet, and Farel. Every one of his victories imparted new courage to their hearts. Several of the doctors belonging to Sorbonne were forcibly impressed with the admirable truths they discovered in the writings of the monk of Wittenberg. Confessions full of freedom had already been made, but resistances equally terrible had at the same time been displayed. "The whole of Europe," says Crevier, "was in a state of expectation with reference to the decision that should be come to by the university of Paris." The struggle appeared doubtful. At last Beda gained the day; and, in April 1521, the university ordered that the writings of Luther should be publicly thrown into the fire, and that their author should be compelled to retract.

Nor were these decrees imagined sufficient. In reality, the disciples of Luther had crossed the Rhine even more promptly than his writings. "In a short time," says the Jesuite, Maimbourg, "the university appeared filled with strangers, who, because they knew a little Hebrew and something of Greek, acquired a speedy reputation, insinuated themselves into the houses of persons of quality, and encouraged an insolent liberty in interpreting the Bible." The faculty, therefore, named a deputation to draw out remonstrances for the inspection of the king.

Francis I. troubling himself little about the quarrels entered into between different theologians, continued to pursue his course of pleasure, and conducting the gentlemen and ladies of his court, along with his mother and sister, from castle to castle, he gave himself over to the participation of every species of irregularity at a distance from the scene of the importunate wants of the citizens of his capital. He, in this manner visited Brittany, Anjou, Guienne, Angoumois, and Poitou, following out within the precincts of villages and forests the

same routine of amusement as if he had been at Paris in the castle of Tournelles. A round of tournaments, combats, masquerades, and sumptuous feasts, with tables covered with dainties more profuse than ever graced the boards of Lucullus, says the historian Brantome, occupied his time.

Francis interrupted, however, for a moment, this career of dissipation, in order to receive the grave deputation sent from Sorbonne; but he only regarded those as learned men whom the faculty were eager to brand as heretics. Shall a prince who boasted of having effaced the kings of France from the page of history yield to the representations of some fanatical doctors? "I do not wish," replied he, "that these persons should be disturbed. To persecute those who afford us instruction, would be to prevent able men from entering within the boundaries of our country."

The deputation left the presence of the king in a state of violent agitation. What must now be the consequence? The evil increased from day to day, and even now heretical opinions were designated the "sentiments of superior spirits," the devouring flame had reached the most secret recesses. Very soon the conflagration must break forth, and the edifice of faith throughout the whole limits of France must be brought to the ground with a terrible crash.

Beda and his associates, having failed to obtain from the king the assistance of the public scaffold, sought to accomplish persecutions of a more concealed description. There was no kind of vexation to which the evangelical doctors were not subjected.

New reports and new denunciations were perpetually repeated. The aged Lefevre, tormented by these ignorant zealots, sighed after a state of repose; and the pious Brignonnet, who was constant in his marks of veneration for the character of the doctor of Etaples offered him an asylum. Lefevre, therefore, quitted Paris and travelled in the direction of Meaux. This removal was regarded as the first victory gained over the cause of the gospel, and it was evident from this moment that, if the opposite party could not succeed in securing the assistance of the civil power, it was possessed of a secret and fanatical policy by means of which it was certain to achieve its hidden designs.

CHAPTER VI.

Brignonnet Visits his Diocese—Reform—The Doctors Pursued in Paris—Phillibert of Savoy—Correspondence of Margaret and Brignonnet.

It was in this manner we have described Paris began to rebel against the Reformation, and to trace the first lines of that fortification which, for nearly three hundred years, was fixed to exclude from the capital the worship of reformed religion. God was willing that it should be in Paris the first lights might appear; but men rose up immediately to extinguish the visible spark. The spirit of the sixteenth century already gave token of its vitality in the metropolis, and other towns throughout the kingdom prepared themselves to receive and enjoy the benefit of that light which it resolved to banish to a distance.

Brignonnet, in making a circuit of his diocese, had there displayed the zeal of a Christian and a bishop. He visited every individual parish, and, assembling together the deans, curates, vicars, church-

wardens, and principal parishioners, he inquired carefully into the doctrine and manner of life pursued by the various preachers. At the times of search, he was told, the Franciscans of Meaux travelled over the country; a single preacher going through four or five parishes in one day, repeating as often the same sermon, not with a view to feed the souls of his hearers, but for the purpose of filling his belly, his purse, and his convent. The wallet being fully replenished, the object in hand was attained, preaching ceased, and the monks never appeared in the churches again until another season of search came round. The only business of such shepherds is to clip the wool off the sheeps' back.

The great number of curates, on the other hand, spent their incomes in Paris. "Oh," said the pious bishop, on finding a parsonage which he had just visited empty, "are not these men traitors who thus abandon the army of Christ?" Briconnet resolved to find a cure for all these evils, and convoked a synod of the whole body of his clergy, to be held upon the 13th of October 1519. But these wordly priests, who were little affected by the remonstrances of their bishop, and for whom a life in Paris possessed so many charms, took advantage of a custom, in virtue of which they could appoint one or more vicars to perform the parochial duties during their absence. Out of a number of one hundred and twenty-seven vicars, the inquiry only revealed to Briconnet forty of whose conduct he could approve.

A set of worldly curates, weak vicars, and a quantity of monks, who thought of nothing but their belly, constituted the forces then employed in the Catholic Church. Briconnet interdicted the Franciscans from appearing in the pulpit; and, convinced that the only means of supplying the bishoprick with good ministers was to superintend their education himself, he determined to erect in Meaux a school of theology, under the guidance of pious and learned teachers. There was a necessity for finding them, and Beda furnished him with candidates for the charge.

In reality, that fanatical personage and his companions did not relax their efforts; and, complaining bitterly against the tolerance of the government, they declared that they would carry on the war in opposition to the new doctrine, with, without, or against the government. In vain had Lefevre quitted the capital. Were not Farel and his other friends still within its walls? Farel, it is true, did not appear in the pulpit, because he was not a priest, but in the university, in the city, with the professors, priests, students, and citizens, he courageously contended in favour of reform. Other champions of the same cause, animated by his example, spread abroad always more openly the word of God. A celebrated preacher, Martial Mazurier, the president of the college of St Michael, concealed nothing, and described the disorders of the times under the most sombre, but at the sametime most faithful colouring, while it appeared impossible to resist or refute the force of his eloquence. The passion of Beda and his theological friends was at its height. "If we tolerate these innovators," said he, "they will invade the whole country, and all shall be over with our teaching, traditions, places, and the respect with which we are regarded by France and the entire dominions of christendom."

The theologians of Sorbonne were in reality the most strong.

Farel, Mazurier, Gerard Roussel, and his brother Arnold, very soon found their activity everywhere unavailing and counteracted. The bishop of Meaux entreated his friends to rejoin the society of Lefevre; and these excellent men, hunted by Sorbonne, and hoping to form by the side of Brignonnet a holy alliance, in order to secure the triumph of the truth, accepted the invitation of the bishop, and went to live in Meaux. In this manner the light of evangelical truth was gradually withdrawn from the capital wherein Providence had thereof first kindled the spark, "For this is the condemnation, that light hath come into the world, but that men have loved darkness rather than light, their deeds being evil"—(John, iii. 19.) It is impossible not to acknowledge that Paris then drew down upon itself the judgment of God which these words spoken by Jesus Christ describe.

Margaret de Valois, deprived successively of Brignonnet, Lefevre, and their friends, beheld herself, with sorrow, left alone in the heart of Paris and of the licentious court of Francis I. A young princess, the sister of her mother, Philibert of Savoy, lived in close intimacy with Margaret. Philibert, whom the king of France, in order to confirm the concordat, had given in marriage to Julian the Magnificent, the brother of Leo X., was, after her union, removed to Rome, where the pope, delighted with the completion of an alliance so illustrious, expended 150,000 ducats in the preparation of sumptuous feasts given in honour of the princess referred to. In 1516, Julian, who at that time commanded the army of the pope, died, leaving Philibert a widow in the eighteenth year of her age. She became fondly attached to Margaret, who, by her acquirements and her virtues, exercised over all who were near her an extraordinary influence. The distress of Philibert opened her heart to receive the consolations of religion, and Margaret instructed her in all the knowledge she had herself acquired, so that the widow of the lieutenant-general of the church began to taste the sweet persuasions of saving truth. But Philibert was too little experienced to afford ample support to her friend. Margaret often trembled at the thought of her abounding weakness. If the love she bore for the king, and the fear she felt to offend him, induced her to commit some action at variance with the dictates of her conscience, she immediately suffered disquietude in her soul, and, looking back with a saddened heart towards the Saviour, she found in him a master and brother more pitiful and consoling to her heart than even Francis himself. It was then she said to Jesus Christ—

"O sweetest brother, who wisheth not to punish,
But rather doth in love his wicked sister cherish,
And for her wayward guilt and dire offence,
Grace and love bestows in amplest recompense;
Alas! it is too much, too much of purest brotherhood,
For thou wert never call'd to do me so much good."

Margaret, observing the departure of all her friends to Meaux, often in sadness turned her thoughts upon the city of their habitation while engaged with the amusements of the court. She seemed again abandoned by all her associates. Her husband, the Duke of Alençon, was called upon to join the army, and her young aunt, Philibert, returned to the provinces of Savoy. The duchess applied for support to Brignonnet.

"My Lord Bishop of Meaux," she wrote to him, "knowing that one only is necessary, I address myself to you, for the purpose of

Beseeching you to have the goodness to remember in prayer, as a means to entreat God to conduct, according to his holy will, M. D'Alençon, who, by order of the king, is about to become the lieutenant-general of his army, which, I fear, shall not long be spared the horrors of war. And believing that, over and above the public welfare of the kingdom, you are much interested in the things that pertain to my salvation and that of those connected with me, I request of you this spiritual assistance. To-morrow my aunt of Nemours sets out for Savoy. I am constrained to intermingle with many things which cause me much alarm. Wherefore, if I knew that Master Michael could undertake a journey, I would have this consolation, that I make no request but for the honour of God."

Michael D'Arande, whose assistance Margaret implored, was one of the members of the evangelical union at Meaux who exposed himself at a later period to many dangers in his courageous preaching of the gospel.

The pious princess we speak of beheld with alarm the arrangement of an opposition always increasing in its strength against the truth. Duprat and the officers of the government, in unison with Beda and the people of Sorbonne, gave her cause of much affliction. "It is war," said Briçonnet, in reply to this princess, in order to comfort her, "it is war which the meek Jesus is said in the gospel to have come to make upon the earth, . . . and likewise fire, . . . the grand fire which transforms the terrestrial into the divine. I desire with all my heart to assist you, madam; but, on account of my utter inability, do not expect more from me than the will. Those who have faith, hope, and charity, have all that is required, and need no other assistance whatever. . . . God alone is everything, and unless in union with him there is nothing to be found. In order to fight, have recourse to the great Giant, . . . love insuperable! . . . War is guided by love. Jesus demands the presence of the heart; and miserable is the man who withdraws his heart from him. He who fights in person is sure of victory, but he who contends by means of others is often defeated."

The bishop of Meaux began himself to understand what it was to battle for the word of God. The theologians and the monks, irritated at the thought of the protection he had extended towards the friends of the Reformation, made such violent accusations against his conduct, that his brother, the bishop of St Malo, came to Paris to investigate the real state of the case. Margaret was, however, so much pleased with the consolations she received from Briçonnet, that she made him a reply in which she promised to afford him mutual help.

"If in anything," she wrote, "I can do, you think it is possible for me to be of service to you or your friends, believe me that all trouble shall be turned into a source of pleasure. May eternal peace be yours, after this long war which you have encountered for the true faith, and in which combat you desire to die. . . . In everything your daughter, MARGARET."

It is to be deplored that Briçonnet did not die in the fervour of his struggle. Nevertheless he was at the time we speak of full of zeal. Philibert of Nemours, respected by all on account of her sincere devotion, her liberality to the poor, and the great purity of her manners, studied, with an interest continually increasing, the evangelical

writings forwarded to her by the bishop of Meaux. "I have received all the tracts you sent me," wrote Margaret to Briconnet, "of which my aunt of Nemours has had a share, and I will send her still those she has not received; for she is in Savoy attending the nuptials of her brother, which occasions me some loss: wherefore I pray you to extend your pity to me while alone." Unhappily Philibert did not live long enough to confirm her unshaken fidelity to the cause of the Reformation. She died in 1524, at the castle of Virieu le Grand, in Bugey, in the twenty-sixth year of her age. This death inflicted a mournful blow upon the heart of Margaret. Her friend, her sister, she who could most perfectly understand all her thoughts, was taken from her. One other death alone, that of her brother, could have caused a sorrow more deep than the misery she now experienced.

"So many tears flow from my eyes,
They neither see the earth nor skies,
Such is the flood of their abundance."

Margaret, finding herself very weak in her combats with sorrow and the seductions of the court, petitioned Briconnet to afford her instructions for the love of God. "May the mild and meek Jesus, who wishes, and who can alone perform that which he powerfully desires," replied the humble bishop, "visit in his infinite goodness the trials of your heart, exhorting it to place all its affections upon himself. Any other but he, madam, has not the power to do the thing I speak of; and it is needless to expect light to shine out of darkness, or to receive heat from coldness. In attracting he embraces; and through his warmth induces the heart, by expanding it, to follow him. Madam, you ask me to have pity upon you, because you are alone; I do not understand such a proposition. They who live to the world, and have their hearts placed upon it, may remain alone; for excess and evil are joined therewith. But she whose heart sleeps to the world and is awake to the mild and meek Jesus, her true and loyal spouse, is truly alone; for she lives on all that is necessary for her, and while alone is not so, not being abandoned by him who fills and keeps every one. Pity cannot and ought not to be extended to such solitude, which is more to be esteemed than all the world, from which I am assured the love of God has saved you, and that you are no longer a child. . . . Remain, madam, alone in your only Comforter, . . . who has been willing to suffer a mournful and ignominious death and passion.

"Madam, in recommending myself to your good graces, I entreat of you not to make use again of such phrases as are to be found in your last letters. Of God alone you are the daughter and spouse; any other father you should not require. . . . I exhort and admonish you to be as good a daughter to him as he is a father to you, . . . and inasmuch as this cannot be the case, because finitude cannot correspond with infinitude, I beseech him that he may be pleased to increase your strength, in so much that you, in your whole body and soul, may love and serve him perfectly."

In spite of these advices, Margaret was not yet comforted. She regretted bitterly the absence of the spiritual conductors who had been carried away from her society. The new pastors who were imposed upon her, in order to afford her consolation, had not engaged her confidence; and, whatever the bishop might say, she felt herself

alone in the middle of the court, and all around her appeared dark and deserted. "Like as a sheep in a strange country," she wrote to Briconnet, "wandering and ignorant of the pasture ground, on account of a want of trust in the new shepherd, is naturally induced to raise its head and turn towards the corner where the great shepherd was accustomed to bestow upon it its food; in like manner I am constrained to beg your charitable consideration. . . . Come down from the high mountain, and in pity regard, among that people deprived of the light, the most blind of all the flock, MARGARET."

The bishop of Meaux, in his reply, refers to the image of a wandering sheep, under which Margaret represented her own condition, and took occasion from it to represent the mysteries of salvation under the figure of a forest. "The sheep entering into the forest, led by the Holy Spirit," said he, "immediately finds herself ravished with the goodness, beauty, fitness, length, breadth, depth, and height, as well as the odoriferous and strengthening sweetness of this same forest, . . . and when, having seen everything in it, she can see but him in all and all in him; while in travelling at great speed the whole length of this forest, the road is found to be so agreeable that it becomes life, and joy, and consolation to the traveller."

Afterwards the bishop depicts the sheep vainly seeking to arrive at the end of the forest, (image of the soul which would wish to sound the mysteries of God,) when it encounters in front some high mountains which it endeavours to climb, but finds everywhere "infinite inaccessible and incomprehensible."

Again, he directs to the road through which the soul that seeks after God is able to pass and overcome these difficulties; he points to the manner whereby the sheep, in the middle of mercenaries, discovered "the corner of the grand shepherd." "She enters," said he, "in a flight of contemplation by faith." All is smoothed, all is explained, and she begins to sing, "I have found him whom my soul loves."

It was in this manner the bishop of Meaux expressed his thoughts. At this time, burning with zeal, he was anxious to see France renovated by the spirit of the gospel. Often, and in an especial degree, his mind reverted to the condition of three persons placed in an elevated situation, and who seemed to preside over the destinies of their people, namely, the king, his mother, and his sister. He imagined that if the royal family were converted to the truth, the whole body of the people would become equally enlightened, and that the priests, moved by jealousy, would also at last escape from their state of death. "Madam," he wrote to Margaret, "I very humbly beseech God that he may be pleased in his goodness to kindle a fire in the hearts of the king, his mother, and yourself, . . . to such a degree that, from these three fires may be spread abroad a burning and blazing light, sufficient to warm the rest of the kingdom; and more particularly the place on account of whose coldness all the remaining districts are frozen."

Margaret did not participate in these high hopes. She did not speak either of her brother or of her mother; they were subjects on which she did not dare to touch; but replying to the bishop, in January 1522, her heart oppressed with the indifference and worldly mindedness with which she was surrounded, she said—"The weather

is cold, the heart becomes frozen of itself," and she signs herself, "your frozen, thirsty, and hungry daughter, Margaret."

This letter, however, did not discourage the spirit of Briçonnet, but it obliged him to seek for his resources within himself; and thus convinced how much he, who was so desirous to enlighten others, stood in need of being revived, he recommended himself to the prayers of Margaret and the lady of Nemours. "Madam," he wrote in a strain of great simplicity, "I entreat you to awaken by your prayers the poor sleeper."

Such were, in 1521, the proposals which alternately occupied the court of the king of France. Strange proposals, certainly, and which, after more than three centuries, have been revealed to us through means of a manuscript writing contained in the Royal Library at Paris. Was this influence of the Reformation in such a high place a good or a bad symptom? The spur of the truth had penetrated the skin of the court, but, perhaps, it may be found only to have awakened the sleepy and ferocious brute, to have excited his rage, and to cause him to spring with so much greater fury upon the weakest or humblest of the flock.

CHAPTER VII.

Commencement of the Church of Meaux—The Scriptures in French—The Artisan and the Bishop—Evangelical Harvest—The Epistles of St Paul sent to the King—Lefevre and Roma—The Monks before the Bishop—The Monks before Parliament—Briçonnet Yields.

The time, in reality, approached when the storm was about to burst upon the work of the Reformation; but it was encouraged beforehand to sow still more seed, and to reap the produce thereof. This town, of Meaux, which became illustrious a century and a half later as the noble defender of the Gallican system against the aristocratic pretensions of Rome, was called to become the first city in France wherein renewed Christianity established its dominion. It formed, at the time we speak of, the field whereon the cultivators bestowed their anxious care and deposited the precious seed, and on which, even now, they had amassed considerable stores. Briçonnet, less inactive than it was said, animated, inspected, and directed all their movements. His good fortune was commensurate with his zeal: never did man make a more noble use of his talents, and never was so noble a devotion adorned at first with the appearance of such abundant return. Removed to Meaux, the pious doctors from Paris acted from this moment with greater freedom. There was an emancipation of the word, and the Reformation made in France a prodigious step in advance. Lefevre expounded with convincing force that gospel with which he wished to cover the world. "It is above all things necessary," said he, "that kings, princes, nobles, people, and every nation, should be taught to think and to long after nothing but to know Jesus Christ. It is necessary for every priest to resemble that angel which John beheld in the Revelations, flying through the wide expanse of the heavens, holding in his hand the everlasting gospel, carrying it to every people, language, tribe, and nation. Come forward all pontiffs, kings, and generous hearts! . . . Nations, awoken at the light of the gospel, and draw the breath of eternal life. The word of God is sufficient."

Such, in truth, was the motto of that school, "The word of God

"sufficeth." The whole meaning of the Reformation was comprised within these words. "To know Christ and his word," said alike Lefevre, Roussel, and Farel, "constitutes alone the only living theology, only and universal. . . . He who knows this, knows everything."

The truth made a great impression upon the public mind at Meaux. Particular assemblies were at first established, then conferences, and, finally, the gospel was preached within the walls of the churches. But a fresh effort was made, calculated to inflict upon Rome a blow still more formidable.

Lefevre wished to afford the Christians of France an opportunity of reading the Holy Scriptures. On the 30th October 1522, he published a French translation of the four gospels; on the 6th of November, that of the other books of the New Testament; and on the 12th October 1524, all these books were collected together at Meaux, in the house of the librarian, Collin, and again, in 1525, a French version of the Psalms. In this manner was commenced in France, almost at the same time as in Germany, that impression and dissemination of the Scriptures in the various vulgar tongues, which was destined, three centuries later, to exhibit, in every quarter of the globe, a developement almost universal. The Bible produced in France, as well as on the other side of the Rhine, a decisive influence. Experience had convinced a great many Frenchmen that, whenever they attempted to comprehend the meaning of divine subjects, doubt and obscurity surrounded them on every side. How many moments, and perhaps years, of their lives had they been tempted to regard as delusive, truths of the most decisive import! There must be a light from above sent to enlighten our darkness. Such was the ardent hope and wish of many anxious souls at the period of the Reformation. It was with desires like these many received the holy book from the hands of Lefevre; they were eagerly read both in the family circle and in the silence of retirement; conversations upon the contents of the Bible were multiplied, and Christ now appeared to these spirits, long time deceived, as the centre and the sun of every revelation.

Henceforth there was no need of demonstrations to prove to them that the Scriptures were the work of the Lord; they were sensible of the fact, because these Scriptures had led them out of darkness into marvellous light.

Such was the progress through which many distinguished spirits at that time reached in France to a knowledge of God. But there were other, still more simple and ordinary ways, were that possible, through which many members of the people arrived at an acquaintance with the truth. The city of Meaux was chiefly inhabited by artisans and folks engaged in the wool trade. "There was engendered in multitudes," we are told by a writer of the sixteenth century, "a desire so ardent to become acquainted with the way of salvation, that artisans, carders, fullers, and wool combers, spent their time, while labouring with their hands, conversing upon the word of God, and drawing therefrom all their consolation. But more particularly was the Sunday and festival days devoted to the reading of the Scriptures, and in making inquiry after the will of the Lord."

Brignonnet was rejoiced to see piety thus assuming the place of

superstition within the limits of his diocese. "Lefevre, aided by the renown of his great learning," says a contemporary historian, "was so completely able to cajole and convince by his enticing words Mr William Briçonnet, that he induced him stupidly to wander, in so much that ever since it was impossible to drive from the city and diocese of Meaux that wicked doctrine, even until this day, in which it is marvellously believed. It was a great pity for the ruin of that good bishop, who had been, up to the very moment, so much devoted to God and the Virgin Mary."

Nevertheless, all the inhabitants were not stupidly led away, as asserted by the Franciscan whose words we have above quoted. The city was divided into two parties. On the one side were seen the monks of St Francis and the friends of the Roman doctrine; and on the other Briçonnet, Lefevre, Farel, and all those who preferred the new doctrine. A man of the people, named Leclerc, was among the most servile adherents of the monks; but his wife and his two sons, Peter and John, had received the gospel with earnest hearts, and John, who was a carder of wool, very soon distinguished himself as a lover of Christian truth. A learned youth from Picardy, James Pavanne, "a person of great sincerity and integrity," whom Briçonnet had invited to take up his abode in Meaux, displayed a keen interest in advancing the reform. Meaux had become a centre of gospel light. A number of persons called to visit the place, there listened to the glad tidings of the truth, and carried home a vivid recollection of their solemn warnings. Nor was it alone within the walls of the city the Holy Scriptures were regarded with attention: "a great many villages were occupied in the same pursuits," says a reporter of the times, "in so much that, throughout that diocese, there was seen to shine a reflection of the renovated church."

The environs of Meaux being covered with luxurious crops, at the season of autumn, a large number of labourers flocked to find employment there from the surrounding countries. While resting from their labours at mid-day, the inhabitants of the district conversed with them, and spoke of another seed and another harvest. Several peasants come from Thierache, and especially from Landouzy, persisted in upholding, upon their return home, the doctrine they heard explained, and there was very speedily formed in that latter place an evangelical church, which is now one of the most ancient of these establishments in the kingdom. "The renown of this great benefit was spread over France," says the historian. Briçonnet himself proclaimed the gospel from the pulpit, and exerted himself to scatter abroad this "endless, mild, meek, true, and only light," as he expressed it, "which dazzles and enlightens every creature capable of receiving it, and which, in thus enlightening them, dignifies them with the adoption of sons of God." He entreated his flock not to listen to those who were willing to direct their attention from the word. "Even although," said he, "an angel from heaven should announce another gospel, do not give ear to him." Often solemn thoughts agitated his spirits. He was not sure of himself; he recoiled with dread, when meditating upon the dire effects which his infidelity might be the means of occasioning; and warning his people before hand, he said to them, "Even although I, your bishop, should be seen to change in doctrine and discourses, for you, be heedful then that you change

"not with me." At the time these words were spoken there was no visible symptom of a misfortune so mournful. "Not only was the word of God preached," says history, "but it was practised; every action of charity and good will were there exercised; manners became reformed, and superstitions were cast to the ground."

Always full of the idea of gaining over the king and his mother, the bishop sent to Margaret "the epistles of St Paul, translated and clearly illustrated, very humbly entreating her to present the book as an offering to the king, a present which, coming from your hands," added he, "cannot but be acceptable. They are a royal dish," continued the good bishop, "enriched without corruption, and fitted to heal every malady. The more they are tasted, the more hunger increases in gratified and insatiable desire."

What more dear request could be preferred to Margaret? . . . The moment, too, seemed favourable. Michael D'Arande was at Paris, retained by the order of the mother of the king, for whom he was engaged in the translation of some portions of the Holy Scriptures. But Margaret entertained a wish that Briconnet himself should offer the writings of St Paul to her brother. "You would do well to come here," she wrote to him; "for you know the favour the king and she have for you."

In this manner the word of God was placed at that time (in 1522 and 1523) under the eyes of Francis I. and Louisa of Savoy. They were now in communication with that church which they must at an after period persecute. We do not recognise any salutary effects impressed upon their minds by their acquaintance with the blessed word. A feeling of curiosity induced them to look into that Bible which at the moment created such eager inquiries; but it was very soon closed by them under impressions similar to those at whose suggestion it had been opened.

Margaret herself struggled with difficulty against the worldliness which surrounded her on every side. The affection she bore for her brother, the obedience she owed her mother, and the flatteries of an idle court, all seemed to conspire against the love which she had vowed to Jesus Christ. Christ was single against a host. Frequently the soul of Margaret, assailed by so many adversaries and stunned by the noise of the world, turned away its regard from its Master. Then, recognising her error, the princess shut herself up in her apartments, and, yielding to the oppressions of sorrow, she gave utterance to exclamations very different from the joyful songs with which Francis and his young noble associates accompanied the excesses of their high feasts and festivals in the royal mansions.

Left you I have, to follow my pleasure;
Left you I have, in very bad measure,
Left you I have, but where have I gone;
To the place which is filled with malediction!
Left you I have, the friend without fiction,
Left you I have. . . . And to redeem my lost state
For your love now . . . I pray extend me your hate.

Margaret then, directing her thoughts towards Meaux, wrote in her agony, "I return to you, to M. Fabry, (Lefevre,) and all you gentlemen, beseeching you by means of your prayers to obtain in unspeakable mercy an alarm bell for the listless sleeper, . . . to relieve her from a heavy and a mortal load."

Thus it was Meaux became a centre whence was diffused the light of evangelic truth. The friends of the Reformation, however, were infected with flattering delusions. Who would be able to oppose the progress of the gospel if the power of Francis I. were to make patent the way. The corruptive influence of the court would then be changed into an holy influence, and France should acquire a moral force, which must render her the benefactress of many nations.

But, on the other hand, the friends of Rome were seized with alarm. Among their number in Meaux was distinguished a Dominican monk named De Roma. One day when Lefevre, Farel, and their friends, were conversing with him and some other partisans of Popery, Lefevre could not restrain the expression of his hopes. "Even now," said he, "the gospel wins the hearts of the great and of the people, and very soon, spreading itself over the whole limits of France, it shall in every direction overthrow the inventions of men."

The old doctor was in ecstasy, his sparkling eyes glistened, his tremulous voice became eloquent; it might have been supposed old Simeon was rendering thanks to the Lord, for that his eyes had seen his salvation. The friends of Lefevre shared in his emotion; their adversaries remained mute. . . . On a sudden, De Roma arose, and exclaimed with violence, in the accents of a popular tribune, "Then will I, and all the members of religious bodies, preach a crusade; we will instigate the people, and should the king permit the preaching of your gospel, we will cause him to be hunted by his own people, and out of his own kingdom."

In such a manner did a monk dare to speak against the knightly king. The Franciscans applauded the delivery of these sentiments. The future, which the old doctor had descried in vision, must not be suffered to witness its realization. Already the brethren returned each day with less abundant searchings. The Franciscans in dread visited among the families. "These new doctors are heretics," said they; "the most holy practices they attack, the most sacred mysteries they deny!" . . . Then, increasing in boldness, the most highly irritated left their convent, proceeded to the episcopal palace, and having obtained an audience of the prelate, "Crush this heresy," said they, "or the pest which now infests this city of Meaux shall very soon be spread over the kingdom."

Brigonnnet was moved, and for a moment stunned by this attack; but he did not yield; he despised too intrinsically these rude-living monks and their interested clamours. He ascended the pulpit, justified the opinions of Lefevre, and denominated the monks so many hypocrites and Pharisees. Nevertheless, even now, the opposition referred to excited in the bishop's soul a host of troubles and inward conflicts. He strove to reassume his confidence by the persuasion that these spiritual combats were necessary. "By means of this conflict," said he, in his somewhat mystical phraseology, "one attains a living, death, and, while mortifying life, in living one dies, and in dying one lives." The road had been more certain if, hastening towards the Saviour, like the apostles, bandied about by the winds and the waves, he had exclaimed, "Save us, Lord! we perish."

The monks of Meaux, enraged at finding themselves repulsed by the bishop, resolved to prefer their claims before a higher court.

They had it in their power to appeal. If the bishop does not choose to yield, he may be constrained to do so. Their leader departed for Paris, and entered into communication with Beda and ~~Duchene~~ ^{Duchene}. They appeared before parliament, and there laid a complaint against the bishop and his heretical doctors. "The city," said they, "and all the districts round about, are infected with heresy, and it is even out of the episcopal palace itself the poisoning vapour has escaped."

Thus commenced in France a public cry of persecution against the cause of the gospel. The priestly power and civil authority, Sorbonne and the parliament, ran to arms, and these arms were destined to be stained with blood. Christianity had taught men that it has many duties and many rights of prior consideration to all civil associations; it had emancipated religious opinion, established the liberty of conscience, and effected a great revolution in the being of society; for antiquity, which in every quarter nowhere recognised man or the citizen, had converted religion into nothing more than a simple affair of state. But scarcely had these ideas of liberty been conferred upon the world, before Popery had succeeded in corrupting their meaning. For the despotism of the prince it had substituted the despotism of the priest; often even it had instigated the prince and priest against the Christian people. A new emancipation was found necessary; and it was accomplished in the course of the sixteenth century. In all the districts wherein the Reformation was established it broke the yoke of Rome, and religious opinion was again released from thralldom. But so prone is the nature of man to desire dominion over the truth, that, among many Protestant nations, the church, disengaged from the arbitrary power of the priest, is in our day ready to fall under subjection to the civil authority, destined, like its Head, to vacillate continually between these two despotisms, and to go for ever from Caiaphas to Pilate, and from Pilate to Caiaphas.

Briconnet, who was regarded in Paris with feelings of high consideration, easily secured his own justification. But he strove in vain to defend his friends; for the monks were not willing to return to Meaux empty-handed. If the bishop contrived to elude their grasp, there was the more reason to sacrifice his associates. Of a timid character, and little disposed to abandon for the sake of Jesus Christ his high rank and great riches, already in a strange dilemma, hesitating and sorrowful, false counsellors arrived to render still more wavering the mind of Briconnet. "If the evangelical doctors quit Meaux," it was said, "they shall carry elsewhere the operations of reform." A struggle full of agony was commenced in the heart of the bishop. At last the prudent motives of the world gained the ascendancy; he yielded the contest, and issued, on the 12th of April, an ordinance by which he withdrew from these pious doctors their license to preach. This was the first fall experienced by Briconnet.

It was particularly against Lefevre hostilities were directed. His "Commentary upon the Four Gospels," and especially the epistle "To Christian Readers," with which he had prefaced that work, had augmented the rage of Beda and his compeers. They denounced the volume before a meeting of the faculty. "Does he not presume," said the fierce accuser, "to recommend the perusal of the Holy Scriptures to all the faithful? Do we not read in his book that whoever

does not love the word of Christ is not a Christian, and that the word of God suffices to secure eternal life?"

But Francis I. recognised in such accusations nothing more than the bickerings of theologians. He appointed a commission; and Lefevre having justified himself in its presence, retired from this attack with all the honours of war.

Farel, who had fewer friends at court, was obliged to leave Meaux. It appears that he in the first instance retreated to Paris; and that, having there attacked without measure the errors of Rome, he could no longer continue his abode in the capital, and was driven to retire into Dauphiny, to which province he longed to communicate the glad tidings of the gospel.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lefevre and Farel Pursued—Difference between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches—Leclerc Posts up his Bills—Leclerc Marked—Zeal of Berquin—Berquin before the Parliament—Francis I. Releases him—Apostasy of Mazurier—Fall and Sorrow of Pavanne—Metz—Chatelain—Peter Toussaint becomes Attentive—Leclerc Breaks in Pieces the Images—Condemnation and Torture of Leclerc—Martyrdom of Chatelain—Flight.

Lefevre intimidated, Briçonnet effecting a step towards the rear, and Farel forced to fly, constituted the symptoms of a first victory. Even now, in Sorbonne, the adherents of Rome believed themselves masters of the movement; these doctors and monks congratulated each other upon their prospects of victory. The triumph, however, was not yet complete; blood had not been shed. The work was, therefore, commenced in earnest, and with blood, since it was destined to flow, the fanaticism of Rome was soon destined to be satisfied.

The evangelical Christians of Meaux, seeing their leaders dispersed, endeavoured to uphold one another in their extremity. The woolcarder, John Leclerc, whom the teaching of the doctors, the perusal of the Bible, and that of many tracts, had instructed in the Christian doctrine, signalized himself by his zeal and his facility of expounding the Scriptures. He was one of those men whom the Spirit of God fills with courage, and quickly elevates to the head of a religious movement. The church of Meaux soon looked up to him as its minister.

The idea of a universal priesthood, so prevalent in the minds of the first Christians, had been re-established in the sixteenth century by Luther. But that idea appeared to rest then in a theoretical state within the Lutheran church, and did not actually pass into existence, saving in the establishments of reformed Christians. The Lutheran churches (and in this they are agreed with the church of England) held, perhaps, a certain medium between the Roman and the reformed churches. In the notion of the Lutherans, everything proceeded from the pastor or priest, and there was no benefit in the church but what originally flowed from these heads. But the reformed churches, while maintaining the divine institution of the ministry, which some sects disallow, approached still nearer to the primitive state of the apostolic communities. They acknowledged and proclaimed, since the times of which we speak, that Christian flocks must not simply receive whatever the priest affirms; that the members of the church,

equally as well as its conductors, possess the key of the treasure whence the priests themselves draw their instructions, seeing that the Bible is in the hand of every one; that the graces of God, the spirit of faith, wisdom, consolation, and light, are not alone bestowed upon the minds of pastors; that each individual is called upon to make use of the gifts he has received for the common good; that often even a particular gift, necessary for the edification of the church, may be refused to the minister and granted to a member of the flock. Thus the passive position of the churches was then changed into a state of general activity; and it was more particularly in France that this revolution was accomplished. In most of the other countries the reformers were almost exclusively pastors and doctors; but in France, with the men of science or learning were also associated the men of the people. God there selected for his first workmen a doctor from Sorbonne and a carder of wool.

This carder, John Leclerc, then set himself to make visits from house to house, encouraging the disciples. But not contented with these ordinary cares, he was anxious to see the edifice of Popery levelled with the ground, and France from the rubbish of its ruins, directing its looks, with a joyful cry, towards the standard of the gospel. His over fervent zeal called to remembrance the excesses of Hottinger at Zurich and Carlstadt in Wittemberg. He at this time composed a proclamation against the Antichrist of Rome, declaring therein that the Lord was about to destroy its power with the breath of his mouth. Then he boldly posted up his "bills," even at the very door of the cathedral. Very soon a mighty tumult was raised in the neighbourhood of the ancient building. The faithful were struck with astonishment, and the priests with rage. How now, a man whose business was to tease out wool daring to engage with the Pope! The Franciscans were exasperated beyond measure. They request that on this occasion at least a terrible example should be made. Leclerc was consequently cast into prison.

His trial was in a few days terminated, in the very presence of Briconnet, who was decreed to behold and tolerate everything that passed. The carder of wool was condemned to be flogged with rods, for three successive days, through all the streets of the city, and then branded on the brow the third day. This mournful spectacle was very soon begun. Leclerc, with his hands tied and his back naked, was led through the streets, receiving from the hangman's hand the stripes he had drawn down upon his body in consequence of his rebellion against the bishop of Rome. An immense crowd followed the cruel procession, whose track was marked with drops of blood drawn from the hapless martyr's body. Some rent the air with shouts of anger against the heretic; others by their very silence imparted to him many unequivocal marks of their tender compassion; one woman especially was seen to encourage the sufferer by her language: it was the mother of Leclerc.

At last, on the third day, after the bloody procession had completed its round, Leclerc was made to stop at the usual place of execution. The executioner prepared the fire and heated the iron with which the evangelist was to be branded, and, coming close to his person, he stamped him on the brow as a heretic. A scream of horror was at this moment heard in the crowd, but it did not proceed from the

martyr. His mother, present at the ghastly sight, overwhelmed with sorrow, experienced inwardly a violent struggle; it was the enthusiasm of faith combating in her heart against the feelings of maternal affection; but at last faith gained the ascendancy; and she was relieved by the utterance of a shriek which caused all her adversaries to tremble with alarm. "Long live Jesus Christ and his ensigns." Thus, this French woman of the sixteenth century fulfilled the commandment of the Son of God. "They who love their son more than me is not worthy of me." So much audacity at such a moment deserved a significant reproof; but this Christian mother had frozen with terror the hearts alike of priests and soldiers. All their fury was gagged by an arm more powerful than their own. The dense crowd, parting asunder with respect, permitted the mother of the martyr to regain at a slow step her humble dwelling. The monks, and even the guardsmen of the city, looked upon her without offering to move. "Not one of her enemies dared to lay hand upon her," says Theodore de Beza. After this execution, Leclerc, having been released, retired to Rosay in Brie, a borough six leagues distant from Meaux, and afterwards retreated to Metz, where we shall again have occasion to observe his procedure.

The adversaries had triumphed. "The Franciscans, having regained possession of the pulpit, promulgated their falsehoods and idle stories after their usual fashion." But the poor working people of Meaux, deprived of the privilege of listening to the word in regular assemblies, "began to meet together in secret," says our authority, in imitation of the sons of the prophets in the times of Ahab and of the Christians of the primitive church, and, according to the opportunity afforded them, they at one time collected their numbers in a house, at another in some cavern, and frequently also within the enclosures of a vineyard or forest. In these retired places, the individual in the assembly the best acquainted with the Holy Scriptures exhorted the brethren. At the ending of the discourse, the company prayed together with much courage, upholding themselves in the hope that the gospel would yet be received in France, and that the tyranny of Antichrist would come to an end." No power on earth is able to arrest the progress of the truth.

Still one victim was not sufficient; and, if the first person upon whom persecution fixed its fangs was a worker in wool, the second was a gentleman of the court. It was necessary to terrify the nobles as well as the people. The *grande*s of Sorbonne, at Paris, did not mean, moreover, to allow themselves to be outstripped by the Franciscans of Meaux. "The most learned noble of the court," Berquin, had imbibed from the Scriptures increasing courage, and after having attacked, in the form of epigrams, "the hornets of Sorbonne," he had openly accused them of impiety.

Beda and Duchesne, who had not dared to reply in unison with their character to the spiritual sallies of a gentleman attached to the king's household, changed their minds from the moment they discovered behind these attacks serious convictions. Berquin had become a Christian, and his destruction was, therefore, certain.

Beda and Duchesne having seized some of his translations, found therein sufficient proof to ensure the burning of a heretic. "He asserts," said they, "that it is not proper to invoke the Virgin Mary

in the place of the Holy Spirit, or to denominate her the source of all grace. He condemns the custom of calling her our hope, our life, and holds that these titles belong to the Son of God alone." But besides all this, the parlour of Berquin was like a library, from which was distributed over the whole kingdom a quantity of corrupt publications. The "Common Places" of Melancthon, more particularly, as written with so much elegance, staggered the minds of learned men in France. The pious gentleman, living only in the midst of a heap of folio books and tracts, had converted himself into a translator, printer, and librarian. . . . There was need to stop such a formidable torrent at its very source.

One day, therefore, when Berquin was tranquilly seated in his study, among his cherished volumes, his dwelling was suddenly surrounded by armed bailiffs, and a loud knocking was made at his door. It was Sorbonne and its agents, who, furnished with an order from parliament, came to make a forcible entrance into his house. Beda, the bold informer, was at the head of the party, and never did an inquisitor more scrupulously perform his duty; he penetrated, with his satellites into the privacy of Berquin's library, informed him of the mission with which he declared himself charged, commanded a watch to be put upon the person of Berquin, and began his search. Not one volume escaped his eager scrutiny, and there was made out of all, by his orders, an exact inventory. Here he found a treatise by Melancthon, there a work by Carlstadt, and further on, some writings by Luther. In other quarters were discovered heretical books translated from the Latin into French by Berquin, as well as other productions of his own composition. All the works which Beda seized, with the exception of two, were filled with errors of the Lutheran school. He left the house loaded with booty, and in more glorious mood than ever was experienced by a general at the head of an army commissioned to pillage the property of conquered nations.

Berquin perceived that a mighty tempest was about to burst over his head, but his courage was unshaken; he despised his adversaries too much to be in fear of them. Still Beda did not trifle away his time. On the 13th May 1523, parliament issued an order providing that all the books seized in the house of Berquin should be referred to the faculty of theology. The opinion of this association was not long delayed; for on the 25th of June it condemned to the flames as heretical all these works, with the exception of the two we have already mentioned, and commanded Berquin to abjure the errors he had adopted. The parliament cordially approved of the conclusions adjudged.

The noble lord appeared in the presence of this formidable body. He knew that at the back of said assembly there was, in all likelihood, a scaffold; but, like Luther at Worms, he continued constant. The parliament in vain commanded him to retract; Berquin was not one of those who fall back after having participated of the Holy Spirit. He that is born of God preserveth himself, and the evil spirit cannot touch him."—(Heb. vi. 4. 1st John, v. 18.)

Every fall demonstrates that the conversion was only apparent or partial; now the conversion of Berquin was real. He replied with decision to the court before whom he appeared. The parliament, more rigorous than the diet of Worms had been, gave orders to their

agents to apprehend, accuse, and commit Berquin to the prison of Conciergerie. It was on the 1st of August 1523 he was made captive, and on the fifth of the same month the parliament remitted the heretic into the hands of the bishop of Paris, in order that that prelate might take cognisance of the affair, and who, assisted by doctors and councillors, pronounced the punishment due to the criminal. He was then transferred to the prisons of the officiality.

In this manner Berquin passed from tribunal to tribunal, and from prison to prison. Beda, Duchesne, and their companions, kept hold of their victim; but the court required him to be released from Sorbonne, and Francis proved more powerful than Beda. There was at this time an angry feeling aroused in the breasts of the nobles. These monks and priests, did they then forget the worth of a gentleman's sword? "Of what do they accuse him," it was said to Francis I., "of condemning the practice of invoking the Virgin in place of the Holy Spirit? But Erasmus and many others find equal fault with such a practice. Is it upon such pretensions as these an officer of the king is cast into prison? It is in the name of learning, true religion, the nobles, knighthood, and even that of the crown, the freedom of the prisoner is demanded." The king was willing on this occasion also to make himself heard by the whole body of Romanists. He gave letters of liberation to the council, and on the 8th of August an usher presented himself at the door of the prison of officiality, and exhibited an order from the king to discharge Berquin.

The object was to ascertain whether or not the monks would yield. Francis I., who had apprehended some difficulties, had said to the official intrusted with his commands, "If you meet with any resistance, I authorize you to force open the gates." These words were very distinct. The monks at Sorbonne gave way, pocketing the affront; and Berquin, set at liberty, appeared before the council of the king, who fully acquitted him.

Thus Francis I. had humbled the pride of the church. Berquin had imagined that France, under his reign, would be able to emancipate itself from the thralldom of Popery, and determined to begin the war. He entered with this intention into communication with Erasmus, who immediately recognised in his correspondent a man of worth. But, always timid and temporizing, "Remember," said the philosopher, "that we must not vex the hornets, and enjoy in peace the pleasure of your studies. Above all, do not entangle me in your affairs; such a procedure would not be useful either to me or you."

These refusals, however, did not discourage the heart of Berquin; if the most powerful genius of the age was willing to shrink back, he could place all his confidence in God, who never withdraws his support. The work of God can be accomplished either with or without the agency of men. "Berquin," said Erasmus himself, "bore some resemblance to the palm tree—he grew up and became superb and proud, against whoever endeavoured to cause him alarm."

Such was not the character of all those who had received the evangelical doctrine. Martial Mazurier had been one of its most zealous preachers. He was accused of having preached some doctrines extremely erroneous, and even of having committed, during his stay in Meaux, certain acts of violence. "This Martial Mazurier being at Meaux," says a manuscript in that city, which we have before quoted,

“going to the church of the reverend Franciscan fathers, and seeing the figure of St Francis stigmatized on the outside of the door of the convent, where there is at present placed a St Roche, he overthrew the figure and broke it to pieces.” Mazurier was seized, and confined in prison, where he fell suddenly into deep meditation and severe agony. It was the moral rather than the evangelical doctrine which had attracted him to join the ranks of the reformers; and morality left him without strength. Alarmed at the thought of the funeral pile which awaited him, and believing decidedly that the victory would remain in France on the side of Rome, he easily persuaded himself that he would procure more influence and honour by returning to the service of Popery. He, therefore, retracted the maxims he had taught, and caused to be preached in his parish doctrines opposed to those he was accused of having promulgated; and connecting himself at an after period with the most fanatical doctors, and in particular with the celebrated Ignatius of Loyola, he became henceforth the most ardent supporter of Popery. Since the days of the emperor Julian, apostates have always become, after their infidelity, the most unmerciful adversaries of the doctrines which they had for some time professed.

Mazurier very soon found an opportunity of displaying his zeal. The young James Pavanne had also been thrown into jail. Martial hoped, by making him yield in the manner he had done himself, to cover the shame of his own fall. The youth, amiability, learning, and integrity of Pavanne, produced a lively interest in his favour, and Mazurier imagined that he would become less guilty himself if he could persuade Master James to adopt views similar to his own. He proceeded, therefore, to the dungeon of the prisoner, and began his artifices. He affected to have been farther advanced in a knowledge of the truth than his auditor. “You are in error, James,” he repeatedly said; “you have not seen to the bottom of the sea, you only perceive the surface of the waves and ocean.” Sophism, promises, and threats, were in no measure spared; and the wretched young man, seduced, agitated, and shaken, at last sunk under the force of such perfidious attacks, and publicly retracted his pretended errors the next day, namely, on Christmas 1524. But ever afterwards a spirit of sorrow and dejection, sent by the Eternal, haunted the mind of Pavanne. A profound grief consumed his bones, and he never ceased from making terrified ejaculations. “Ah!” he exclaimed, “there is no longer left for me anything but the bitter dregs of life.” Sad recompense of infidelity.

Nevertheless, among the individuals who had received the word of God in France, some men were found of more intrepid spirits than either Pavanne or Mazurier. Leclerc had retired, about the end of the year 1523, to Metz in Lorraine, and there, said Theodore de Beza, he had followed the example of St Paul at Corinth, who, while making tents, persuaded the Jews and the Greeks to believe in the gospel. Leclerc also exercised his trade as a wool-carder, and enlightened the minds of the people of his own condition; in so much that many of their number were converted to the truth. In this manner the humble artisan laid the foundation of a church which afterwards became celebrated.

Leclerc was not alone in Metz. There was among the ecclesiastics

of the city an Augustine monk from Tournay, a teacher of theology, named John Chatelain, who had been brought to a knowledge of God in his communications with the Augustines of Antwerp. Chatelain had attracted the respect of the people on account of the austerity of his manners and the doctrine of Christ preached by him in his Romish costume had appeared less extraordinary to the inhabitants of Metz than when addressed to them by a poor artisan, who laid aside the comb with which he carded the wool, in order to explain the contents of one of the gospels printed in French.

The gospel light, thanks to the zeal of those two men, began to shine forth in every quarter of the city. A very devout woman, named Toussaint, (All-saints,) belonging to the family of a burgess, had a son called Peter, to whom, in the middle of his sports, she often addressed words of serious import. In every direction, and even in the houses of the burgesses, there were then heard many extraordinary things. One day the child we speak of, engaged in the amusements of his age, imitated the exercise of riding by substituting a long stick in the place of a horse, and thus ran round the chamber of his mother, when she, conversing at the moment with some friends on the things of God, said to them in tremulous accents, "The Antichrist shall very soon appear with great power, and he will destroy those who shall be converted to the preaching of Elias." These words, more than once repeated, attracted the attention of the boy, who remembered their delivery at an after period of his life. Peter Toussaint had grown to full stature at the time when the doctor of theology and the carder of wool preached energetically the gospel at Metz. His parents and friends, charmed with the evidences of his youthful genius, hoped to see him some day occupying a distinguished rank in the church. One of his uncles, the brother of his father, was primicier at Metz—a situation of primary dignity in the chapter. The cardinal, John of Lorraine, son of the Duke René, who lived in much style, evinced a strong attachment to the primicier and his nephew; and the latter individual, notwithstanding his youth, had just obtained a stall in the cathedral, when he became attentive to the doctrine of the gospel. The preaching of Chatelain and Leclerc, shall it not perhaps be like the preaching of Elias? Even now, it was true, Antichrist was everywhere arming itself against this style of preaching. But what did this signify? "Let us lift up," said he, "our heads towards the Lord, who shall come and shall not tarry."

The evangelical doctrine found access within the dwellings of some of the first families in Metz. A man of high consideration, the knight of Esch, the intimate companion of the primicier, was in reality converted. The friends of the gospel were overjoyed at the prospect before them. "The knight, our good master," . . . repeated Peter, "if indeed," added he, with nobleness and candour, "it is permitted us to have a master upon earth."

Thus Metz was preparing to become a home of gospel light, when the imprudent zeal of Leclerc rudely interrupted this progressive but sure advance, and raised a storm which threatened to destroy entirely the new-born church. The multitude of the common people continued to follow the practices of their ancient superstitions, and Leclerc's heart was broken to behold "the city wholly given up to idolatry." The day of some great festival approached. In a neigh-

bouring part of the city there stood a chapel which enclosed many images of the Virgin and of the most celebrated saints of the country, and to which all the inhabitants of Metz were accustomed to resort in pilgrimage, on a certain day of the year, for the purpose of worshipping these images and of obtaining the pardon of their sins.

The evening before the feast having arrived, the pious and courageous soul of Leclerc was violently agitated. Has not God declared, "Thou shalt not bow down before their gods, but thou shalt destroy them, and thou shalt entirely destroy their images?"—(Exod. xx. 4, xxiii. 24.) Leclerc imagined that this commandment was addressed to him, and, without consulting either Chatelain, or Esch, or any of his friends, from whom he feared to receive an advice opposed to the completion of his project, in the evening, at the moment when night begins, he went out of the city and directed his steps towards the chapel. There he continued to meditate for some time in perfect silence in the presence of the various statues. He might still have escaped, but . . . to-morrow, in a few hours, the whole inhabitants of a city, who ought to worship God and him only, were about to prostrate themselves in adoration before these pieces of wood and stone. A combat, similar to that which we have recognised in so many Christians during the early ages of the church, commenced in the soul of the wool-carder. Of what importance was it to him to reflect that the images which he found there were the images of saints, and even of saints who had lived in these districts, and not those of the gods and goddesses of Paganism? Did not the worship which the people rendered to these images appertain to God alone? Like Polyuctes, close by the idols of the temple, his heart shuddered, and his courage urged him forward.

"Let us no longer waste our time, the sacrifice is near;
 Let us maintain of the true God a salutary fear,
 Let us crush under every foot such desperate avengers,
 Whose arms of rotten wood to faith make people utter strangers.
 Let us enlighten quick a thought so monstrously fatal;
 Let us break down, in many pieces, gods of stone and metal.
 Let us encourage all our days such ardour in our breast;
 Secure the triumph of our God; . . . Let him dispose the rest."

In reality, Leclerc arose, went up to the various images, and, taking them down, broke them to pieces, and at the same time scattered their fragments on the floor before the altar. He entertained no doubt of its being the Spirit itself which inspired him with the purpose of accomplishing such a deed, and Theodore de Beza has expressed a similar opinion. After the work of destruction was finished, Leclerc returned to Metz, into which he entered at the break of day, and was observed by some of the inhabitants at the moment he passed within the gates of the city.

In ignorance of what had happened, all was bustle in the heart of the ancient town; the church bells were made to ring, the different associations assembled together, and the whole body of the citizens of Metz, conducted by the canons, priests, and monks, went forth beyond the walls in pompous procession; prayers were recited, and hymns were sung in addresses to the saints to whom they were about to offer sacred homage; crosses and banners were displayed to view, and instruments of music, or the drum, took part with the chanting of the faithful. At last, after more than an hour's march,

the procession reached the place of pilgrimage. But how great was the astonishment of the priests, when entering the holy temple, with the censor in their hand, they beheld the images which they came to worship mutilated and scattered like rubbish upon the floor. They shrunk back with awful terror, and, in perturbation, announced to the crowd the sacrilegious deed. Immediately the voice of song was hushed, the instruments ceased their sound, and the banners were lowered, while the whole multitude was thrown into a state of indescribable confusion. The canons, curates, and monks, exerted all their powers to inflame the angry spirits of the people, they charged them to seek out the culprit and to demand his death. One unanimous cry resounded through this numerous concourse of Catholics. "Death, death to the sacrilegious traitor!" A precipitate and disorderly return to Metz was then commenced.

Leclerc was known to every person, for he had often designated images under the appellation of idols. Besides, had he not been seen at the break of day returning from the chapel? He was, therefore, speedily apprehended, and immediately confessed his crime, conjuring the people to offer worship to God alone. But this appeal excited to a higher pitch the fury of the multitude, who were now disposed to drag him on the instant to the place of execution. Conducted, however, before the judges, he declared courageously that Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, must alone be worshipped, and was consequently condemned to be burned alive. He was then led away to the funeral pile.

At this fatal spot a fearful scene was exhibited. The cruelty of his persecutors eagerly suggested every torment that could render his sufferings more horrible. Close to the scaffold, the pincers were heated with which their rage was to be described. Leclerc, firm and calm in his deportment, heard undisturbed the savage shouts of the monks and people. The torture was commenced by cutting off the prisoner's right hand, then, laying hold of the pincers, his tormentors pulled him by the nose; afterwards, also with the same instruments, they began to tear off the flesh from both his arms, and these limbs were broken in several places, while such punishments were concluded by burning the breast of the victim. During the time that the cruelties of his enemies were thus furiously inflicted upon his body, the mind of Leclerc remained at peace. He solemnly repeated, and with a distinct voice, these words of David: "Their false gods are made of gold and silver, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but speak not; they have eyes, but see not; they have ears, but hear not; they have a nose, but cannot smell; hands, but touch not; feet, but walk not; they utter no sound from their throat. Those who made them, and all those who trust in them, shall become like unto them. Israel, rest thou upon the Eternal, for he is the help and shield of those who call upon his name." The adversaries, on witnessing a courage so extraordinary, were terrified; the faithful felt a glow of satisfaction; while the people, who had beforehand evinced so much anger, were astonished and agitated. After the termination of the tortures we have described, Leclerc was burned upon a slow fire in compliance with the terms of his sentence. Such was the death of the first martyr for the cause of the gospel in France.

But the priests of Metz were not satisfied. They had in vain

endeavoured to shake the faith of Chatelain. "Like a certain serpent," said they, "he pretends to be deaf, and refuses to hear the truth." He was seized by the servants of the cardinal of Lorraine, and carried off to the castle of Nommeny.

He was afterwards degraded by the officers of the bishop, who robbed him of his proper clothing, and severely scratched his hands with a piece of broken glass, saying, "By this scraping we take away from you the power of sacrificing, consecrating, and blessing, which you received by the anointing of hands." In the sequel, having dressed him in the habit of a layman, they transferred him over to the secular power, who condemned him to be burned alive. The funeral pile was soon prepared, and the minister of Christ was consumed by its flames. "Lutheranism did not spread the less in all the Messin countries," say the historians of the Gallican Church, who in other respects highly approved of these rigorous measures.

As soon as this storm was seen to burst upon the church of Metz desolation visited the house of Toussaint. His uncle, the primicier, without taking an active part in the persecutions directed against Leclerc and Chatelain, shuddered at the thought of his nephew being connected with the actions of these men. The alarm of Toussaint's mother was still greater. There was not, indeed, a moment to lose; every one who had lent an ear to the doctrine of the gospel was threatened both with respect to life and liberty. The blood shed by the inquisitors had only served to increase their thirst for more; new scaffolds were about to be raised, and Peter Toussaint, the knight of Esch, and many others, left Metz in great haste, and sought refuge in Basil.

CHAPTER IX.

Farel and his Brethren—Procedure at Gap—He Preaches in the Districts—The Knight Anemond of Coet—The Minority—Anemond quits France—Luther to the Duke of Savoy—Farel leaves France.

The storm of persecution thus raged both at Meaux and Metz. The north of France repelled the gospel; and the gospel for some time gave way. But the reform had only changed its place of operations, for the provinces in the south-east soon became the scene of its advance.

Farel, a refugee at the foot of the Alps, there displayed laudable activity. He aimed at higher objects than merely to taste domestic joys in the bosom of his family. The report of those events which had occurred at Meaux and Paris, had imparted a certain terror to the minds of his brethren; but an unknown power attracted their hearts towards the new and marvellous maxims recorded in their hearing by their brother William. And he (William) urged them, with all the impetuosity of his zeal, to become converts to the gospel truth; in so much that David, Walter, and Claude, were at last persuaded to acknowledge the God of whom their brother spoke. They did not, in the first instance, abandon the worship of their ancestors; but when persecution arose, they courageously sacrificed their friends, their property, and their party, in order to offer unfettered adoration to Jesus Christ. The brethren of Luther and Zwingle do not appear to have been equally frankly converted to a

belief of the gospel; the French reform, in fact, exhibited from the commencement a character peculiarly domestic and intimate.

Farel did not, however, confine his attentions to his brethren; he proclaimed the truth also to his parents and friends, both at Gap and in the neighbourhood. It would even seem, if we are to credit a manuscript, that, profitting by the friendly feelings of some ecclesiastics, he began to preach the gospel within the walls of certain churches; at the same time it is asserted by other authorities that he did not, at the time we speak of, deliver discourses from the pulpit. Be this as it may, the doctrine which he professed produced anxious speculation. The multitude and the clergy felt desirous of obtaining silence. "A new and strange heresy!" it was said. "Must all pious practices then be performed in vain? There is neither monk nor priest, nor does it belong to such to discharge the office of preaching."

Very soon all the authorities in Gap, both civil and ecclesiastical, united their force to oppose Farel. He was evidently an agent of that sect which in every quarter had met with resistance. "Let us drive back to a distance," it was said, "this brand of discord." Farel was summoned to appear before the authorities, was rudely treated, and chased in a violent manner from the town.

He did not, however, abandon his native country. Did not the districts and the villages on the banks of the Durance, the Guisanne, and the Isere, contain a number of souls who were in want of the gospel? and if he were still exposed to danger within their limits, would not the forests, caves, and steep rocks, which he had so often visited in his youth, offer him a place of safe retreat? He set himself, therefore, to range over the country, preaching in houses, and in the middle of lonely pasture grounds, and seeking shelter in the thicket of a wood, or upon the verge of a torrent. This was a school in which God trained his servant for work of greater enterprise. "The crosses, persecutions, and machinations of Satan, of which I was warned, have not passed by me," said he, "they are even much stronger than I could myself be able to bear; but God is my father; he provides, and shall provide me always with the strength of which I stand in need." A great number of the inhabitants of these districts receive from his mouth the words of truth; and thus the persecution which had driven Farel from Paris and Meaux, served to spread the Reformation in the provinces of the Saône, the Rhone, and the Alps. In every age the words of the Scriptures have been fulfilled. "Those, therefore, who were dispersed, went about here and there proclaiming the word of God."—(Acts, viii. 4.)

Among the inhabitants of France who were at this period persuaded to receive the gospel, was included a gentleman of consideration from Dauphiny, namely, the knight Anemond of Coct, the younger son of the auditor Coct, the lord of Chatelard. Lively, ardent, unsettled, with a heart inclined towards piety, and an enemy to relics, processions, and the clergy, Anemond received with great promptitude the evangelical doctrine, and became very soon a most devoted follower thereof. He could not endure forms in religion, and desired to abolish all kinds of ceremonies in the church. The religion of the heart, inward adoration, formed in his view the only true worship. "Never," said he, "has my spirit found any repose in the observ-

ance of outward rites. The summary of Christianity is contained in these words :—"John baptized with water, but you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit: it is necessary to become a new creature."

Coct, endowed with a vivacity altogether French, spoke and wrote at one time in Latin and at another time in French. He read and quoted the Donat, Thomas D'Aquin, Juvenal, and the Bible. His style was abrupt, and he quickly passed from one idea to another. Always in a state of agitation, he directed his steps in every direction, to whatever place a door seemed open to receive the gospel, or wherever a celebrated doctor was found to declare its truths. He won, by the cordiality of his manners, the hearts of all with whom he became in any way connected. "He is a man distinguished by his birth and his knowledge," said Zwingle at a later period, "but even much more distinguished by his piety and affability." Anemond exhibits a type of many of the French who espoused the cause of the Reformation. Vivacity, simplicity, and a zeal which exceeded the bounds of prudence, were distinctions often discovered in the characters of this nobleman's countrymen, who embraced the cause of the gospel. But at the other extremity of the French nature we behold the grave countenance of Calvin, who formed a powerful counterpoise to the light-hearted disposition of Coct. Calvin and Anemond exhibit the two opposite poles between which circulated the religious world in France.

Scarcely had Anemond received from Farel a knowledge of Jesus Christ before he himself began his endeavours to gain souls to the belief of that doctrine of spirit and life. His father was dead, and his elder brother, of a proud and haughty temper, repelled his advances with disdain. The youngest of the family, Laurence, full of affection for his spiritual adviser, appeared to comprehend but imperfectly the propositions addressed to him. Anemond, seeing himself thus frustrated in his attempts with his own relations, turned his active exertions into another channel.

Up to this period it was only among laymen the revival had been constituted in Dauphiny. Farel, Anemond, and their friends were, therefore, anxious to see a priest at the head of this movement, which seemed destined to create a lively commotion within the provinces of the Alps. There was at Grenoble a curate, a minor, called Peter de Seville, an eloquent preacher, possessed of an honest and affectionate heart, not receiving council from flesh and blood, but whom God attracted to himself by slow degrees. Seville very soon began to acknowledge that there was no safe teacher but the word of the Lord; and, abandoning the doctrines which rested all their strength upon the testimony of men alone, he resolved in his mind to preach the word "clearly, purely, and boldly." These three words expressed the sum and substance of the reform. Coct and Farel heard with joy this new preacher of grace raising his eloquent voice within the confines of their native province, and they therefore believed their presence therein had now become less necessary.

The more, however, the spirit of revival was extended, the more violent the opposition to its progress became. Anemond, desirous to become acquainted with Luther, Zwingle, and the countries in which the reform had commenced, as well as irritated at beholding the truth rejected by his fellow citizens, resolved to bid adieu to his

country and family. He made his will, disposed of his property, of which his elder brother, the Lord of Chatelard, was at the time in possession, in favour of his brother Laurence, and, having thus settled his affairs, he quitted Dauphiny and France, and, clearing with his impetuosity of the South, many countries which were then of difficult passage, he traversed Switzerland, and, scarcely stopping at Basil, he arrived at Wittemberg, the habitation of Luther. This event happened soon after the second diet of Nuremberg. The French nobleman accosted the Saxon doctor with his usual vivacity; spoke to him with enthusiasm concerning the gospel, and explained to him in earnest language the plans he had formed for the propagation of the truth. The Saxon gravely smiled at the southern imagination of the worthy knight, but Luther, who entertained some prejudices against the French character, was seduced, and disabused of his unfavourable opinions by Anemond. The thought that this gentleman had come, for the sake of the gospel, from France to Wittemberg, sensibly affected the heart of Luther. "Assuredly," said the Reformer to his friends, "this French knight is an excellent man, learned and pious." The young noble produced the same impression upon the minds of Zwingle and Luther.

Anemond, seeing how much Luther and Zwingle had accomplished, believed that if they were only willing to occupy themselves with the affairs of France and Savoy, nothing could resist their attempts; and therefore, not succeeding in his endeavours to persuade them to visit these countries, he beseeched them to give their consent at least to write. He more particularly solicited Luther to address a letter to the Duke Charles of Savoy, brother of Louis and Philibert, and the uncle of Francis I. and Margaret. "This prince," said he to the doctor, "inherits many attractions in favour of piety and true religion, and he delights in speaking of the reform to certain persons at his court. He is well disposed to comprehend your address, for he has chosen as a motto the following words: *Nihil deest timentibus Deum*, (Nothing fails those who fear God,) and this device is your own. Overcome by turns by the empire and by France, humbled, broken-hearted, and always in peril, his soul has need of comfort from God and his grace; there is, indeed, nothing required on his part but some powerful impulse. Gained over to the cause of the gospel, he must have over Switzerland, Savoy, and France, an immense influence. For goodness sake do you write to him."

Luther was altogether a German, and he felt himself completely out of his own sphere beyond the boundaries of Germany. Still animated by a really catholic spirit, he held forth the hand of friendship the moment he discovered the symptoms of a sincere brotherhood, and wherever there was a word wanted, he was willing to extend his voice. He wrote sometimes, on the same day, to the extremities of Europe, to the Netherlands, to Savoy, and to Livonia.

"Certainly," he said, in reply to the request of Anemond, "a love of the gospel in a prince is a rare gift and an inestimable jewel." And he addressed a letter to the duke, which Anemond probably carried with him as far as Switzerland.

"May your highness be pleased to pardon me," wrote Luther, "if I, a miserable and despised man, presume to write to you; or rather, may your highness impute this boldness to the glory of the gospel;

for I cannot behold that most resplendent light to rise and shine in many parts, without experiencing a feeling of triumphant joy. . . . My desire is that our Lord Jesus Christ may gain many souls in consequence of the example of your very serene highness. This is the reason wherefore I wish to explain to you the meaning of our doctrine. . . . We believe that the beginning of salvation, and the sum of Christianity, is faith in Christ, who, by his blood alone, and not by our works, has expiated sin and robbed death of his dominion. We believe that this faith is the gift of God, and that it is created in our hearts by the power of the Holy Spirit, and not procured by our individual labour; for faith is a living principle, which is engendered within man spiritually, and makes of him a new creature."

Luther in the sequel referred to the consequences of faith, and shewed how it cannot be possessed unless the structures of false doctrines and human works, which the church had so laboriously erected, were immediately razed to the ground. "If grace," said he, "is obtained by the blood of Jesus Christ, it is not then by our works." "It is for this reason all the labours of all the cloisters are useless, and those institutions must be abolished as being in contradiction with the blood of Jesus Christ, and inducing men to trust in their own good works. Incorporated into Jesus Christ, there remains no longer anything for us to do but what is good, because having been grafted into the good tree, we must shew proof of this fact by the testimony of good fruit.

"Gracious Prince and Lord," said Luther, in conclusion, "may your highness, who has so well begun the work, contribute to the diffusion of this doctrine; not with the power of the sword, which inflicts an injury upon the cause of the gospel, but by calling into your states many teachers who preach the word of God. It is with the breath of his mouth Jesus shall destroy Antichrist, in order that, as spoken by Daniel, (chap. viii. 25,) 'he may be bruised without hands.' It is for this reason, most serene prince, your highness is seen to rekindle the spark which has begun to burn within your breast, so that there may issue forth a flame from the house of Savoy, as formerly from the house of Joseph; that the whole districts of France may become before this fire like stubble; that it may burn, crackle, and purify in such a manner as that illustrious kingdom may resume in truth the name of *Very Christian Kingdom*, which until this moment has only been applied to the shedding of torrents of blood poured out in the service of Antichrist."

Such were the efforts made by Luther in order to spread abroad a knowledge of the gospel in France. We are left in ignorance of the effect produced by this letter upon the mind of the prince; but we do not discover that he ever displayed any ardent wish to detach himself from the cause of Rome. In 1522 he implored Adrian VI. to become the godfather of his first born, while at an after period the pope promised to bestow on his second child the hat of a cardinal. Anemond, after having used all his exertions to get within the court of the elector of Saxony, and having received for this purpose a letter from Luther, returned towards Basil more determined than ever to expose his life for the sake of the gospel. He was willing, in his excessive ardour, to make an impression upon the whole empire

of France. "All that I am," said he, "all that I shall ever be, as well as all that I have, or ever shall have, I desire to consecrate to the glory of God."

Anemond found in Basil his countryman Farel. The letter of Anemond had excited in the breast of his compatriot a lively desire to see the reformers of Switzerland and Germany. Farel, moreover, was in want of a sphere wherein he might more actively display his energetic strength. He, therefore, quitted the country of France, which even now offered only scaffolds to the view of the faithful preachers of the gospel. Availing himself of circuitous routs, and hiding himself in woods, he escaped, although with difficulty, the pursuit of his enemies. Often he wandered on his road. "God wishes to teach me by means of my own weakness in these trifling matters," said he, "how great my weakness is in things of greater moment." At last he arrived in Switzerland at the beginning of the year 1524. And it was in this region he was destined to spend his life in the service of the gospel. It was at this period, too, France began to send into Helvetia those generous evangelists who were appointed to establish the Reformation in Romish Switzerland, and to impart to it, in the other portions of the confederation and throughout the whole world, a new and powerful impulse.

CHAPTER X.

Catholicity of the Reform—Friendship of Farel and Ecolampade—Farel and Erasmus—Allegation—Farel demands a Dispute—Thesis—The Scriptures and Faith—Dispute.

The Catholicism manifested by the Reformation constitutes one of its most delightful features. The Germans came to Switzerland, the French went to Germany, while at a later period many men from England and Scotland visited the continent, and several doctors from the continent proceeded to take up their abode in Great Britain. The reformations produced in various countries had an origin almost entirely independent of each other, but from the first instant of their revival a disposition of mutual kindness was eagerly evinced. There is only one faith, one Spirit, one Lord. It is an error, in my opinion, to have, up to the present time, composed the history of the Reformation with reference merely to a single country; that work was unique, and Protestant churches form, from their very origin, "one body, well assorted in all its members."—(Ephes. iv., 16.)

A number of refugees from France and Lorraine formed at this time in Basil a French church of members saved from the scaffold; they there spoke of Lefevre, Farel, and of the events which had happened at Meaux; so that when Farel arrived in Switzerland he was already known as one of the most devoted champions of the gospel.

He was immediately introduced into the house of Ecolampade, who had returned to Basil some months before Farel's arrival in that town. It is not often two characters more opposed to each other meet in intimate alliance. Ecolampade delighted by his mildness, Farel attracted by his impetuosity; but, from the first moment of their acquaintance, these two men experienced a mutual conviction of their constant friendship. It was a second example of the union between Luther and Melancthon. Ecolampade received Farel into

his own dwelling, set apart for his use, simply furnished chamber, entertained him at a frugal table, and introduced him to his friends. The knowledge, piety, and courage of the young Frenchman very soon secured for him the affection of his new companions. Pellican, Imeli, Wolfhard, and other ministers belonging to Basil, felt themselves strengthened in the faith by his discourses of significant import. Ecolampade was at the moment we refer to much dejected in his mind. "Alas!" said he to Zwingle, "I speak in vain, and do not perceive the least prospect of good hopes. Perhaps I would meet with more success among the Turks!" . . . "Ah!" added he, with a deep sigh, "I do not attribute the fault of my failure to any one but myself." But the better he became acquainted with Farel, the more he felt his heart revived, and the courage which the Frenchman communicated to his associate composed the basis of an indestructible esteem. "Oh, my dear Farel," said the other, "I hope that the Lord will render our friendship immortal! And if we are unable to remain united here below, our joy shall be the greater when we shall be re-united in the presence of Christ within the heavens." Pious and touching thoughts. . . . The arrival of Farel was evidently on behalf of Switzerland a succour directed from above.

But while the Frenchman in question rejoiced exceedingly in his intercourse with Ecolampade, he recoiled with indifference and noble pride before a man at whose feet all the nations of christendom did homage. The prince of the schools, he from whom each individual strove to catch a word or look of friendly recognition, the master of the age, Erasmus, was neglected by Farel. The young native of Dauphiny refused to accord the reverence supposed due to the old scholar of Rotterdam, despising those men who were never but half supporters of the truth, and who, while fully comprehending the dangers of error, were busy in framing artifices for those who encouraged evil. Thus was exhibited in the character of Farel that decision which has become one of the distinctive marks of the Reformation in France and in French Switzerland, and which certain persons have denominated obstinacy, exclusiveness, intolerance. A discussion had taken place, on the subject of the commentaries composed by the doctor of Etaples, between the two greatest doctors of the day, and there was no feast observed whereat parties were not divided in their adherence to the opinions either of Erasmus or of Farel. Farel had not hesitated to advocate the cause of his Master; and the principal object of his wrath was the cowardice displayed by the philosopher of Rotterdam with regard to evangelical Christians. Erasmus shut his door against such professors; and so Farel did not seek to pass the forbidden threshold. This was but a small sacrifice on his part, convinced that the basis of all true theology, piety of heart, was wanting in the character of Erasmus. "The wife of Frobenius," said he, "has more knowledge of theology than him," and indignant at the conduct of Erasmus in writing to the pope, on the best method "of extinguishing the conflagration of Luther," he loudly affirmed that Erasmus desired to stifle the progress of the gospel.

This independence displayed by the young Farel irritated the temper of the illustrious scholar. Princes, kings, doctors, bishops, popes, reformers, priests, and men of the world, all vied with each other in

offering him the tribute of their admiration. Luther himself had evinced a certain regard for his person ; and yet this unknown youth from Dauphiny, in a state of exile, dared to brave his power. This undisguised contempt caused more chagrin to Erasmus than all the homage he received from the world afforded pleasure, wherefore he omitted no opportunity of venting his spleen against Farel. Moreover, in attacking a heretic so far denounced, Erasmus cleared himself in the eyes of the Roman Catholic party from all suspicions of heresy. "I have never met with a greater liar, or a more violent and seditious subject than this man," said he ; "he has a heart full of vanity and a tongue filled with malice." But the anger of Erasmus did not wholly centre upon Farel, it was pointed at all the French refugees collected in Basil, whose frankness and decision wounded his self-esteem. These strangers paid little attention to any person ; and if the truth were not openly professed, they interested themselves about no man however great his genius might be. They were, perhaps, somewhat deficient in the meek spirit enforced in the writings of the gospel ; but there was in their fidelity something of the strength inherited by the ancient prophets ; and it was gratifying to behold men who did not yield a blind acquiescence to the favourites of the world. Erasmus, amazed at the show of such haughty disdain, made complaints thereof in every direction. "What! shall we reject," he wrote to Melancthon, "the pontiffs and bishops only to receive tyrants more cruel, a set of vile creatures, or madmen! . . . for France has sent us a horde of such wretches." "There are some Frenchmen," he wrote to the secretary of the pope, in presenting him with his book upon free will, "still more furious than the Germans themselves. They have continually the five following words in their mouths:—The gospel, word of God, faith, Christ, and the Holy Spirit ; and, nevertheless, I have little doubt but that it is the spirit of Satan which impels them forward." Instead of Farellus, he often wrote Fallicus, thus designating one of the most honest men of his day under the epithet of a rogue or deceiver.

The malice and anger of Erasmus was raised to the highest pitch when he was told that Farel had denominated him another Balaam. Farel believed that Erasmus, like the prophet alluded to, allowed himself, in his instance perhaps, to be bribed by presents to speak against the people of God. The learned Dutchman could no longer contain his indignation, and resolved to sue the audacious son of Dauphiny. He, therefore, took occasion, at a moment when Farel was carrying on a discussion with several friends, upon the Christian doctrine, in his (Erasmus') presence, to interrupt the Frenchman by saying to him abruptly, "Wherefore do you call me Balaam?" Farel, astonished for an instant by the suddenness of the question, soon resumed his composure, and replied that it was not he who had first applied the offensive title. Urged to name the guilty individual, he mentioned Du Blet of Lyons, who was likewise a refugee in the city of Basil. "It may be possible that person made use of the term," replied Erasmus, "but it was you who taught him so to speak." Then, ashamed of the anger he had betrayed, he quickly directed the conversation to some other subject. "Wherefore," said he to Farel, "do you pretend that it is not necessary to invoke the saints? Is it because the Holy Scriptures do not command the performance of

such invocation?" "Yes," said the Frenchman. "Very well," responded the sage, "I summons you to prove by the Scriptures that it is necessary to invoke the Holy Spirit." Farel added the following simple but true reply:—"If the Holy Spirit be God, he must be invoked." "I leave off the dispute," said Erasmus, "for the night approaches." From that moment, every time the name of Farel came under the pen of Erasmus, it was to depict the former as an odious wretch, who ought to be avoided at all hazards. The letters of the reformer are, on the contrary, full of moderate expressions with regard to Erasmus. The gospel is more mild than philosophy, even in the most impassioned characters.

The evangelical doctrine had even now a number of friends in Basil, both in the council and among the people; but the doctors of the university opposed its spirit with all their force. Ecolampade and Stor, the pastor of Liestal, had maintained several theses in opposition to these teachers. Farel conceived it requisite to profess equally in Switzerland the grand principle of the evangelical school of Paris and Meaux. The word of God sufficeth. He requested permission from the university to maintain some thesis, "rather," added he with modesty, "to determine whether or not I deceive myself, than in order to afford instruction to others," but the university refused his request.

Farel then addressed his petition to the council, and the council issued a proclamation purporting that a Christian man, named William Farel, having arranged by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit certain articles in conformity with the gospel, it granted him permission to maintain these articles in Latin. The university prohibited all priests or students from attending the performance of this dispute; but the council passed a contrary resolution.

The following are some of the thirteen propositions fixed on by Farel:—

"Christ has given us the most perfect rule of life; it does not belong to any person either to add or take away anything therefrom.

"To regulate the conduct after other precepts than those of Christ leads directly to impiety.

"The real ministry of the priests is to attend to the administration of the word, and there is no duty of theirs more elevated than this.

"To take away from the good news of Christ its certainty is to ensure its destruction.

"He who hopes to be justified by his own power or merits, and not by faith, sets himself up in the place of God. Jesus Christ, whom all things obey, is our polar star, and the only star we ought to follow."

Such was the manner in which this "Frenchman" conducted himself in Basil. He was a child of the mountains of Dauphiny, reared in Paris at the feet of Lefevre, who came to proclaim courageously, in this celebrated university of Switzerland, and in the presence of Erasmus, the grand principles of the reform. Two ideas were contained in the theses drawn out by Farel; the one was the return to the Holy Scriptures; the other the return to faith; two notions which Popery has decidedly condemned at the commencement of the eighteenth century, as heretical and impious, in the famous constitu-

tion of Unigenitus, and which, closely united between them, overthrows in fact the system of Popery. If faith in Christ be the beginning and the end of Christianity, it is then to the word of Christ we must adhere, and not to that of the church. And yet, in addition to this, if faith unites souls together, what need is there for any exterior bond? Is it with so many crosses, bulls, or tiaras, that their holy unity is completed? Faith unites with an actual and spiritual unity all those within whose heart it establishes its abode. In this manner a single blow disperses into the air the triple delusion of meritorious works, human traditions, and a false unity. These are the sum and substance of Roman Catholicism.

The dispute commenced in Latin. Farel and Ecolampade explained and proved their articles, summoning by different appeals their adversaries to make a reply; but not one of their number accepted the open challenge. These sophists, such was the appellation bestowed upon them by Ecolampade, affected a rash spirit, but it was hidden now in some obscure corner. Thus the people began to despise the cowardice of their priests, and to abhor their tyranny.

Such was the manner in which Farel assumed a high rank among the defenders of the Reformation. It was delightful to see a Frenchman possessed alike of so much knowledge and such ardent piety. The most distinguished triumphs were already confidently anticipated. "He is strong enough," it was said, "to destroy, by his own exertions, the whole university of Sorbonne." His candour, sincerity, and frank demeanour, captivated the hearts of all his associates. But in the bustle of his activity, he did not forget that it is with our own souls all missionary business must begin. The mild Ecolampade entered into a compact with the ardent Farel, in virtue of which they bound themselves to exercise humility and calmness in the course of their familiar conversations. These courageous men were determined, even on the field of battle, to maintain a mutual peace. But still the impetuosity of a Luther and a Farel were necessary virtues. Some strong effort is required when the world has to be subdued and the church renewed. This truth is too often forgotten in our day, which the mildest men of the times we now refer to openly acknowledged. "Some persons," said Ecolampade to Luther, in introducing Farel to his notice, "would wish to see his zeal against the enemies of the truth assume a more moderate character; but I cannot prevent myself from recognising in this very zeal an admirable virtue, which, if it displays itself at convenient seasons, is not less necessary than mildness." Posterity has confirmed the judgment of Ecolampade.

In the month of May 1524, Farel, with some friends from Lyons, visited Schaffouse, Zurich, and Constance. Zwingle and Myconius received with lively joy the exile from France, and Farel retained a recollection of their kind reception all his after life. But, on their return to Basil, Farel found Erasmus and his other enemies at work, and soon received an order to quit the town. In vain did his friends express their deep displeasure with a stretch of authority so abhorrent to common justice, he must abandon the soil of Switzerland, consecrated from that time to great reverses. "It is thus," said the indignant Ecolampade, "we receive hospitality as the real inhabitants of Sodom."

Farel was intimately acquainted in Basil with the knight D'Esch;

and, this gallant individual wishing to accompany his friend, they departed together, furnished with letters from Ecolampade to Capito and Luther, to whom the doctor of Basil recommended Farel as "that William who had so much laboured in the work of God." Farel formed in Strasburg a close intimacy with Capito, Bucer, and Hedion, but he made no public appearance until he arrived at Wittemberg.

CHAPTER XI.

A new Campaign—Vocation of Farel to the Ministry—A Forerunner—Lyons a Centre of the Gospel—Seville at Grenoble—Conventicles—Preaching at Lyons—Margaret in Prison—Margaret Intimidated.

God most generally withdraws his servants from the scene of action, simply for the purpose of bringing them back to the attack with renewed strength and more fully equipped. Farel and his friends from Meaux, Metz, Lyons, and Dauphiny, driven out of France by threats of persecution, were brought into contact with the most ancient reformers of Switzerland and Germany, and now, like an army at the first onset dispersed by their adversaries, but quickly rallied, they turned to the right-about face and marched forward in the name of the Lord. Besides, it was not only upon the frontiers that the friends of the gospel re-assembled; in France itself they assumed their courage, and made preparations to commence a fresh assault. The trumpets already sounded the reveillé; the soldiers adjusted their arms, and formed into close columns, in order to multiply their blows; the leaders consulted upon the line of march; the watch-word was given—"Jesus, his word and grace"—a more powerful stimulant in the hour of battle than the noise of military instruments, and one which filled each heart with the same enthusiasm. Everything was ready in France for the execution of a second campaign, which must result in the accomplishment of new victories, and in the suffering of repeated and still greater reverses.

Montbeliard at this time required an active agent. The duke Ulric of Wurtemberg, young, violent, and cruel, dispossessed of his states in 1519 by the league of Swabia, had taken refuge in this country, the only one of his possessions which remained at his disposal. He met in Switzerland with the reformers; his misfortunes were sanctified to him, and he tasted the consolations of the gospel. Ecolampade informed Farel that a door was opened in Montbeliard, and the French reformer travelled in secret to Basil.

Farel had not regularly taken orders in the ministry of the word; but we find in him, at this period of his life, everything that is necessary to constitute a minister of the Lord. He did not adopt of himself and thoughtlessly the services of the church. "Regarding my weakness," said he, "I should not have dared to preach, expecting that our Lord would send persons more competent to perform this duty." But God addressed to him a triple vocation. He had no sooner arrived in Basil than Ecolampade, touched with the wants of France, beseeched him to consecrate himself to the work. "See," said the old doctor, "how little Jesus is known to all those who use the French language. Will you not give them some instruction in the vulgar tongue, so that they may the better understand the Holy Scriptures?" At the same time the people of Montbeliard gave Farel

a call, and the prince of the district consented to this proposal. Was not this triple vocation the act of God? "I do not think," said he, "that it was allowed me to resist; agreeably to God, I obey." Hidden within the house of Ecolampade, struggling against the responsibility which was offered to him, and yet obliged to yield to manifestations as distinct of the will of God, Farel accepted the proffered charge, and Ecolampade consecrated him thereto, invoking the name of the Lord, and addressing to his friend a lecture of advice full of wisdom. "The more you are excited to violence," said he, "the more you must practise the temper of meekness, moderate your courage of the lion by the modesty of the dove. The whole soul of Farel acquiesced in the sentiments of this appeal.

In this manner Farel, formerly an ardent follower of the ancient church, was destined to become the servant of God in the new. If Rome requires, in order that a consecration should be valid, the imposition of the hands of those bishops who are descended from the apostles in an uninterrupted succession, such a proposition implies the placing of human traditions above the word of God. In every church wherein the authority of the word is not absolute, there is, no doubt, need to seek after some other authority. And then, what can be more natural than to demand from the most venerable ministers of God that which it is not known how to receive from God himself? If no request be made in the name of Jesus Christ, is it not at least something to urge your demand in the name of St John or St Paul? He who speaks in the name of antiquity is stronger than the Rationalist who only speaks in his own name. But the Christian minister possesses an authority more elevated still: he preaches, not because he is descended from St Chrysostom and St Peter, but because the word which he proclaims descends from God himself. The idea of succession, however respectable it may be made to appear, is nevertheless nothing more than a human system, substituted in place of the system of God. There was not in the ordination of Farel any human succession. Nay it may be farther asserted that there was not in it one thing necessary in the flock of the Lord, wherein it is needful that all things may be done in order, and of which the God may not be a God of confusion.

There was wanting in the instance under review the consecration of the church; but extraordinary times justify extraordinary proceedings. At the memorable period we speak of God himself intervened. He consecrated, by means of marvellous dispensations, those whom he called forth for the renewal of the world; and that consecration was fully equal to the consecration of the church. There were present in the ordination of Farel the infallible word of God, given to a man of God, in order that he might promulgate its truths in the world; the vocation of God and of the people, and the consecration of the heart; and perhaps there never was a minister either of Rome or Geneva who can be considered more legitimately ordained by the holy ministry. Farel departed for Montbeliard, and D'Esch accompanied him on his journey.

Farel found himself thus placed in one of the outposts. Behind him, Basil and Strasburg supported his position by their counsels and their printing presses, while before him lay extended those provinces of Franche, Comte, Burgundy, Lorraine, Lyonnais, and the rest of

France, wherein many men of God began to struggle against error in the midst of profound darkness. He (Farel) set himself immediately to the preaching of Jesus Christ, and to exhort the faithful not to allow themselves to be turned away from the Holy Scriptures by the attempts either of threatening or cunning. Performing, long before Calvin, the work which that reformer was appointed to accomplish on a more extended scale, Farel appeared at Montbeliard, like a general stationed on some conspicuous height, whose piercing glance surveyed the field of battle, excited the ardour of those engaged with the enemy, rallied those who were driven back by the impetuosity of the assault, and inflamed by his courage the minds of those who remained behind. Erasmus also wrote to his Roman Catholic friends that "a Frenchman, escaped out of France, was creating a great disturbance in these regions."

The labours of Farel were not spent for nought. "Everywhere," wrote one of his compatriots, "are seen to multiply men who employ their labour and their whole life in extending as far as possible the reign of Jesus Christ." The friends of the gospel blessed the Lord in that the holy word shone each day throughout all the provinces of Gaul with greater lustre. The adversaries of the truth were thrown into a state of consternation. "The faction," wrote Erasmus to the Bishop of Rochester, "increases in strength every day more and more, and is propagated at once in Savoy, Lorraine, and France." . .

Lyons appeared for some time to be the centre of evangelical influence within the heart of the kingdom, as Basil was beyond its formal limits. Francis I. proceeding towards the south in an expedition against Charles V., arrived at Lyons in company of his mother, his sister, and his court. Margaret brought along with her several individuals devoted to the cause of the gospel. "All other descriptions of people she has cast behind," said a letter written at the period. At the moment when Francis I. passed through Lyons with 14,000 Swiss soldiers, 6,000 Frenchmen, and 1500 lances of the French nobility, with the purpose of repelling the invasion of the imperial troops into Provence. At the moment that this large city rang with the clangour of arms, the treading of horses, or the sound of the trumpet, the friends of the gospel there advanced to conquests more lasting and pacific. They wished to attempt in Lyons that which they had not accomplished in Paris. Perhaps at a distance from Sorbonne and the parliament the word of God shall find freer access. Perhaps the second city of the kingdom might be destined to become the first in the cause of the gospel. Was it not within its walls the excellent Peter Waldo had begun, 400 years before this date, to spread abroad the Divine word? He had then caused a commotion in France. And now that God had prepared everything for the emancipation of his church, must not success much more vast and decisive be reasonably expected? Therefore, the men of Lyons, who were not in general, it is true, of the "poor," as in the twelfth century, began to brandish "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

Among those who surrounded Margaret was her almoner, Michael D'Arande. The duchess caused the gospel to be publicly preached in Lyons; and Master Michael declared boldly and purely the word of God in the hearing of a great concourse of people, attracted partly

by the inclination which the good news exercises wherever it is published, and partly also through the favour shewn to the preaching and the preacher encouraged by the much loved sister of the king.

Anthony Papillion, a man of highly cultivated understanding, an elegant Latin scholar, the friend of Erasmus, and "the first in France who well knew the gospel," likewise accompanied the princess. He had, at the request of Margaret, translated the work of Luther upon monastic vows, "for which he had much to do with these Parisian vermin," said Seville; but Margaret protected her learned friend against the attacks of Sorbonne, and had procured for him the office of first master of requests in Dauphiny, with a seat in the grand council. He did not serve the gospel less by his devoted zeal than by his prudence. A merchant named Vagus, but more especially a gentleman called Anthony Du Blet, the friend of Farel, were at the head of the reform in Lyons. The last named personage, endowed with an active spirit, became the channel of communication between the Christians scattered among these districts and those stationed in Basil, who were thus assimilated in their interests. While the armed host of Francis I. merely passed through Lyons, the spiritual soldiers of Jesus Christ remained in the city with Margaret, and leaving the former army to prosecute the war in Provence and the plains of Italy, they commenced in the heart of Lyons the combat of the gospel.

But they did not wholly confine themselves within the walls of that town. They took a survey of the neighbouring districts; the campaign was, in fact, commenced at several points in the same moment; and the Christians of Lyons encouraged with their words and their works all those who professed the doctrine of Christ in the adjoining provinces. They carried their exertions still farther, and proceeded to proclaim the gospel in places where as yet it was not known. The new doctrine was thus spread along the banks of the Saone, and an evangelist traversed the narrow and little frequented streets of Macon. Michael D'Arande himself, the almoner to the sister of the king, visited this place in 1524, and, backed by the influence of Margaret, he obtained leave to preach in that town, which was destined at an after period to be filled with blood, and whose *jumpings* were doomed to be for ever celebrated.

After having mounted the banks of the Saone, the Christians of Lyons, always attentive to their duty, proceeded to visit the neighbourhood of the Alps. There was in Lyons a Dominican named Maigret, who had found it necessary to quit Dauphiny, where he had preached the new doctrine with energy, and who eagerly requested that missionaries should be sent to his brethren of Grenoble and Gap. Papillion and Du Blet agreed to follow this advice. A violent storm, however, was about to burst over the head of Seville and his preachings. The Dominicans had there moved heaven and earth; enraged at beholding so many evangelists—Farel, Anemond, and Maigret—escaping from their vengeance, they were willing to destroy completely those who were still to be found in their vicinity. They had, therefore, requested that Seville might be apprehended.

The friends of the gospel in Grenoble were put into a state of alarm. Must Seville also be carried away from among them? . .

Margaret advocated his cause in the presence of her brother,

While several personages of the highest distinction in Grenoble, the solicitor to the king among others, either open or concealed friends of the gospel, exerted their influence in favour of the Franciscan evangelist; and, finally, these united efforts saved him from the fury of his enemies.

But if the life of Seville was preserved, his mouth was closed. "Keep silence," it was said to him, "or you shall be yet taken to the scaffold." "On me," he wrote to Anemond de Coet, "on me silence has been imposed, with reference to my preaching the gospel, upon pain of death." These determined threatenings of the adversaries alarmed those even of whom better things were expected. The king's solicitor, and other friends of the gospel, only evinced increasing indifference, and many returned to the common forms of worship, pretending to render adoration to God spiritually in their hearts, and to affix to the exterior rites of Catholicism a spiritual signification—a sad delusion, which only drags one down from infidelity to infidelity. There is no sort of hypocrisy which may not, in the same way, be justified. The incredulous, by means of this system of fables and allegories, may preach Christ from Christian pulpits, and the follower of an abominable superstition among Pagans may be able, with little talent, to discover therein the symbol of a pure and elevated idea. In religion the first concern is truth. A few of the Christians of Grenoble, including Amedeus Galbert, and the cousin of Anemond, remained, nevertheless, firm in the profession of their faith. These pious men assembled secretly together with Seville, sometimes in one house and sometimes in another, and conversed familiarly upon the subjects of the gospel. Recourse was at times had also to silent retreats, or to visiting in the night-time the house of a brother, or to concealment among the rocks, like some guilty brigands, in order to offer up prayers to Jesus Christ. More than one false alarm occurred, which carried terror into the bosom of these humble meetings. The adversaries at same time consented to shut their eyes upon such secret conventicles; but they had sworn that the fire of the funeral pile should be left to do justice upon whoever dared to discourse publicly upon the word of God.

It was under such circumstances Du Blet and Papillion arrived at Grenoble. Finding that the mouth of Seville was closed in this quarter, they exhorted him to come and preach the gospel in Lyons. The season of Lent in the following year was destined to present a favourable opportunity for proclaiming the truth to a numerous crowd. Michael D'Arande, Maigret, and Seville proposed to march at the head of the ranks of the supporters of the gospel. Everything was in this manner prepared to realize a brilliant manifestation of the truth in the second city of France. The reports of this evangelical Lent were spread abroad as far as Switzerland. "Seville is rescued, and will preach the Lent sermon in St Paul's at Lyons," wrote Anemond to Farel. But a great disaster, in bringing misery into every district of France, sufficed to interrupt the spiritual combat. It is in the times of peace the gospel accomplishes her conquests. The defeat of Pavia, which took place in the month of February, occasioned the failure of this bold plan, so carefully arranged by the reformers.

Still, without waiting the arrival of Seville, since the beginning of

the winter, Maigret had preached, in Lyons, salvation through Jesus Christ alone, in defiance of the keen opposition displayed by many priests and monks. He no longer referred, in these discourses, to the worship of creatures, of saints, of the Virgin, or of the power of the priests. The grand mystery of piety, "God manifest in the flesh," was alone proclaimed. The ancient heresies of the poor of Lyons reappeared, it was said, in a form more dangerous than ever. In spite of all opposition, Maigret continued his ministry; the faith which animated his soul was poured forth in powerful language; for it is in the nature of the truth to make bold the heart which cordially receives it. Nevertheless, Rome was fated to obtain the ascendancy at Lyons as well as at Grenoble. In the presence of Margaret, Maigret was arrested, dragged through the streets, and thrown into prison. The merchant Vaugris, who at this time left Lyons on a journey to Switzerland, gave information of the event as he passed through the country. His arrest was regarded with amazement and dejection. Still one thought reassured the friends of the reform—"Maigret is taken," it was said, "but the Duchess of Alençon is still here, thanks be to God."

But this hope of safety was soon destined to be lost. Sorbonne had condemned several propositions of the faithful minister above mentioned. Margaret, therefore, in a situation always more perilous, beheld the hardihood of the friends of the Reformation to strengthen at the very moment the hatred of the powerful was seen to increase. Francis I. began to evince symptoms of impatience with reference to the zeal of these evangelists; he recognised in them a band of heretics whom it was good to repress. Margaret, thus gagged between her desire to be useful to her companions and her inability to save them, made them to understand they must not expose themselves to greater risks, as she could no longer make application in their favour to the king. The friends of the gospel supposed that this resolution was not irrevocable. "God grants her grace," they said, "to write or say only what is necessary for the good of poor souls." But if this human succour were taken away from them, Christ remained their friend. It is good for the soul to be despoiled of all assistance, in order that it may be constrained to place its reliance on God alone.

CHAPTER XII.

The French in Basil—Encouragement of the Swiss—Fear of Disorder—Translations and Printing-houses in Basil—Bible and Tracts Distributed in France.

Still the efforts of the friends of the gospel were paralyzed in France. The powerful began to shew open hostility to the Christian cause; Margaret was distracted; for terrible news had lately crossed the Alps and overwhelmed, by repeated blows, the whole kingdom with sorrow, leaving one thought alone to engage the public mind, namely, how to save the king or how to save France. . . . But if the Christians in Lyons were arrested in their progress, were there not still at Basil a number of soldiers escaped from the dangers of the battle, and prepared to resume the noble contest? The exiles of France have never forgotten the good cause. Driven almost three hundred years ago from their native country by the fanatical spirit of Rome, we still see their latest descendants carrying to the cities

and fields of their ancestors the treasures of which they were deprived. At the moment when the soldiers of Christ in France threw down in sadness their arms, the refugees in Basil prepared themselves for the struggle. In beholding the monarchy of St Louis and Charlemagne to shake even in the hands of Francis I. shall they not feel themselves called upon "to lay hold on that kingdom which cannot be shaken?"—(Heb. xii. 23.)

Farel, Anemond, D'Esch, Toussaint, and their friends, formed in Switzerland an evangelical society, the object of which was to save their country from spiritual darkness. They received intelligence from every quarter respecting the increase of the thirst for the word of God in France. It was, therefore, necessary to take advantage of these favourable circumstances, and to sow and water while the spring-time remained. Ecolampade, Zwingle, and Oswald Myconius, did not cease to encourage the noble enterprise. They joined hand in hand in their exertions, and animated their faith. The schoolmaster in Switzerland wrote in January 1525 to the French knight—"Banished as you have been from your country by the tyranny of Antichrist, your very presence amongst us proves that you have acted with courage in the cause of the gospel. The tyranny of Christian bishops shall finally oblige the people to regard them only as a set of liars. Continue steadfast, for the time is not far distant when we shall enter the harbour of rest, whether we are struck by the tyrants or whether they themselves are destroyed; and then all shall go well with us, provided we remain faithful to Jesus Christ."

Such encouragements were precious to the French refugees; but a blow inflicted by these same Christians of Switzerland and Germany, who strove to encourage them, served at this moment to rend the hearts of the French party. Escaped with difficulty from the horrors of the funeral pile, they saw with alarm the evangelical Christians beyond the Rhine disturbing their present repose by deplorable confusion. The discussions upon the Lord's Supper had commenced. Mournfully agitated, and experiencing a lively persuasion of the need of charity, the French were anxious to employ every means whereby the divisions of opinion might be reconciled. This thought became their ruling passion. No society had, at the time of the Reformation, so much need of Christian unity as the French party. Calvin at an after period demonstrated the truth of this fact. "Would to God that I could purchase peace, concord, and union in Jesus Christ, by the shedding of every drop of my blood, which is not much worth," said Peter Toussaint. The French, naturally endowed with quick perceptions, perceived immediately the stop which the newly created discussion would put to the work of the reform. "All would go on much better than is anticipated by many were we firm in one opinion. There are a great number of people who would come willingly to the light; but when they behold such divisions among the clerical body, they are amazed and confused."

The French first entertained the idea of making advances towards reconciliation. "Wherefore," they wrote from Strasburg, "is not a Bucer or some other learned man despatched to have an interview with Luther? The longer delays are prosecuted the more shall dissensions increase." These fears were, however, left to grow more formidable. At last, seeing their efforts ineffectual, the French Chris-

tians turned aside with sorrow their regards from Germany and fixed them exclusively upon France.

France, the preservation of France ! such was the object which from that moment entirely engaged the hearts of these generous men, whom history, which has inscribed upon its pages so many names vainly elated with their own glory, in the course of three hundred years has not deigned to mention. Forced to live in a foreign land, they knelt down every day of their lives, and in their silent retreats implored God to protect the country of their fathers. Prayer, behold the power by means of which the gospel was spread abroad in the kingdom, and the great source of conquest for the Reformation.

But these Frenchmen were not merely men of prayer; the evangelical army never included within its numbers combatants more prompt to expose their persons in the hour of battle. They perfectly understood the importance of filling with the Holy Scriptures and holy books the homes of their country, still full of darkness and superstition. A spirit of research was prevalent throughout the kingdom, and it was necessary to provide that desire with convenient food in every district. Anemond, always prompt in his exertions, and another refugee, named Michael Bentin, resolved to unite alike their zeal, talents, means, and labour, in the good cause. Bentin wished to establish a printing-house at Basil, and the knight to profit by the little knowledge he had of German in the translation into French of the best works connected with the Reformation. "Ah," said they, in the joy inspired by their project, "would to God that France were filled with evangelical volumes, in so much that in every direction, in the cottages of the people, in the palaces of the great, in the cloisters, and in the presbyteries, and in the hidden recesses of the heart, there should be rendered a powerful testimony to the grace of Jesus Christ."

A capital was required to further such an enterprise, but the refugees were devoid of means. Vaugris was then at Basil, and Anemond gave him on his departure a letter for the brethren at Lyons, of whom many were rich both in lands and goods, and who, although oppressed, were always faithful to the gospel. This letter requested the assistance of some remittances; but they could not be sufficient to meet the full urgency of the case; for the French were anxious to establish at Basil several presses, which might work night and day, in such a manner as to overspread France with the word of God. At Meaux, Metz, and other places besides, there were residing a number of men sufficiently rich and powerful to grant supplies for the prosecution of this enterprise. No person could act with greater influence upon the French than Farel, and it was to him Anemond addressed his communications.

It did not appear that the undertaking of the knight was likely of itself to be crowned with success; but the work was accomplished by others. The printing presses of Basil were constantly occupied with the composition of French books; these works were forwarded to Farel, and Farel introduced them into France with incessant activity. One of the first writings issued by this society for the diffusion of religious books was the "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," by Luther. "We sell," wrote the merchant Vaugris to Farel, "the composition of the 'Pater,' at four deniers of Basil coin,

in retail ; but wholesale, we sell 200 for two florins, which does not amount to so much."

Anemond sent from Basil to Farel all the useful books which there appeared, or were brought from Germany ; one respecting the institution of the gospel, and another on the education of infants. Farel examined all these works ; he composed, translated, or got translated into French, and appeared to be at once the whole moving power and labouring machine of the closet ; while Anemond hastened and superintended the printing presses, and those letters, prayers, and books, all these portable sheets, were the means of regenerating the age. While dissoluteness ran down from the throne, and darkness from the steps of the altar, these unperceived writings alone scattered over the nation certain traits of light and the seeds of healthy reformation.

But it was especially the word of God which the evangelical merchant of Lyons demanded in the name of his countrymen. The French nation in the sixteenth century, hungering after intellectual food, were destined to receive in its own language those ancient records of the first ages of the world, wherein respire the new breath of primitive humanity, and these holy oracles of evangelical times, in which are revealed the plenitude of the revelation of Christ. Vaugris wrote to Farel, "I pray you, if it be possible, let the New Testament be translated by some one capable of doing the work justice, for this would be a mighty boon for the countries of France, Burgundy, and Savoy. And if there is wanting a supply of French letters, (types,) I will cause them to be sent from Paris or Lyons ; but if these letters are to be got in Basil of a proper description, so much the better."

Lefevre had already at this time published in Meaux, but in a detached form, the books of the New Testament in French. Vaugris required some one to revise the whole of this work, and superintend a complete edition of its contents. Lefevre undertook the desired task, and published it, as we have already said, on the 12th October 1524. An uncle of Vaugris, named Conrad, a refugee also in Basil, immediately received a copy of the work in question, and the knight of Coët, paying a visit to the house of a friend on the 18th of November, there saw the book, and was transported with joy at its appearance. "Be quick in your labours of reprinting it," said he, "for I have no doubt a very great many copies of this book have been despatched."

In this manner the word of God was presented to the attention of France, in opposition to the traditions of the church, which Rome does not even now cease to offer to her contemplation. "How is it possible to distinguish," said the reformers, "what proceeds from man, in the traditions, from that which belongs to God, unless it be by a reference to the Scriptures of God?" "The sayings of the Fathers, or the decretals of the heads of the church, cannot form the rules of our faith. They tell us what has been the sentiments of these ancient teachers ; but the word alone communicates to us the sentiments of God. Everything must be submitted to the authority of the Scriptures."

The following was the principal method adopted in the circulation of these writings :—"Farel and his friends remitted the holy books

to some traders or hawkers, simple and pious men, who, loaded with their precious burthen, went about from town to town, from village to village, and from house to house, in the provinces of Franche, Comte, Lorraine, Burgundy, and the neighbouring districts, leaving no stone unturned in the distribution of their books. The volumes were given to these dealers at low prices, in order that they might have some advantage in selling them." Thus there was established, as far back as the year 1524, at Basil, with reference to France, a Bible society, of hawking and of religious tracts. It is an error to suppose that labours of this description have had their origin in our own times; they can be referred back, in their essential idea, not only to the days of the Reformation, but even to the first ages of the church."

CHAPTER XIII.

Progress at Montbeliard—Resistance and Troubles—Toussaint leaves Ecolampade—The Day of the Bridge—Death of Amermond—Successive Defeats.

The attention which Farel gave to France did not divert his notice from the places wherein he dwelt. Arrived at Montbeliard towards the end of July 1524, he had scarcely scattered the seed over the ground before an appearance, as Ecolampade expresses himself, of early vegetation was visible. Farel in great ecstasy wrote to the above-named friend an account of his progress. "It is easy," replied the doctor of Basil, "to make certain dogmas enter into the ears of your hearers; but to change their hearts is the work of God alone."

The knight of Coct, delighted with the purport of such news, went to visit, under the influence of his usual vivacity, his friend Peter Toussaint. "I will set out to-morrow," said the knight, in vivid accents, to Toussaint, "to meet with Farel." The person addressed on this occasion was more calm in his views. He wrote to the evangelist of Montbeliard. "Take care," said he to Farel, "it is a grand cause you are privileged to maintain; it does not desire to be defiled by the counsels of men. The powerful promise you their favour, their assistance, and heaps of gold. . . . But to trust in these things is to desert Jesus Christ and to walk in darkness." Toussaint finished this letter at the moment the knight entered the room, to whom it was given for the purpose of conveying it to Montbeliard.

The knight found that town in a state of great agitation. Several of the great personages, under impressions of fear, said, while regarding Farel with disdain, "What does this poor wretch want with us? Would to God he had never made his appearance here! He cannot remain in this place, for he will comprise in his own ruin that of every one of us." These noble refugees at Montbeliard, along with the duke, were afraid that the acclamations which everywhere accompanied the Reformation would attract towards them the attention of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, and cause them to be driven away from their last place of refuge. But it was more particularly the clergy who resisted Farel. The guardian of the Franciscans from Besançon had hastened to Montbeliard, and had formed a plan of defence with the clergy of the place. On the following Sunday, Farel had scarcely begun his sermon, when he was interrupted by exclamations of, You are a liar and a heretic! Immediately the whole congregation became

excited; some rose from their seats, while others demanded silence. The duke proceeded to the place of tumult, ordered both the guardian and Farel to be apprehended, and commanded the former either to prove the truth of his accusations or to retract these charges. The guardian chose the latter alternative, and an official report was published of the whole affair.

This attack inflamed to a higher degree the spirit of Farel. He believed it a duty to unmask henceforth without restraint the conduct of these interested priests; and, drawing the sword of the word, he inflicted upon them many heavy blows. He was more inclined to imitate the procedure of Jesus Christ, when he drove from the temple the sellers and money changers, and upset their tables, than when the prophetic spirit conveyed to him this testimony—"He does not contend, he does not clamour, his voice is not heard in the streets." Ecolampade was himself alarmed. In these two men there were represented types of two characters diametrically opposed to each other, but still both worthy of our admiration. "You have been sent," wrote Ecolampade to Farel, "in order to attract men mildly towards the truth, not to drag them thereto with violence; to evangelize and not to curse. Surgeons only have recourse to amputation when remedies are found useless. Act then like a surgeon, and not like a hangman. It is not enough for you, in my opinion, to be mild in your treatment of the friends of the word. You must also strive to gain the favour of its adversaries. If the wolves are chased away from the flock, let the sheep at least hear the voice of the shepherd. Pour oil and wine into the wounds of the sick, and uphold the character of an evangelist, and not that of a judge or tyrant."

The report of these proceedings was spread over France and Lorraine, and alarm was experienced within the walls of Sorbonne and the house of the cardinal, in consequence of this connexion between the refugees at Basil and Montbeliard. A desire was felt to dissolve such a disquieting alliance; for error knows no triumph so great as to allure to its side some flagrant deserter. Martial Mazurier and others had already procured from Gallican Popery the joy conferred upon shameful defections. But if it were possible to seduce one of those followers of Christ, refugees upon the banks of the Rhine, who had suffered so much in the name of the Lord, how great must be the victory on the part of the pontifical hierarchy? This power, therefore, erected her batteries, and it was at the most youthful opponent it aimed its discharge.

The primicier, the cardinal of Lorraine, and all those who formed the numerous circle which composed the household of that prelate, deplored the sad lot of the Peter Toussaint who had afforded them such pleasing expectations. He is at Basil, it was said, yea, in the house of Ecolampade, living with one of the chief agents of this heresy. Letters were written to the young man in fervent language, and professing an eager wish to save him from everlasting condemnation. These epistles tormented the mind of Toussaint, and so much the more on account of his being unable to prevent himself from recognising in their contents a feeling of affection which was dear to his heart. One of his relations, probably the primicier himself, recommended him to take up his abode in Paris or Metz, or in any other place of the world, provided that it was at a distance from the dwell-

ings of these Lutherans. This relative, who remembered all that Toussaint owed to his kindness, entertained no doubt of his complying with his advice; wherefore, when he saw his efforts prove unavailing, his affection was changed into a feeling of hatred. At the same time the resistance offered exasperated against the young refugee the fury of all his family and friends. Visits were paid to his mother, who was "under the power of the hood." The priests crowded about her person, inspired her with fear, and persuaded her that her son had committed many actions which it was impossible to speak of without horror. Then this grieved mother wrote to her son a touching letter, "full of tears," said he, "and wherein she described, in a heart-rending manner, all her sorrow." "Ah, wretched mother!" said she, "ah, unnatural son!" . . . "Cursed be the breast that nursed thee, and cursed be the womb that gave thee birth."

The miserable Toussaint was distracted. What must he do? Return to France! that was impossible. Must he leave Basil and go to Zurich or Wittenberg, away from the home of his family; he would thus increase their trouble. Ecolampade suggested to him a middle course. "Quit my house," said he to the youth. And Toussaint in reality left his friend with a broken heart, and went to dwell in the house of an obscure and ignorant priest, well calculated to restore peace to the minds of his relations. What a change for Toussaint! He never met with his host but at table. He did not cease then to debate upon the questions of faith; but the repast finished, Toussaint ran back again to the solitude of his chamber, and there, alone, far from noise and dispute, he carefully studied the word of God. "The Lord is my witness," said he, "that I have but one desire in this valley of tears, that, namely, of seeing the kingdom of Christ to extend so much, that all, with one mouth, may give glory to God."

One circumstance occurred which imparted consolation to the heart of Toussaint. The enemies of the gospel became always stronger in the city of Metz. And, at the instance of Toussaint, the knight D'Esch departed in the current January of the year 1525, in order to strengthen the evangelical Christians of the above-mentioned town. He traversed the forests of the Vosges, and arrived upon the spot where Leclerc had been executed, carrying with him a load of books with which Farel had furnished his chest.

It was not alone upon Lorraine the French refugees directed their attention. The knight of Coët received several letters from one of Farel's brothers, who detailed to him, in mournful strains, the condition of the Dauphiny. The knight took good care not to shew these letters, for fear of alarming the timid, and contented himself with making earnest prayers before God to grant the succour of his all-powerful arm. In December 1524, a messenger from Dauphiny, Peter Verrier, intrusted with a communication to Farel and Anemond, arrived on horseback at Montbeliard. The knight, with his accustomed decision, immediately adopted the purpose of returning to France. "If Peter has brought money to me," he wrote to Farel, "take it; if the said Peter has brought letters to me, open them, and make copies of them, and then forward them to me. Nevertheless, do not sell the horse, but keep him, for, per chance, we may hereafter have some use for him. I would wish to go back secretly into

France by way of Jacobus Faber, (Lefevre,) and Arandius. Let me know your advice in writing."

Such was the confidence and familiarity which reigned among these refugees; the one opened the letters of the other and received his money. It is true that De Coct had already received thirty-six crowns from Farel, whose purse was always open for the use of his friends. There was more zeal than wisdom in the desire of the knight to return to France. He was too imprudent in his actions not to have exposed himself under such circumstances to certain death. Such a consequence was, no doubt, clearly pointed out to him by Farel. He left, therefore, Basil, and retired to the quiet of a small town, "where he had great hope of learning the German language, God aiding."

Farel continued to evangelize Montbeliard. His spirit was made sorrowful when he considered that the majority of the people of that town were entirely given over to the worship of images. It was, in the opinion of Farel, the ancient idolatry of Paganism which here again appeared.

Nevertheless, the exhortations of Ecolampade, and the fear of compromising the truth, might, perhaps, have for long restrained his passion, without the intervention of any unforeseen event. One day, however, towards the end of February, (it was on the Feast of St Anthony,) Farel was walking close to the banks of a small river which runs through the town, at the foot of the high rock that commands the citadel, when, coming up to the bridge, he met a procession advancing, in the act of reciting many prayers to St Anthony, and having in front two priests carrying images of the saint. Farel found himself thus placed all at once in the very face of those detested superstitions, without having made any arrangement to accomplish such an object. There was, consequently, excited in his soul an ardent struggle. Shall he yield and hide himself? But would not such conduct imply blamable infidelity? These dead images borne on the shoulders of the ignorant priests created a fearful palpitation in his heart. . . . Farel moved forward with a bold step, tore from the arms of the priests the shrine of the holy hermit, and threw it from the height of the bridge into the river. Then turning towards the astonished multitude, he exclaimed, "Poor idolators, will you never be persuaded to leave your idols?"

The priests and the people halted in a state of consternation. A religious fear seemed to restrain their actions. But very soon this stupor subsided. "The image is drowning," cried some one in the middle of the crowd; and then to immobility and silence succeeded transports of exclamations and fury. The throng wished to avenge their wrath upon the sacrilegious person who had just thrown into the water the object of their adoration. But Farel, we do not know how, escaped the consequences of their anger.

We understand how it must be regretted that the reformer allowed himself to be dragged into the commission of such an act, which rather tended to hinder the progress of the gospel.

No one has a right to believe himself privileged to attack by violence anything that appertains to public institutions.

Still, there is something more noble in the zeal of the reformer than in that staid prudence so common in the world, which recoils before

the least appearance of danger, and is fearful of making the least sacrifice for the advancement of God's kingdom upon earth. Farel was not ignorant of the fact that he thus exposed himself to the hazard of losing his life like Leclerc. But the testimony afforded by his conscience of seeking only the glory of God raised him above the influence of fear.

After the day of the bridge, which forms a trait so characteristic of Farel's history, the reformer was constrained to hide himself, and, very soon after, to quit the city. He sought for shelter in Basil, in the society of Ecolampade, but he retained the fond recollection of Montbeliard, which a servant of God never fails to cherish for the first scenes of his ministry.

Melancholy news awaited the arrival of Farel at Basil. If he was a fugitive, Anemond de Coct, his friend, was seriously indisposed. Farel immediately sent him four golden crowns; but a letter written on the 25th of March by Oswald Myconius announced the death of the knight. "Let us live," wrote Oswald, "in such a manner as that we may enter into the rest wherein we hope the spirit of Anemond has already entered."

Thus Anemond, still in the flower of his age, full of activity and strength, desirous of undertaking everything in order to evangelize France, and who was in himself worth a whole army, descended into a premature grave. God's ways are not as our ways. It was not long since that, in the vicinity of Zurich also, another knight, Ulrich de Hutten, had paid the debt of nature. Some resemblance of character is to be found between the German and French knights; but the piety and Christian virtues of the son of Dauphiny place him much above the standard of the spiritual and intrepid enemy of the pope and monks.

Shortly after the death of Anemond, Farel not being able to remain at Basil, whence he had formerly been banished, went to live in Strasburg with his friends Capito and Bucer.

Thus, at Montbeliard and at Basil, as well as at Lyons, breaches were made in the ranks of the Reformation. Among the most devoted combatants some were carried away by death, and others by persecution or exile. In vain the soldiers of the gospel tried to force the assault on every side; they were in every quarter repulsed. But if the forces which they had concentrated, first at Meaux, and then at Lyons, and afterwards at Basil, were successively dispersed, there remained here and there champions who, in Lorraine, at Meaux, and even in Paris, strove, more or less openly, to maintain in France the cause of the gospel. If the Reformation beheld the masses of its armies giving way, there still continued in active contest many individual soldiers. It was against this latter force Sorbonne and the parliament were about to direct their rage. A desire was manifested to extirpate from the soil of France every vestige of those generous men who had undertaken to plant thereon the standard of Jesus Christ; and many unheard-of misfortunes conspired at this moment with the enemies of the reform, and lent them a strong impetus in the furtherance of their work.

CHAPTER XIV

Francis taken at Pavia—Reaction against the Reform—Louisa consults Sorbonne—Commission against Heretics—Brignonnet Decried—Appeal to the Assembled Parliament—Fall—Retraction—Lefevre Accused—Condemnation and Flight—Lefevre at Strasburg—Lewis De Berquin Incarcerated—Erasmus Attacked—Schuch at Nancy—His Martyrdom—Struggle with Caroli—Sorrow of Pavanne—His Funeral Pile—A Christian Hermit—Concourse at Notre Dame.

During the latter part of Farel's sojourn at Montbeliard, many momentous events occurred in the affairs of the world. The generals of Charles V., Lannoy and Pescaire, having quitted France on the approach of Francis I., that prince had passed the Alps and proceeded to complete the blockade of Pavia. On the 24th February 1525, Pescaire had attacked the French. Bonnivet, La Tremouille, La Palisse, and Lescure were killed close to the king's side. The Duke D'Alençon, the husband of Margaret, first prince of the blood, had fled with the rear guard, and had retired to die of shame and sorrow at Lyons; while Francis, thrown from his horse, had delivered up his sword to Charles of Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who received it with his knee bent upon the ground. The king of France had become the prisoner of the emperor. The captivity of the king appeared an affliction of the deepest agony. "Of all my possessions there only remains with me my honour and my life," wrote the king to his mother. But no one experienced a sorrow more excessive than Margaret. The glory of her country compromised, France deprived of its king, and exposed to the greatest danger, her much-beloved brother a captive to his illustrious adversary, her husband dishonoured and dead, . . . what an accumulation of extreme misfortune! . . . But she was not without a comforter; and while her brother repeated, as a means of consolation, "All is lost, save honour," she was able to say—

"Excepting Jesus only, my brother, and the Son of God."

France, her princes, Parliament, and people, were thrown into a state of consternation. Very soon, as in the three first centuries of the church, the calamity which afflicted the country was imputed to the conduct of the Christians; and from every quarter fanatical voices demanded the shedding of blood, in order to expiate these woful miseries. The moment was then favourable; it was not sufficient to have driven the evangelical Christians from three of the strong positions they had occupied, it was also necessary to take advantage of the fear of the people, to beat the iron while it was hot, and to make a clean sweep throughout the kingdom of that opposition which had become so formidable against the interests of Popery.

At the head of this conspiracy and of these clamours were seen Beda, Duchesne, and Lecouturier. These irreconcilable enemies of the gospel flattered themselves that they would easily obtain, from public terror, possession of the victims who had, until this period, been rescued from their grasp. They availed themselves of every sort of contrivance, of conversations, fanatical preachings, complaints, threats, and defamatory writings, in order to excite the anger of the nation, and more particularly that of its leaders. They kindled fire and flames against their adversaries, and covered them with the most opprobrious injuries. Every description of means was deemed good in their sight; they quoted here and there certain sentences, leaving out the words necessary to explain their proper import, substituting their

own expressions for those of the doctors whom they accused, and added or omitted others, according to the wants of their design in blackening the character of their adversaries. This is the testimony given even by Erasmus.

Nothing excited their anger so much as the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and of the Reformation, namely, salvation through grace. "When I see," said Beda, "these three men, endowed otherwise with a genius so penetrating, Lefevre, Erasmus, and Luther, uniting in order to conspire against the benefits of meritorious works, and to place the whole weight of salvation upon faith alone, I am no longer astonished that thousands of men, seduced by these doctrines, should be heard to say, 'Wherefore should I fast or wherefore should I torment my body?' Let us banish from France this odious doctrine of grace. There is in this negligence of merits a fatal deception of the devil."

In this manner the syndic of Sorbonne endeavoured to overcome the doctrine of faith. He was indebted for support to a debauched court and another portion of the nation more respectable, but which was not less opposed to the gospel. I allude at present to those serious men, of severe morals, but who, devoted to the study of law and of judicial forms, recognised in Christianity nothing more than a system of legislation, and in the church an establishment of moral police, and who, being unable to amalgamate with the ideas of jurisprudence which absorbed their thoughts the doctrines of the spiritual incapacity of man, of the new birth, or of justification by faith, regarded these doctrines as so many fanatical imaginations, dangerous alike to public manners and the prosperity of the state. This hostile tendency to the doctrine of grace was manifested in the sixteenth century by two extreme opinions of very different signification: In Italy and Poland, by the doctrine of Socin, the offspring of an illustrious family of lawyers from Sienne; and in France by the arrests of persecutors and the funeral piles of the parliament.

The parliament, in reality, despising the grand truths of the gospel which the reformers proclaimed, and believing themselves obliged to do something on the occasion of a calamity so heavy, addressed to Louisa of Savoy lively remonstrances against the conduct of the government with respect to the subject of the new doctrine. "Heresy," said they, "has raised its head in the middle of us, and the king, in not erecting scaffolds to check its progress, has drawn down upon the kingdom the anger of heaven."

At the same time the pulpits rang with complaints, threatenings, and maledictions, and prompt and public punishments were demanded as due. Martial Mazurier distinguished himself among the preachers of Paris, and, seeking to cover by the violence of his language the remembrance of his former alliance with the partisans of the reform, he declaimed against "the hidden disciples of Luther." "Do you know," exclaimed he, "the promptitude of that poison? Do you know the strength of it? Ah! let us tremble for France; for it operates with an inconceivable activity, and in a short time it may occasion the death of thousands of souls."

It was not difficult to excite the passions of the regent against the partisans of the reform. Her daughter Margaret, the first personage of the court, Louisa of Savoy herself—Louisa, always so devoted

to the cause of the Roman pontiff—were described by some fanatical beings as favourers of Lefevre, Berquin, and other renovators. Had she not read their lesser writings and their translations of the Bible? The mother of the king was anxious to clear herself from suspicions of so outrageous a nature. Already she had sent her confessor to Sorbonne, in order to demand from that body by what means heresy ought to be eradicated. "The detestable doctrine of Luther," she had caused it to be said to the faculty, "gains every day new adherents." The faculty had once smiled at the receipt of a message like this. Before, no desire was manifested to listen to its representations, but at the present hour humble prayers were presented to Sorbonne to call a council to take this matter under consideration. She held, in short, in her own hands the fate of that heresy she had so long desired to smother. She intrusted to Noel Beda the duty of immediately replying to the regent. "Since the sermons, the disputes, and the books we have so often composed in opposition to heresy," said the fanatical syndic, "have not succeeded in arresting its progress, it has become necessary to prohibit by an ordinance all the writings of the heretics; and should these measures still prove insufficient, it shall be needful to employ force and constraint against the person even of these false doctors; for those who resist the light must be subdued by means of punishments and terrors."

But Louisa had not even waited the receipt of this reply. The moment Francis I. fell into the hands of Charles V. she had written to the pope requesting to know his will with respect to heretics. It was important in a political point of view for Louisa to secure for herself the favour of the pontiff who could raise Italy to join against the conqueror of Pavia, and she was quite ready to conciliate her cause at the price of a little French blood. The pope, charmed at the prospect of being able to punish, within the boundaries of the very Christian kingdom, the crimes of a heresy he could not stop either in Switzerland or Germany, immediately gave orders for the introduction of the inquisition into France, and addressed a brief to the parliament. At the same time Duprat, whom the pontiff had made a cardinal, and to whom he had given the bishoprick of Sens and a rich abbey, sought to reply to the court of Rome, by displaying against the heretics an indefatigable hatred. Thus the pope, the regent, the doctors of Sorbonne, the parliament, the chancellor, and the ignorant and fanatical portion of the nation, all conspired together and at once to effect the ruin of the gospel, and the death of its confessors.

It was the parliament which began. Nothing less was necessary than that the first body of the nation should enter the field of battle against this doctrine, and, besides, was it not the business of parliament to do so, seeing that the public salvation was concerned in the question? The parliament, therefore, "exhibited a holy zeal and fervour against these innovations, and ordered, by a resolution, that the bishop of Paris and other bishops should be held to lease their curacy to M.M. Phillip Pot, the president to the inquisition, and André Verjus, counsellor, and to M.M. Guillaum, Duchesne and Nicolas Leclerc, doctors in theology, to draw out and perfect the processes of those who were found adhering to the doctrines of Luther.

And in order that it might appear that these gentlemen officiated rather in conformity with the authority of the church than of the

parliament, it had pleased his holiness to send his brief, (20th May 1525,) which approved of the above-named commissioners.

In accordance with this order, all those who were declared Lutherans by the bishop, as judges of the church to these deputies, were handed over to the secular authority, that is to say, to the said parliament, who, by virtue of this transfer, condemned them to be burned alive.

Such were the words found in a manuscript written at the period of which we speak.

Such also was the terrible commission of inquest appointed during the captivity of Francis I. to act against the evangelical Christians of France, and for the good of the public safety. It was composed of two laymen and two ecclesiastics, and one of these latter individuals was Duchesne, next to Beda, the most fanatical of the doctors of Sorbonne. The modesty of not naming their chief was preserved, but his influence was only the more surely maintained.

Thus the machine was constructed; its springs were all well adjusted, and every blow it inflicted was certain to produce death. Great anxiety was felt to know against whom the first attack would be directed. Beda, Duchesne, and Leclerc, assisted by MM. Phillip Pot, the president, and Andrew Verjus, the counsellor, deliberated among themselves upon this important question. Were there not the Count of Montbrun, the former friend of Louis XII. the ex-ambassador to Rome, and Briçonnet, the bishop of Meaux? The committee of public safety, assembled in Paris in 1525, thought that by beginning with a person thus high in rank, terror would more certainly be spread over the surface of the kingdom. This reason proved sufficient, and the venerable bishop was consequently served with a libel of impeachment.

Far from allowing himself to be terrified with the persecutions of 1523, Briçonnet had persisted, as well as Lefevre, in his opposition to popular superstitions. The more eminent his situation was, both in the church and in the state, the more fatal was his example; and therefore the more necessary it was to obtain from him a prominent retraction, or to inflict upon him a blow more startling still. The commission of inquest hastened to accumulate the charges which could be brought against the accused. It verified the kind reception the bishop had extended to heretics; it proved that eight days after the guardian of the Franciscans had preached in the church of St Martin at Meaux, in conformity with the instructions of Sorbonne, in order there to establish the holy doctrine, Briçonnet himself had mounted the pulpit, had refuted, and had accused the orator and the other Franciscans, his brethren, of being shameless false prophets, and hypocrites; and that, not content with this public affront, he had subjected the guardian to a personal summons by his official. . . . It even appeared, as recounted by a manuscript of the times, that the bishop had exceeded these limits, and that, in the autumn of 1524, accompanied by Lefevre of Etaples, he had, for the space of three months, continued to go over his diocese, burning all the images with the exception of the crucifix. An action so hardy, which displayed in Briçonnet a surplus of audacity, in connexion with extreme timidity, must, if it be true, fix upon him the blame attached to the other destroyers of images; for he was the leader of the church wherein he reformed these superstitions, and he

acted within the circle of its rights and duties. We here quote from a letter from Seville in the library of the pastors of Neuchâtel.

But however these things may be, Briçonnet must have been sufficiently guilty in the eyes of the enemies of the gospel. He had not merely presumed to attack the church in general, he had also taken to account Sorbonne itself, that association whose supreme law constituted his own peculiar glory and preservation. Thus the university was delighted to know that the inquest directed its inquiries against its adversary; and one of the most celebrated advocates of the day, John Bochart, sustained before the parliament the charges against Briçonnet, and exclaimed, while raising his voice "Against the faculty, neither the bishop of Meaux, nor any other private person, dare to raise their head or open their mouth. And is the faculty then subject to carry on a dispute, or to bring forth reasons in the presence of the said bishop, who must not resist the wisdom of that holy association, the which he ought to reckon to be assisted by God?"

In consequence of the requisition made, the parliament issued an arrest, on the 3d of October 1525, by which, after having decreed the capture of those who were therein specially named, it was ordained that the bishop should be interrogated by Master James Menager and Andrew Verjus, counsellors of the court, upon the facts with which he was accused.

This resolution of the parliament carried consternation into the heart of the bishop. Briçonnet, the ambassador of two kings to the court of Rome, Briçonnet, a bishop and a prince, the friend both of Louis XII. and Francis I., must now submit to be interrogated by two counsellors of the French court. . . . This man who had hoped that God would kindle in the heart of the king, his mother, and his sister, a fire which would thus be communicated to the whole kingdom, now saw the kingdom turned against himself, in order to extinguish the flame he had himself received from Heaven. The king was a prisoner, his mother stood at the head of the enemies of the gospel, and Margaret, overwhelmed with a sense of the misfortunes which had crushed the spirit of France, dared not avert the blows which were about to fall upon the heads of her dearest friends, and first of all upon that spiritual father who had so often comforted her; or, if she dared interfere, she could not succeed. Very recently even she had written to Briçonnet, in words full of pious effusions—"O that my poor dead heart could feel some spark of the love in which I desire to dissolve into ashes." . . . But it was now the letter which must be doomed to be burned to ashes. Such language was no longer in season; it was necessary, if one were willing to confess the true faith, to brave the scaffold. The poor bishop, who had so eagerly hoped to see an evangelical reform diffusing itself calmly within the spirits of men, was horror struck, and trembled to see himself obliged at this hour, to purchase that reform at the cost of his life. Never perhaps had this thought occurred to his imagination before, and he recoiled at its perception with agonizing dread.

Nevertheless Briçonnet had still one hope left; if he were permitted to appear before all the divisions of parliament in full assembly, in compliance with a courtesy due to a person of his rank, he was sure in that august and numerous court to find some generous hearts who should comprehend his case and undertake his defence. He,

therefore prayed the court to have respect to this privilege; but his enemies were equally persuaded of the consequences which might attend a trial before the proposed tribunal. Had not Luther been seen to appear at Worms in the presence of the Germanic diet, and to shake there the most determined hearts? Resolved to exclude every chance of salvation, these adversaries had so well exerted their powers, that parliament refused to extend to Briçonnet the favour requested by a resolution passed on the 20th of October 1525, which confirmed their former decree.

Behold, therefore, the bishop of Meaux sent back, like the most obscure priest, to stand his trial before Masters James Menager and Andrew Verjus. These two lawyers, the docile instruments of Sorbonne, were not likely to be moved by the high considerations to which the whole chamber might have yielded a favourable regard; these were men of a positive disposition. Has the bishop disagreed, or has he not, with the association? This was the only question inquired into by them. The condemnation of Briçonnet was therefore certain.

While the sword was thus suspended by parliament over the head of the bishop, the monks, priests, and doctors did not allow their time to be lost; they perceived that a retraction from Briçonnet would serve their interests better than even his punishment. His death would inflame the passion of all those who partook of the same faith, but his apostasy would overwhelm them with deep despondency. To the work therefore! The bishop was waited upon, and ardently pressed to alter his opinions. Martial Mazurier, above all, endeavoured to accomplish in Briçonnet the same fall from principle which he had himself endured. The advocate was not wanting in reasons which might appear specious in the ears of the listener. Was he then willing to lose his place? Could he not, by remaining in the church, exert all his influence upon the king and upon the court, in order to bring about improvements, whose extent it was impossible to anticipate? What must become of his old friends when he was wholly deprived of power? How far would his resistance not compromise a reform, which, in order to be salutary and durable, must operate through the legitimate influence of the clergy? How many souls must he not injure in his resistance to the church? and how many, on the contrary, must not be attracted by the operation of his concession? . . . Others, like him, were anxious for reform. Everything insensibly tended towards such a consummation—at the court, in the city, throughout the provinces; in short, everywhere an advance was making in this direction, . . . and he would wantonly strive to annihilate the prospects of such a prosperous future. . . . In the main, he was not required to sacrifice his doctrine, but only to submit its guidance to the established order of the church. Was it well, when France was depressed with such a load of misfortune, to impose upon her fresh and grievous troubles? “In the name of religion, in the name of our country, in the name of your friends, and in the name of the Reformation itself, yield to our solicitations!” were the words addressed to the bishop. It is by sophisms of a similar nature the most laudable enterprises are lost.

Still every one of these words made some impression upon the

mind of the bishop. The tempter, who wished to complete the fall of Jesus in the desert, presented himself in this manner to the bishop under many specious forms; and, instead of imitating his Master, in the declaration, "Get thee behind me, Satan," he listened, received, and pondered on the proposals made. From that moment his fidelity was crushed to the earth.

Brignonnet had never been, in every respect, equal to a Farel or a Luther in the movement which, at this time, regenerated the church. There was in him a certain mystic tendency which weakens souls, and deprives them of that consistency and courage inspired alone by a single faith rested entirely upon the word of God. The cross, which it was necessary to take up in order to follow Christ, was too heavy. Shaken, alarmed, giddy, and carried beyond his reason, he staggered and tripped upon the stones which had been artfully placed in his way. . . . He fell, and, in place of throwing himself into the arms of Jesus Christ, he let himself drop into those of Mazurier, and defiled by a shameful recantation the glory of a splendid fidelity.

Such was the fall of Brignonnet, the friend of Lefevre and Margaret; and in this manner the first prop of the gospel cause in France renounced the good tidings of grace, under the guilty impression that, if he remained faithful, he would lose his influence upon the church, the court, and France. But the things that were represented to him as the salvation of his country may perhaps become the cause of her ruin. What might have happened had Brignonnet possessed the courage of a Luther? If one of the first bishops of France, dear to the king and dear to the people, had mounted the scaffold, and had there, like the little in the estimation of this world, sealed, by a stout confession and a Christian death, the truth of the gospel, must not France have been moved? and the blood of the bishop of Meaux, becoming, like that of the Polycarpian and Cyprian, a sign for the renovation of the church, might we not have seen these countries, so illustrious in such numerous instances, to escape, from the date of the sixteenth century, out of that long spiritual darkness in which they are still retained.

Brignonnet underwent, for form's sake, the interrogatory trial before Master James Monager and Andrew Verjus, who declared that he had sufficiently exculpated himself from the crimes imputed to his conduct. He was then reduced to penitence, and assembled a synod, wherein he condemned the books written by Luther, retracted every maxim he had taught contrary to the doctrine of the church, re-established the convocation of the saints, used all his exertions to bring back those who had abandoned the worship of Rome, and wishing to leave no sort of doubt upon his reconciliation with the pope and Sorbonne, he celebrated the eve of the feast of God a solemn fast, and commanded the observance of pompous processions, in which he personally appeared, thereby affording a test of the sincerity of his faith by his magnificence, and the fulfilment of every description of devotion.

Brignonnet affords perhaps the example of a fall the most illustrious in the annals of the Reformation. In no other instance do we see a man engaged so prominently in the work of the reform, and so sincerely pious, turning so abruptly round to the cause of her adver-

saries. Still it is necessary to understand thoroughly both his character and his fall. Brignonnet was on the side of Rome what Lefevre represented on the part of the Reformation. These two personages form, as it were, the turning point, (the *juste-milieu*,) which does not properly belong to either side ; but the one was placed on the left and the other on the right of the centre. The doctor from Etaples inclined towards the word, while the bishop of Meaux leant towards the hierarchy ; and when these two individuals, in close position with each other, were pushed to decide, the one went over to the ranks of Rome and the other to the cause of Jesus Christ. As to the rest, it is impossible to believe that Brignonnet was entirely faithless to the convictions of his faith ; for the Roman doctors never reposed in him entire confidence, even after the time of his recantations. But he acted like the bishop of Cambray at a later period, with whom he exhibits more than one trait of resemblance : he believed it possible to submit outwardly to the authority of the pope, while he remained inwardly submissive to the Divine word. This was a weakness incompatible with the principles of the Reformation. Brignonnet was one of the chiefs of the mystic or quietist school in France ; and it is well known that one of its first principles has ever been to accommodate itself to the church in which it may be placed, of whatever description that church may happen to be.

The criminal fall of Brignonnet was re-echoed in the hearts of his former friends, and became the mournful forerunner of those deplorable apostasies which the spirit of the world so often obtained in France during the course of another century. This personage, who seemed to hold in his hands the reins of the Reformation, was rudely thrown from the car ; and the reform was destined from that time to pursue its course in France, without a leader or human conductor, along an obscure and humble path. But the disciples of the gospel assumed fresh courage, and looked up from that moment with a faith still more settled to the celestial head, in whose unshaken fidelity they firmly trusted.

Sorbonne triumphed ; a great step had been gained towards the utter annihilation of the reform in France ; there was, therefore, need to hurry, without delay, to the conquests of another victory. Lefevre stood next in rank to Brignonnet. Wherefore, had Beda immediately directed his attacks upon that illustrious doctor, by publishing against him a book wherein are to be found calumnies so gross, "that shoemakers or blacksmiths could point at them with their finger," said Erasmus. The object most obnoxious to his anger was that doctrine of justification through faith which Lefevre had first proclaimed in christendom. This was the point towards which Beda incessantly returned—the article which, in his opinion, presaged the overthrow of the church. "How now !" said he ; "Lefevre affirms that whoever places in himself the strength of his salvation shall perish, whilst that whoever, denying all his own strength, throws himself unreservedly into the arms of Jesus Christ, shall be saved. . . Oh, what heresy is this to preach in such a manner the impotency of merits. . . . What infernal error ! what pernicious deceptions of the demon ! Let us oppose such foolishness with all our power."

Immediately the machine of persecution was directed against the

doctor from Etaples, which produced the pledge of retraction or death; and even now hopes were expressed of seeing Lefevre share the lot either of the poor wool-carder, Leclerc, or that of the illustrious bishop, Briçonnet. His process was speedily arranged; and a decree issued by the parliament on the 28th of August 1525, condemned nine propositions extracted from his commentaries upon the gospels, and included the translations made by him of the Holy Scriptures among the number of forbidden books.

The decree, however, formed nothing more than a prelude to after proceedings. The learned doctor was well convinced of this fact. At the first discovered symptoms of persecution, he had felt convinced that in the absence of Francis I. he would be exposed to the attacks of his enemies, and that the moment was come to follow the commandment of our Lord—When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another. Lefevre quitted Meaux, where, since the fall of the bishop, he was moreover oppressed with care, and beheld all his active exertions paralyzed; and leaving the abodes of his persecutors, he shook off against them the dust from his feet. "Not for the purpose of wishing them any evil, but as a sign of the afflictions which awaited them; for," says he, in some of his writings, "in like manner as this dust is shaken from our feet, so shall they be driven from the presence of the Lord."

The persecutors had failed to secure their victim; but they were consoled in believing that France had at least been delivered from the contamination of the father of heretics.

Lefevre, in the character of a fugitive, and under the disguise of an assumed name, arrived at Strasburg. He at once openly joined himself to the society of the friends of the Reformation; and what must have been his joy to hear publicly taught that gospel which he had been the first to present within the walls of the church. Behold the faith he cherished. This was the exclamation he desired to make. He appeared a second time born to the Christian life. Gerard Roussel, one of those evangelical persons who, like the doctor from Etaples, had not, however, reached a state of complete emancipation, was forced equally with the doctor to leave the provinces of France. They waited together upon the teaching of Capito and Bucer; they frequently held familiar intercourse with these faithful doctors, and the report was even spread abroad that they had been sent for that purpose by Margaret, the sister to the king. But the adoration of God's providence occupied Lefevre more than the cares of polemics. Casting his eye over the provinces of christendom, and filled with astonishment at sight of the grand events which were therein in operation, as well as moved with gratitude, and having his heart filled with expectation, he fell upon his knees and prayed the Lord "to perfect that of which he then saw the commencement."

Another cause of great and peculiar joy awaited him on his arrival at Strasburg. His disciple, his son, Farel, whose persecution had separated him from his old companion for nearly three years, had reached this town before Lefevre. The old doctor of Sorbonne now regarded in his young pupil a man in all the strength of mature years, and a Christian in all the vigour of faith. Farel pressed with respect the wrinkled hand which had directed his first steps, and he experienced an inexpressible joy at again finding his father within

the walls of an evangelical city, and at seeing him surrounded by faithful men. They, too, attended to the pure instructions of the illustrious doctors. They were communicants at the Lord's Supper, administered in conformity with the institution of Jesus Christ, and received the most affectionate tokens of regard from their brethren. "Do you remember," said Farel to Lefevre, "what you said to me some time ago, when we were both still plunged in Papal darkness? 'William, God will renew the world, and you shall see it!' . . . Behold the commencement of what you then told me." "Yes," replied the pious old man, "yes, God renews the world. . . . O my son, continue to preach courageously the holy gospel of Jesus Christ."

Lefevre, urged, no doubt, by an excess of prudence, wished to remain unknown at Strasburg, and had adopted the name of Anthony Peregrin, while Roussel bore that of Solnin. But the celebrated veteran could not remain concealed. Very soon the whole town, and even the very children, saluted respectfully the aged French doctor. He was not alone; for he dwelt in the house of Capito with Farel, Roussel, Vedaste, whose modesty every one praised, and a certain Simon, a Jewish convert. The houses of Capito, Ecolampade, Zwingle, and Luther, were then similar to as many hotels. Such was, at the time we speak of, the force of fraternal love. Many other French emigrants also resided in this city upon the banks of the Rhine, and they there formed a church, to whom Farel often announced the doctrines of salvation. This Christian society thus sweetened the trials of exile.

Whilst that band of brethren in this manner enjoyed the shelter which fraternal charity had opened to their acceptance, those who remained at Paris, or in France, were exposed to imminent danger. Brignonnet had retracted and Lefevre had quitted France. This was, no doubt, a triumph for Sorbonne; but the university had still to wait for the infliction of those punishments it had recommended. Beda and his party saw themselves deprived of victims. . . . Another man now excited their wrath still more than either Brignonnet or Lefevre; namely, Louis de Berquin. This gentleman from Artois, of a more decided character than his two former masters, did not allow any opportunity to escape of tormenting the theologians and the monks, and of unmasking their fanaticism. An inhabitant by turns of Paris and the provinces, he gathered together the books of Erasmus and Luther, he translated their contents, he composed original works of controversy, and, in short, he defended and propagated the new doctrine with all the zeal of a new convert. The bishop of Amiens denounced his proceedings, Beda supported the complaint, and parliament cast the offender into prison. "This individual," it was said, "shall not escape either after the manner of Brignonnet or of Lefevre." In fact, he was closely secured under lock and key. In vain the prior of the Carthusians, and other people besides, entreated him to make a suitable apology; he boldly declared that he would not yield one single point. "Therefore, it appeared that nothing remained," says a reporter, "but to lead him to the fire."

Margaret, distracted with the troubles imposed upon Brignonnet, trembled at the thought of seeing Berquin dragged to the scaffold, from whose punishment the bishop had so shamefully escaped. She

did not dare to visit him in prison ; but she strove to impart to him some words of consolation, and it was probably with reference to him the princess composed the following affecting complaint of the prisoner, wherein he, (the prisoner,) addressing himself to the Lord, exclaims—

“ O surety, succour, help, and refuge
Of th’ afflicted, and the orphan’s judge,
The perfect treasure of all consolation !
The bars of iron, raised bridge, and chains
With which I’m loaded, keep me in pains,
At distance from my kinsmen or companion ;
But still, however deep the weary dungeon,
It can’t be closed so fast as to exclude
Thy sudden presence in our dreariest mood.”

But Margaret did not stop here ; she also wrote to her brother beseeching him to extend the grace of his pardon to the captive gentleman, happy if she could in time secure him from the hatred of his enemies.

While waiting the fate of this victim, Beda resolved to make the adversaries of Sorbonne and the monks tremble, by striking down the most celebrated individual among them. Erasmus had entered the lists against Luther ; but what did this signify ! If the loss of Erasmus were accomplished, with much greater reason would the ruin of Farel, Luther, and their associates, become inevitable. The surest way of obtaining any purpose is to look beyond it. When the foot shall be placed on the throat of the philosopher of Rotterdam, where is the heretical doctor who shall escape the vengeance of Rome ? Already had Lecuturier, commonly called by his Latin name of *Sutor*, taken the lead, by hurling against Erasmus, from his solitary Carthusian cell, a writing full of violence, wherein he designated his adversaries theological buffoons and little asses, imputing to them the practices of scandalous deeds, of heresy, and blasphemy. “ Treating many subjects which he did not understand, he brought to remembrance,” said Erasmus malignantly, “ the old proverb : *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*: Let the cobbler (sewer-couturier) attend only to the mending of old shoes.”

Beda hurried to the rescue of this fellow monk. He issued an order forbidding Erasmus to compose any more books ; and taking up himself the pen which he had enjoined the greatest writer of the age to lay down, he made a collection of all the calumnies which the monks had invented against the illustrious philosopher, translated them into French, and bound them together in a volume, which he got circulated at the court and in the city, thus endeavouring to exasperate the public mind of France against the scholar. This book was regarded as a signal of attack ; from every quarter assaults were made upon Erasmus. An old Carmelite from Louvain, Nicholas D’Ecomond, exclaimed, every time he mounted the pulpit, “ There is no difference between Erasmus and Luther, if it be not that Erasmus is a greater heretic ;” and wherever the Carmelite was placed, whether at table, in a coach, or in a galliot, he called Erasmus an author of heresy and a forger of writings. The faculty of Paris, agitated by these clamours, proposed a censure to be served upon the illustrious writer.

Erasmus was thrown into a state of trepidation. Behold then to what end he had applied all his scheming, and even his hostility

against Luther. More than any other, he is held up to derision, and a wish is now manifested to convert him as it were into a bridge, and to trample over him, in order more surely to reach the position of the common enemy. This idea was revolting to his feelings. He quickly turned about, and scarcely had he finished his attack upon Luther, before he directed his weapons against these fanatical doctors who had just dared to strike him on the back. Never did he put his correspondence into more active operation. He looked about on every side, and his prompt perception readily discovered in what hands his fate was placed. He did not hesitate, but carried his complaints and lamentations alike to the feet of Sorbonne, the parliament, king, and even the emperor. "Who has created this immense conflagration set fire to by Luther," he wrote to those of the theologians of Sorbonne from whom he still hoped some impartial treatment; "who has excited this flame, if it be not the furious demeanour of Beda? In the times of war, a soldier who has well performed his duty receives a reward from his generals; but as for me, all the recompense I shall receive from you, the generals of this war, shall be to be delivered over to the calumnies of the Bedas and Lecouturiers."

"How now!" he wrote to the parliament of Paris, "I was engaged in a keen contest with the Lutherans, and while I was sustaining a rude conflict at the command of the emperor, the pope, and many other princes, even at the peril of my life, Lecouturier and Beda attacked me from behind with furious libels! Ah! if fortune had not deprived us of the countenance of King Francis, I would have implored that avenger of the muses to set his face against the new invasion of barbarians. But at present it is for you to put an end to such iniquitous behaviour."

The moment he discovered the possibility of forwarding a letter to the king, he wrote to him also. His acute observation soon perceived in these fanatical doctors of Sorbonne the germ of the league, the predecessors of these three priests who were one day destined to establish the sixteen against the last branch of the Valois, and he predicted to the king the crimes and misfortune which his descendants but too surely experienced. "It is faith which they place in the front," said he, "but they aspire to the authority of tyrants, even with regard to princes. They proceed by a sure path, although it is under ground. Let the prince be willing not to be submissive to them in all things, they shall immediately declare that he can be dismissed by the church, that is to say, by some false monks and false theologians, sworn to act against the public peace." Erasmus, in writing to Francis I. could not have touched on a more sensible cord.

At last, in order to be still more sure of his escape from the hands of his enemies, Erasmus invoked the protection even of Charles V. "Invincible emperor," said he, "some men who, under the pretext of religion, are desirous to gain a victory in favour of their belly and their despotism, have raised against me a horrible clamour. I fight under your colours, and under those of Jesus Christ. Let your wisdom and your power be exerted to restore peace to the Christian community."

It was in such strains the prince of letters addressed himself to all the grandeur of the age. The danger was averted from him; for the powerful of the earth interfered, and the vultures were obliged to

abandon the prey which they believed already within their grasp. They, however, directed their flight elsewhere, in search of other victims. Their expectation shall not be disappointed.

It was in Lorraine blood was first destined anew to cover the scaffold. From the first days of the reform, there had existed a zealous association between Paris and the country of the Guises. If Paris was at rest, Lorraine undertook the work; and then Paris recommenced, while an opportunity was afforded for recovering strength by those in Nancy or Metz. The first blow seemed appointed to fall upon the head of an excellent man, one of the refugees from Basil, the friend of Farel and Toussaint. The knight D'Esch had found it impossible to escape from Metz on account of the jealous care of the priests. It was discovered that he continued to hold intercourse with the evangelical Christians, and he was consequently apprehended at Pont-à-Mousson, a place five miles distant from Metz, upon the banks of the Moselle. This circumstance filled the hearts of the French refugees with sorrow, and also those of the Swiss themselves. "O heart full of innocence!" exclaimed Ecolampade. "I have that confidence in the Lord," added he, "that I believe he will protect this man—in life to proclaim his name as a preacher of justice, or in death to confess it as a martyr." But, at the same time, Ecolampade disapproved of the vivacity, the passion, the zeal—in his opinion devoid of prudence—which distinguished the conduct of the French refugees. "I desire," said he, "that my very dear lords of France should not hurry, in this manner, their return to their own country, before having well examined all things; for the demon stretches out his snares in every direction. Nevertheless, let them obey the spirit of Christ, and may that spirit never forsake them."

There was reason, in fact, to tremble for the fate of the knight; for there was in Lorraine a double portion of hatred. The provincial of the Franciscans, brother Bonaventure Renel, the confessor of Duke Anthony the Good, an impudent man, and of little reputation as to manners, permitted to that weak prince, who reigned from 1508 to 1544, an unlimited license in his pleasures, and persuaded him, almost as a deed of penance, to destroy without mercy all these innovators. "It is sufficient for every one," that prince so well instructed by Renel often said, "to know the Pater and Ave-Maria; the greatest teachers are the cause of the greatest troubles."

About the end of the year 1524, it was reported at the court of the duke that a pastor, named Schuch, preached a new doctrine in the city of St Hippolytus, situated at the foot of the Vosges. "Let them return to their obedience, otherwise," said Anthony the Good, "I will march upon the town and put everything therein to fire and sword."

Then the faithful pastor resolved to offer himself up as a sacrifice for his flock, and proceeded to Nancy, where the prince resided. On the moment of his arrival, he was cast into an infected prison, under the watch of rude and cruel men; and the brother Bonaventure at last saw the heretic in his power. This was the man who presided at the inquest. "Heretic," said he, "Judas, devil!" Schuch, calm and collected, made no answer to these insults; but, holding in his hand a Bible completely covered with notes, which he had inscribed thereon, he confessed, with mildness and decision, Jesus Christ crucified. All

at once he became animated; he stood forth boldly, and raising his voice, as inspired with the Spirit from above, he looked sternly in the face of his judges, and denounced against them the terrible judgments of God.

The brother Bonaventure and his companions, alarmed, and transported with rage, accosted him with violent execrations, tore from his hands the Bible out of which he read such threatening sentences, "and, like mad dogs," says the original reporter, "not being able to seize upon his doctrine, they burned it in their convent."

The whole court at Lorraine rang with denunciations upon the obstinacy and audacity of the minister of St Hippolytus; and the prince, curious to hear the heretic speak, wished to be present at his last appearance, but in a secret manner, and hid from all observance. But the interrogation being carried on in Latin, he could not comprehend its meaning; only he was amazed at beholding the minister preserve an expression of devoted purpose, not appearing to be convinced or conquered. Indignant at the spectacle of such hardihood, Anthony the Good arose and said, on leaving the hall, "Wherefore dispute any longer? he denies the sacrament of the mass; let them proceed to execution against him." Schuch immediately afterwards was condemned to be burned alive. On hearing his sentence, he raised his eyes to heaven, and said with calmness, "I have rejoiced on account of those who said to me, We will go to the house of the Eternal."

On the 19th of August 1525, the whole city of Nancy was in a state of commotion. The bells announced the coming death of a heretic. The melancholy procession began its march. It was necessary to pass in front of the convent of the Franciscans, who, in the fulness of their joy and expectation, had gathered together before the door of their dwelling. At the moment when Schuch appeared, the father, Bonaventure, pointing to the sculptured images upon the face of the building, exclaimed, "Heretic! show honour to God, to his mother, and to the saints!" "O hypocrites!" replied Schuch, in holding his head erect before these pieces of wood and stone, "God shall destroy you, and shall bring to light your insolent frauds."

The martyr having arrived at the place of punishment, his books were first burned in his presence; he was then summoned to retract; but he refused, saying, "It is thou, O God, who hast called me, and thou wilt strengthen me even to the end." He then began to repeat with a loud voice the 51st psalm—"Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness." Having ascended the funeral pile, he continued to recite the psalm until the smoke and flame stifled his voice.

In this manner the persecutors of France and Lorraine saw their triumphs once more commenced; at last attention was paid to their advice. The ashes of a heretic had been scattered to the winds at Nancy; it was, as it were, a provocation addressed to the capital of France. Shall Bida and Lecouturier be the last to exhibit their zeal for the cause of the pope? Let flames make answer to flames, and let heresy, quickly swept from the surface of the kingdom, be altogether expelled beyond the Rhine.

But before success was certain, Bida was fated to sustain a combat half serious and half amusing, against one of those men for whom the

struggle with Popery only constituted a matter of pleasantry and not a business of the heart.

Among the learned men whom Briçonnet had encouraged to reside within his diocese, there was a doctor from Sorbonne named Peter Caroli, a vain man, frivolous, and equally turbulent and cunning as Beda himself. Caroli saw in the new doctrine a means of thwarting and silencing effectually Beda, whose spirit of domination he could not endure. Thus, having returned from Meaux to Paris, he caused in the capital a lively sensation, by carrying into all the pulpits that which was termed "the new manner of preaching." Then commenced between the two doctors an indefatigable struggle; it was blow after blow and trick after trick. Beda cited Caroli to appear before Sorbonne, and Caroli summoned him to the officiality in honourable reparation. The faculty continued its inquest, and Caroli gave notice of an appeal to the parliament. He was in the interim interdicted from entering the pulpit, and yet he preached in all the churches of Paris. Every pulpit was decidedly closed against his approach, and he publicly explained the psalms in the college of Cambray. The faculty prohibited him from continuing this practice, and he demanded permission to finish the explanation of the 22d psalm which he had begun to illustrate. Finally his request was rejected, and then he affixed to the gates of the college the following placard:—"Peter Caroli, wishing to obey the orders of the sacred faculty, ceases to teach; he will resume his lessons (when it shall please God) at that verse where he stopped. They have pierced my hands and my feet." Thus Beda had at last met a wrestler with whom it was worth while to contend. If Caroli had seriously defended the truth, justice would have soon followed him with its fires, but his mind was too profane to provoke his being put to death. How could a man be condemned to die who put his judges out of countenance? Neither the officiality, nor the parliament, nor the council, were ever able to judge definitely his cause. Two men of the same spirit with Caroli might have put an end even to the activity of Beda; but the Reformation did not encompass two.

This impertinent struggle was brought to a close, and Beda occupied his thoughts with more serious matters. Happily for the syndic of Sorbonne, there were some men who offered a better prize to persecution than Caroli. It is true Briçonnet, Erasmus, Lefevre, and Berquin had escaped his snares; but since he could not reach these great personages, he must content himself with less. The poor young James Pavanne, ever since his abjuration at Christmas 1524, had continued to weep and sigh at the recollection of his apostasy. He was seen to pass along with a mournful expression, his looks fixed upon the ground, groaning within himself, and making severe self accusations against the manner in which he had denied his Saviour and his God.

Pavanne was, without doubt, the most modest and most innocent of men; but what did this signify; he had been at Meaux, and that was then a grievous fault. "Pavanne has relapsed." It was said, "The dog has returned to his own vomit, and the sow to her wallowing in the mire." He was, therefore, apprehended, thrown into prison, and brought before an assembly of judges. This was just what Master James longed to see accomplished. He felt his grief assuaged from the moment he received his chains, and regained all his strength in

order loudly to confess Jesus Christ. The cruel persecutors smiled on this occasion, when they saw nothing could now deprive them of their victim—neither retraction, nor flight, nor powerful patronage. The mild temper of the young man, his candour and his courage, were all ineffectual in softening the hearts of his adversaries. He regarded them with affection; for by placing him in irons they had restored to him his tranquillity and joy; but his complacent looks increased their hatred. His process was speedily prepared, and very soon the Place de Gréve beheld the erection of a funeral pile, whereon Pavanne joyfully gave up the ghost. He now strengthened by his example all those who in that large city either openly or secretly confessed the truth of the gospel of Christ.

Still his death did not satisfy Sorbonne. If the sacrifices were to be found among the people of inferior rank, the number must be made to make amends for the quality. The flames seen to issue from the Place de Gréve served to impart a salutary dread into the public mind of Paris and France; still, another funeral pile, kindled in another quarter, would be sure to redouble the existing terror. These things would be spoken of in the court, in the colleges, and the workshops of the people; and proofs of such a description would better testify than numerous ordinances that Louisa of Savoy, Sorbonne, and the parliament, were decided to sacrifice to the anathemas of Rome all even to the very last heretic.

In the forest of Livry, three leagues distant from Paris, and not far distant from the place where stood the ancient abbey of the order of St Augustine, lived a hermit, who, having met on his walks with some men from Meaux, had received into his heart the evangelical doctrine. This poor hermit had found himself very rich in his humble cell, when, one day, partaking of the miserable pittance allowed him by public charity, he had there obtained Jesus Christ and his grace. From that moment he perceived "it was more blessed to give than to receive." He went about, therefore, from house to house in the villages and neighbourhood, and the moment he entered the doors of the lowly cottages he began to speak to the poor peasants of the gospel, and of the complete pardon which it affords to agonized souls, which was far more valuable than absolutions. Very soon the good hermit of Livry was well known in the environs of Paris; many came to visit him in his hermitage, and he became a mild and fervent missionary to the simple souls of these districts.

The report of the deeds of the new evangelist was not long of reaching the ears of Sorbonne and of the justice of Paris. The hermit was apprehended, dragged from his hermitage, from the forest, and from those fields he every day traversed, and cast into a dungeon in the great city which he had always avoided, judged, convicted, and condemned to be, "as an example, punished with the penalties of a slow fire."

It was resolved, in order to render the example still more imposing, that he should be burned alive in front of the porch of Notre Dame, before that splendid edifice, the majestic symbol of Roman Catholicism. All the clergymen were convoked, and a pompous procession was arranged, similar to those observed on days of high festivity. A desire was felt to assemble the whole people of Paris around the funeral pile. "Having sounded," says an historian, "the large bell of the temple of Notre Dame with mighty clamour, in order to

arouse the inhabitants of the whole city." From all the surrounding streets the people, in fact, crowded to the square. The majestic sounds of brass arrested the attention of the labourer at his work, of the scholar in his study, the merchant in his traffic, and the soldier in his idle round, so that the square was quickly covered with an immense crowd, which still continued to increase. The hermit, clothed in garments assigned to obstinate heretics, with his head and feet naked, had been led up to the front of the doors of the cathedral. Tranquil, firm, and collected, he only replied to the exhortations of the confessors who presented to him the crucifix, by declaring to them that his only hope was placed in the pardon of God. The doctors of Sorbonne, occupying the first rank of spectators, beholding his constancy, and the effect which it produced upon the people, cried out with a loud voice, "This is a man already damned, who is being led to the fires of hell." Still the large bell continued to ring, whose deep tones, in stunning the ears of the crowd, augmented the solemnity of this mournful fête. At last the ringing of the bells was stopped, and the martyr, having replied to the last questions of his adversaries, that he wished to die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, was, in terms of his sentence, "burned upon a slow fire." In this manner tranquilly expired before the porch of Notre Dame, in the midst of the shouts and emotions of an assembled population, under the towers raised by the piety of Louis the Young, that man of whom history has not even preserved the name, "the hermit of Livry."

CHAPTER XV.

A Scholar from Noyon—The Character of Young Calvin—First Education—He is Consecrated to the Study of Theology—The Bishop gives him the Tonsure—He Quits Noyon on account of the Plague—The Reformation Created New Languages—Persecutions and Terror—Toussaint put into Prison—Persecution Increases in Strength—Deaths of Blet, Moulin, and Papillon—God Saves the Church—Project of Margaret—Departure for Spain.

While men thus put to death the first confessors of Jesus Christ in France, God prepared of these confessors more powerful examples. Beda dragged to punishment a modest scholar and a humble hermit, and almost believed that he had thus destroyed with them the whole force of the reform. But Providence is possessed of resources of which the world does not know. The gospel, like the bird of fable, bears within itself a principle which the flames cannot consume, and which rises again into life from its own ashes. It is often even at the very instant when the storm is the strongest, when the lightning seems to have struck the truth, and when it appears covered in the darkest gloom of night, that a sudden flash betokens its appearance and announces a grand deliverance. At this time, when all the human powers were armed in France to compass the total destruction of the Reformation, God prepared an instrument, weak in appearance, in order one day to sustain his rights and to defend his cause with an intrepidity more than human. In the midst of the persecutions and funeral piles which succeeded each other, and were commenced from the moment Francis I. had become the prisoner of Charles, let us fix our attention upon a child, called to place himself one day at the head of a great army, in the holy struggles of Israel.

Among the inhabitants of the city and of the colleges of Paris, who were startled with the sounds of the large bell, was seen a young scholar, sixteen years of age, a native of Noyon in Picardy, of middling

stature, with a pale countenance, and whose piercing eye, and look full of meaning, gave evidence of a mind stored with wisdom beyond the common gifts of men. His dress of peculiar cleanness, but also of perfect simplicity, indicated his sense of order and modesty. This young man, whose name was John Cauvin or Calvin, was then a student in the college of Marche, under Mathurin Cordier, a professor celebrated for his probity, his erudition, and the talents he possessed for instructing the young. Reared amidst the superstitions of Popery, the scholar from Noyon was blindly submissive to the laws of the church, devoted with docility to its practices, and persuaded that the heretics had well deserved the punishment of the flames in which they were consumed. The blood which was then shed in Paris increased in his opinion the crime of heresy. But although of a nature timid and fearful, and which he has himself designated soft and pusillanimous, he was endowed with that uprightness and generosity of heart which encourages one to sacrifice all for convictions afterwards acquired. Thus, his youth was in vain appalled by those frightful spectacles; in vain had the flames of homicide consumed on the square of de Gréve and before the porch of Notre Dame the faithful disciples of the gospel. The remembrance of these horrors was not destined to hinder him from one day entering upon the new path, wherein it appeared nothing was to be looked for but prisons and the scaffold. For the rest, there were already seen in the character of the young Calvin many traits which announced his future destiny. The strictness of moral observances formed in him a prelude to severity in doctrine, and it was possible to recognise in the scholar of sixteen the man who would seriously apply the talents he should receive, and would resolutely exact from others that which he himself found it easy to perform. Tranquil and grave during the hours of study, not given, in the intervals of recreation, to the pleasures of amusement or the follies of his school-fellows, keeping himself apart and full of horror for vice, he sometimes censured their disorders with severity and even with a degree of asperity. Wherefore, a canon of Noyon has assured us that he was surnamed by his companions the Accusative. He was among them the representative of conscience and duty, as much as he was distant from being the subject many calumniators have desired to make him. The pale countenance and piercing look of the scholar of sixteen, even now inspired more respect in the feelings of his comrades than the black gown of their masters; and this youth from Picardy, of a small stature and timid demeanour, who came every day to take his place upon the benches in the college of Marche, had already there obtained, without being aware of it, in consequence of the gravity of his speech and conduct, the position of a minister and reformer.

Nor was it alone in respect of the circumstances above referred to that the young lad from Noyon excelled his companions at school. His great timidity prevented him at times from manifesting the horror he endured at the display of vanity or vice; but he even thus early devoted to study the whole strength of his genius and will, and it was easy from his appearance to prognosticate the course of labour to which he would consecrate his life. He comprehended every object with inconceivable facility; he advanced at a rapid pace in his studies, and in instances where his companions proceeded at a very

slow rate, he deeply engraved upon his mind subjects which others only superficially comprehended.

Thus it was his masters were obliged to remove him from the usual class of students, and permit him to continue alone the rapid progress of his studies.

Among his school-fellows were the youths of Mommor, belonging to the highest nobility of Picardy. John Calvin was intimately acquainted with them, especially Claud, who was at an after period the abbot of St Eloi, and to whom he dedicated his Commentary upon Seneca. It was in company of these young nobles Calvin had come to Paris. His father, Gerard Cauvin, an apostolic notary, the procurator-fiscal of the county of Noyon, and secretary to the bishop, as well as promoter of the chapter, was a judicious and able man, whose superior talents had procured for him those appointments sought after by the best families, and whose prudent conduct gained him the esteem of all the gentlemen of the country, and particularly of the illustrious house of Mommor. Gerard resided at Noyon; he had married a young lady from Cambray, of remarkable beauty and retiring piety, named Jane Lefrang, who had already given birth to a son named Charles, when, on the 10th of July 1509, she was delivered of a second son, who received the name of John, and was baptized in the church of St Godeberte. A third son, named Anthony, who died in early life, and two daughters, completed the family of the procurator-fiscal of Noyon.

Gerard Cauvin, living in intimate acquaintance with the heads of the clergy and the first families of the province, was anxious that his children should receive the same education bestowed upon the youths of these distinguished classes. John, whose precocious talents were early discovered, was reared along with the sons of the house of Mommor; he was in their mansion treated like one of themselves, and attended the same course of study with the young Claude. It was in connexion with this family he learned the first elements of learning and life, and had thus obtained a more polished culture than that he seemed destined to receive. At an after period he was sent to the college of the Capettes, founded in the city of Noyon. The child had enjoyed a small portion of recreation. The severity of manners, which formed one of the marked traits in the character of the son, was also visible in the father. Gerard reared his child under rigid discipline, and John was accustomed to comply, from his most tender years, with the inflexible rule of duty; his habits were early formed, and the influence of the father restrained in this manner the example of the family of Mommor. Calvin, of a fearful and somewhat-clownish nature, as he himself said, and rendered still more timid by the severity of his father, shunned the elegant apartments of his protectors, and delighted to dwell alone and in obscurity. In this manner his young soul was nurtured in retirement to the exercise of deep meditation. It appears that he sometimes went to the village of Bishop Bridge, near to Noyon, where his grandfather inherited a cottage, and where other relations besides, who afterwards changed their name through hatred of the author of heresy, received at the time with kindness the son of the procurator-fiscal. But it was to study that the time of the young Calvin was especially devoted. Whilst Luther, who was destined to act upon the people,

was reared as a child of the lower class, Calvin, who must act more particularly as a theologian and thinker, and become the legislator of the renovated church, received from his infancy a more liberal education.

A spirit of piety manifested itself at an early period in the heart of the youth. An author reports that he was addicted to the custom, while very young, of praying in the open air, under the spacious vault of heaven—a method of adoration which awakened in his soul a sense of the Divine presence. But although Calvin may have recognised from his childhood the voice of God in his heart, not an individual in Noyon was more rigid than he in his observance of ecclesiastical regulations. Thus Gerard, struck with the prevalence of these dispositions, conceived the design of dedicating his son to the study of theology. This perspective resolution contributed, without doubt, to impress upon his soul that grave cast, that theological character, which distinguished his appearance in after years. His mind was of a nature calculated to receive in its youth a strong impression, and to familiarize itself when equally immature with the most elevated thoughts. The report of his being at this time one of the boys in the choir has no foundation in truth, even according to the testimony of his adversaries. But they assert that, while an infant, he was seen to carry in procession, in the guise of a cross, a sword, cross guarded—a presage of what he would thereafter become, added they. “The Lord has made my mouth like a sharp sword,” says, in Isaiah, the servant of the Eternal. The same may be said of Calvin.

Gerard was poor; the education of his son made a heavy drain upon his purse, and he desired to attach him irrevocably to the church. The cardinal of Lorraine had been made, at the age of fourteen years, the coadjutor of the bishop of Metz. It was at this time a common custom to give to children ecclesiastical titles and revenues. Alphonzo of Portugal was made a cardinal by Leo X. when only eight years old, and Odel de Chatillon by Clement VII. when eleven; while, at a later date, the celebrated mother, Angelic of Port Royal, was made, when seven years old, coadjutrice of that monastery. Gerard, who died a faithful Catholic, was in good estimation with the bishop of Noyon, master Charles of Hangest, and his vicars general, wherefore, the chaplain of Gesine having resigned his charge, the bishop gave, on the 21st of May 1521, this benefice to John Calvin, at that time nearly twelve years old. The notice of this appointment was given to the chapter eight days afterwards. On the evening of the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, the bishop solemnly cut off the hair of the boy, and by this ceremony of the tonsure John entered the clerical ranks, and became admissible to holy orders, and to the possession of a benefice without even residing at the places of his cure.

Thus Calvin was called to experience in his own person, when a boy, the evils of abuses practised by the church of Rome. There was not a young clergyman in the kingdom more serious in his piety than the chaplain of Gesine, and the grave child was perhaps himself astonished at the preference shewn him by the bishop and his vicars general. But he held these distinguished personages in too much reverence to indulge the least suspicion respecting the illegality

of his own tonsure. He had enjoyed this title for the space of two years, when Noyon was visited with a terrible infliction of the plague. Several canons presented a petition to the chapter requesting permission to leave the city. Already a number of the inhabitants had been smitten with the dreadful pest, and Gerard began to fear lest his son John, the hope of his life, should be torn from his bosom by the scourge of God. The children of the house of Mommor were about to proceed, in the prosecution of their studies, to Paris—a course which the procurator-fiscal had always enveighed with reference to his son. Wherefore should he separate John from his school-fellows? He consequently presented, on the 5th of August 1523, a request to the chapter, for the purpose of procuring for the young chaplain, “leave to go wherever it might appear agreeable to him during the continuance of the pest, without losing his appointments; a request which was granted to remain in force until the Feast of St Renny.” John Calvin therefore left his paternal roof, being at the time fourteen years of age. A mighty preference for calumny is requisite to attribute his departure to any other cause, and to confront thus wantonly the shame which justly falls upon the abettors of accusations whose fallacy is so authentically demonstrated. Calvin arrived, as it appears, at Paris, in the house of an uncle, Richard Cauvin, who resided near to the church of St Germain l’Auxerrois. “Thus flying from the pest,” said the canon of Noyon, “he was doomed to find it elsewhere.”

A new world was opened to the view of the young man in this metropolis of letters. He profited by the change of situation, and began to study with earnestness; making great progress in his knowledge of Latin. He became familiar with the writings of Cicero, and learned from that great master to use the language of the Romans with a facility, a purity, and a natural grace which attracted the admiration of his very enemies. But he found, at same time, in that language a richness which it was reserved for him to impart to the speech of his own country.

Up to the period we speak of, Latin had continued the only learned language. It was then, and is now in our own day, the language of the church; it was the Reformation that created, or, at least, that emancipated in every quarter the vulgar tongue. The exclusive distinction of the priests had ceased; and the people were invited to learn and to know.

In this single fact was found the termination of the language of the priests, and the inauguration of the language of the people. It was no longer to Sorbonne alone, it was no longer to a few monks, some ecclesiastics or learned men, that new thoughts were familiarly addressed, it was also to the nobles, to citizens, and even to artisans. Preaching was to be addressed to all; nay, more than this, all were about to preach; the carders of wool and knights, equally with the men of the church, the curates and teachers. A new language was, therefore, required, or, at all events, it was necessary that the vulgar tongue should undergo a mighty transformation, or powerful emancipation, and that, drawn from the common purposes of life, it should receive from renewed Christianity its letters of noble import. The gospel, so long confined in a state of stupor, was once more awakened; it spoke, it addressed itself to the whole nation, it everywhere rekindled the most generous affections. It opened the treasures of

heaven to a generation which was wholly engaged in the mean pursuits of this passing scene ; it shook the mass, it conversed to them about God, of man, of good and evil, of the pope, of the Bible, of a crown in heaven, and, perhaps, of a scaffold on earth. The popular idiom, which had never yet been anything more than the language of reporters or authors, was called by the Reformation to engage in a new part, and consequently to exhibit a fresh development of its power. A new world was presented to the view of society, and new languages were necessary to suit the circumstances of this new world. The Reformation dragged the French language out of the swaddling clothes in which it had, until now, been confined, and invested it with the decorations of maturer years. From this moment that language fully enjoyed those elevated privileges which refer to the properties of mind and to the riches of heaven, and of which it had been deprived under the guardianship of Rome. No doubt the people form themselves their own language ; it is they who hit upon those happy words, those figurative and energetic expressions which impart to language so much of the true colouring of life. But there are many resources which are not at the command of the people, and which cannot be approached but by men of lofty intelligence. Calvin, called upon to discuss and to prove, communicated to the language many liberties, connexions, gradations, transitions, and dialectic forms, which it had never embraced before his time.

Already all these elements began to work in the head of the young scholar from the college of Marche. This boy, who must become so powerful in directing the human heart, must also become powerful in subduing the idiom with which he was called upon to act. Protestant France adopted afterwards the French of Calvin, and Protestant France comprehended the best instructed portion of the nation ; it was from its ranks issued forth those families of learning and superior magistracy, who so powerfully influenced the culture of the people ; it was from the same source proceeded Port-Royal, one of the grand instruments which have served to form the style of French prose, and even of French poetry, and which, having attempted to carry into Gallican Catholicism the doctrine and the language of reform, failed in one of its projects, but succeeded in the other ; for Roman Catholic France was destined to learn from its Jansenist and reformed adversaries, the manner of using those weapons of the language, without which it is impossible to contend.

Nevertheless, while thus completing his character in the college of Marche—the future reformer of religion, and also of language—all was in commotion around the young and grave scholar, without inducing him as yet to take any part in the grand movement which then agitated society. The flames that had consumed the bodies of the hermit and Pavanne, had carried terror into the public mind of Paris. But the persecutors were not yet satisfied ; a system of terror was, therefore, put into operation throughout every district in France. The friends of reform no longer dared to correspond with each other, for fear that their intercepted letters should discover them to the vengeance of the tribunals, equally with regard to those who wrote and those who received such familiar communications. One man ventured, however, to convey to the refugees of Basil the news from Paris and France, by sewing in his doublet a letter without any signature. He

escaped the muskets of the soldiers, the close watch of their guards, the inquiries of provosts and lieutenants, and arrived at Basil without any search having been made into the mysterious doublet. The details of this secret message caused much dread to the minds of Toussaint and his friends. "It is dreadful to hear the particulars of the great cruelties which are enacted there," exclaimed Toussaint. Shortly before this occurrence there had arrived at Basil, having the officers of justice at their heels, two religious members of St Francis, one of whom, named John Prevost, had preached at Meaux, and had afterwards been cast into the prisons of Paris. The intelligence they brought from Paris and from Lyons, through which they had passed, excited the deep compassion of the refugees. "May our Lord there send his grace," wrote Toussaint to Farel. "I promise you I find myself at times in a state of great agony and tribulation."

Still these excellent men did not lose courage. In vain all the parliaments lay in wait; in vain the spies of Sorbonne and the monks came to listen in the churches and colleges, and even in private houses, to the evangelical discourses which might therein be delivered; in vain the armed men of the king arrested on the highways all those who appeared to bear the emblem of reform; these noble Frenchmen, whom Rome and her party tracked and crushed, maintained their faith of a better future, and saluted already the end of this Babylonish captivity, as they called it. "At last shall come the seventieth year, the year of deliverance," said they, "and freedom of mind and conscience shall be given to us." But the seventy years were doomed to last for nearly three centuries, and it was only after unheard-of misfortunes these hopes were destined to be realized. Besides, it was not from men the refugees hoped to receive any favour. "Those who have commenced the dance," said Toussaint, "shall not remain on the floor." But they believed that the Lord "knew those whom he had chosen, and would himself deliver his people with power."

The knight D'Esch had, in truth, been delivered. Escaped from the prison of Pont-à-Mousson, he had hastened to Strasburg, but did not remain long in that city. "For the honour of God," Toussaint had also written to Farel, "try to persuade the knight, our good master, to return to us as speedily as possible, for our brethren in this place have great need of such a captain." In reality, the French refugees had new causes of sorrow. They trembled lest the dispute upon the Lord's Supper, which had so much afflicted them in Germany, should cross the Rhine, and still come to inflict upon France fresh subjects of mourning. Francis Lambert, the monk of Avignon, after having been at Zurich and Wittemberg, had arrived at Metz, but entire confidence was not placed in his judgment; it was feared that he might import with him the sentiments of Luther, and that by useless ("monstrous," said Toussaint) controversies, he might arrest the progress of the Reformation. Esch, therefore, returned to Lorraine; but it was to be exposed there to great danger, "with all those who in the same place sought the glory of Jesus Christ."

Toussaint, however, was not of a disposition to send others into the perils of battle without engaging in the same himself. Deprived of the daily society of Ecolampade, and obliged to have intercourse with a rude priest, he had earnestly sought the presence of Christ,

and his courage had been increased. If he could not return to Metz; could he not at least go to Paris? The funeral piles of Pavanne and the hermit of Livry still issued forth smoke, it is true, and appeared to drive far from the capital those who entertained a faith similar to theirs. But if the colleges and the streets of Paris were infected with terror, in so much that no one dared longer to repeat therein the words of the gospel and reform, was this not a strong reason for going thither? Toussaint quitted Basil, and arrived within those walls where fanaticism had assumed the place of feasts and dissolution. He sought, while advancing in his Christian studies, to connect himself with the brethren who were in the colleges, and especially in that of cardinal Lemoine, wherein Lefevre and Farel had imparted instruction. But he could not long pursue his course in freedom. The tyranny of the commissioners of the parliament and of theologians reigned supreme in the capital, and whoever gave them cause of displeasure was by them accused of heresy. A duke and an abbot, whose names are not given, denounced Toussaint as a heretic; and one day the royal sergeants apprehended the young native of Lorraine and cast him into prison. Separated from all his friends and treated like a criminal, Toussaint felt still more keenly the pressure of misery. "O Lord!" exclaimed he, "take not away from me thy Holy Spirit; for without it I am but flesh and a sink of iniquity." He reflected within his heart, while his body was in chains, upon the name of all those who still combated freely for the gospel. There was Ecolampade, his father, "of whom we are the work according to the Lord," said he. There was Lefevre, without doubt, incapable, on account of his age, to carry the weight of the gospel; Roussel, "by means of whom he hoped the Lord would perform great things;" Vaugris, who displayed all the activity "of the most tender brother, to snatch him from the hands of his enemies;" there was, finally, Farel, to whom he wrote—"I recommend myself to your prayers, for fear that I should succumb in this combat." Oh, how all the names of these much loved companions sweetened the bitterness of his prison; for he was not prepared to yield. Death, it is true, threatened to overtake him in that city where the blood of a multitude of his brethren must be made to flow like water. The friends of his mother, of his uncle, the primicier of Metz, and the cardinal of Lorraine, assailed him with the most magnificent offers. . . . "I despised them all," said he, "I knew this was a trial from God. I would prefer to suffer hunger, and to be an abject slave in the house of the Lord, rather than dwell surrounded with riches in the palaces of the impious." At the same time he made an open profession of his faith. "I glory in being called a heretic," exclaimed he, "by those whose life and doctrine I see to be opposed to the maxims of Jesus Christ." And this interesting and courageous young man signed his letters, "Peter Toussaint, unworthy of being called a Christian."

In this manner continually recurring blows were inflicted upon the reform during the absence of the king. Berquin, Toussaint, and many others were in prison. Schuch, Pavanne, and the hermit of Livry had been put to death; Farel, Lefevre, Roussel, and a great many more defenders of the holy doctrine were in exile; many strong mouths were doomed to silence. The light of the gospel day was more

and more obscured, and the storm growled without intermission, its fury serving to bend and shake, and seemed even likely to root up, that still young tree, which the hand of God had just planted on the soil of France.

Enough, however, had not yet been accomplished. To the humble victims who had been sacrificed there must be made to succeed others of more illustrious name. The enemies of the reform in France, not having succeeded in commencing in high quarters, were content to proceed in a lower sphere, but with the hope of always elevating higher their sentences of condemnation and death, until they were enabled to reach the highest summits of society. This inverse method of procedure was prosperous in their hands. Scarcely had the ashes with which persecution had covered the square of De Gréve and the porch of Notre Dame been scattered to the winds, before new horrors were performed. Anthony Du Blet, that excellent man, the "merchant" of Lyons, suffered under the pursuits of the enemies of the truth, with another disciple, Francis Moulin, without our being able to ascertain the particulars of their death. Greater advances than this were however made; the aim was directed at a higher point still. There was one illustrious head which it was impossible to reach individually, but which might be wounded through the torture of those who were dear to its recollections. We allude to the Duchess of Alençon. Michael D'Arande, the chaplain to the sister of the king, for whom Margaret had taken leave of all other preachers, and who preached before her the pure gospel of Christ, became the object of attack to the persecutors, and was threatened with imprisonment and death. Almost at the same time, Anthony Papillon, for whom the princess had procured the office of first master of requests in Dauphiny, suddenly died, and the universal report, even among his adversaries, was that he had been poisoned.

In this manner persecution was extended throughout the kingdom, and always approached nearer to the person of Margaret. After the forces of the reform, concentrated at Meaux, Lyons, and Basil, had been dispersed, those isolated combatants who here and there supported the good cause were made to fall one after the other. A few efforts more, and the soil of France would be cleansed from heresy. Underhand measures and secret practices were made to succeed the violence of clamour and the funeral piles. War was waged in open day; but it was also prosecuted under the darkness of night. If fanaticism employed for men of low degree the tribunal and the scaffold, it retained in reserve for the higher classes the instruments of poison and the poignard. The doctors of a celebrated society have but too often patronized the wretched custom, and even kings have been known to fall under the blow of the assassin. But if Rome has possessed in every age her Seides, she has likewise included within her subjects the Vincents, Pauls, and Fenelons. These thrusts made in the dark were well calculated to spread terror in every direction. To these perfidious deeds and these fanatical persecutions from within were added the mournful defeats from without. A mournful cloud hung over the kingdom. There was not a family, especially among the nobility, who were not bathed in tears for the loss of a father, a husband, or a son, left dead upon the fields of Italy, or whose heart did not tremble for the liberty and even life of some one still a member of their society.

The deep dreams which fell upon the nation resulted in the creation of a heaven of hatred against heretics. The people, parliament, the church, and the very throne, were exasperated with this frenzy.

Was it not enough for the Duchess of Alençon that the defeat at Pavia had cost her the life of her husband and the freedom of her brother? Was it necessary that she should see the evangelical torch, with whose mild light she had been so much charmed, extinguished in the country perhaps for ever? The news from Spain, too, tended to increase the general melancholy. Chagrin and sickness exposed the life of Francis I. to imminent danger. If the king remained a prisoner, or if he died, or if the regency of his mother was prolonged during a course of years, was it not over with the Reformation? "But when all seemed lost," said the young scholar from Noyon, "God saved and preserved his church in a marvellous manner." The church of France, which resembled the condition of child-birth, was appointed to pass over a time of rest before it was exposed to new pains and sufferings; and God employed the means of a weak woman to secure this rest, who had never declared herself altogether in favour of the Reformation. She was more occupied at this time with the thought of saving the king and the kingdom than in securing the delivery of obscure Christians, who nevertheless placed great hopes in her friendship. But under the noise of the affairs of this world God often hides the mysterious ways by which he governs his people. A noble project was formed within the heart of the Duchess of Alençon: to cross the seas or the Pyrenees, and to snatch Francis I. from the power of Charles V. Such from this moment constituted the single aim of her life.

Margaret of Valois made known her purpose, and France saluted her with exclamations of gratitude. Her superior mind, the reputation she had acquired, joined to the love she bore for her brother, and that which Francis entertained for her, powerfully counterbalanced in the eyes of Louisa and Duprat, her attachment to the cause of the new doctrine. All eyes were turned upon her as upon the only person capable of extricating the kingdom from the perilous situation in which it was placed. Let Margaret proceed herself into Spain, let her speak to the powerful emperor and his ministers, and let her employ that admirable genius with which Providence had endowed her, to ensure the deliverance of her brother and her king.

Still opinions, very much opposed to each other, filled the hearts of the nobles and people, in contemplating the Duchess of Alençon placed in the middle of the hostile counsellors and fierce soldiers of the Catholic king.

Every one admired the courage and devotedness of this young woman, but without partaking of its spirit. The friends of the princess entertained with regard to her many fears which were but too likely to be realized. But the evangelical Christians were full of hope. The captivity of Francis I. had occasioned the bursting of unheard of cruelties upon the heads of the friends of reform; and his enlargement they believed would put an end to these outrages. To open the gates of Spain to the king was to shut these of the officiality and the castles wherein were imprisoned the servants of the word of God. Margaret strove to encourage herself in a purpose in the results.

of which her whole soul felt interested, from motives both numerous and exciting.

The heights of heaven cannot create a doubt,
Nor depths of hell with engines demon stout ;
For Christ my Saviour holds the keys of the redoubt.

Her weak female heart was confirmed by that faith which overcomes the world, and her resolution became irrevocable ; haste was therefore made to complete the preparations for this important and dangerous expedition.

The archbishop of Embrun, afterwards cardinal of Tournon, and the president of Selves, were already at Madrid with the view of treating for the deliverance of the king. They were subordinate to Margaret, as well as the bishop of Tarbes, afterwards cardinal of Grammont, the full powers of negotiation being intrusted to the princess alone. At the same time Montmorency, so hostile at an after period to the cause of the reform, was speedily despatched into Spain, in order to obtain a safe-conduct for the sister of the king. The emperor began by raising difficulties. He said that it belonged to his ministers alone to arrange that affair. "One hour's conference," exclaimed Selves, "between your majesty, the king my master, and the Duchess of Alençon, shall more advance the business of a treaty than a whole month's discussion among so many lawyers."

Margaret, impatient to arrive, in consideration of the sickness of the king, departed without the protection of a safe-conduct, but with an imposing retinue. She quitted the court, and passed through Lyons, on her way to the shores of the Mediterranean ; but while she followed this course, Montmorency returned, bearing letters from Charles, which secured the liberty of the princess only for three months. She arrived at Aigues-Mortes, and it was in this port that the sister of Francis I. went on board the vessel prepared for her reception. Conducted by God into Spain, rather in order to deliver humble and oppressed Christians than to rescue from captivity the powerful king of France, Margaret intrusted herself upon the waves of that sea which had served to transport her captive brother after the disastrous battle of Pavia.